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# THE UNITY OF THE PENTATEUCH

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An Examination of
the Higher Critical Theory
as to the Composite Nature of the Pentateuch

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With PREFACE BY THE RIGHT REV.
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# PREFACE

By the Right Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D., Bishop of Durham.

I welcome the appearance of the present volume. It is a timely contribution to a controversy which is of immense importance to intelligent faith.

For many years past I have watched with misgiving the modern movements of Biblical criticism, which, originating long before, made powerful steps forward, within Christian circles in England, in and after the year 1886. In that year Wellhausen's Article "Israel" appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and at once excited profound attention, leading with phenomenal rapidity to a wide adoption of its main positions on the part of University and other teachers of high Christian standing among us.

It has come to be assumed, often in the most unlikely quarters, that its fundamental conclusions were proved certainties almost as complete as that of the law of gravitation.

From the first, of course, there was keen criticism of the critics. It was not always of the wisest temper. An acrimony which should resolutely be avoided sometimes appeared in such work, and sometimes an assumption that the phenomena of the Bible left us no room for the thought of a progressive development in revelation. But, to my mind certainly, it was made abundantly clear in due time, sometimes by unkind examiners, more often by the most judicial, like Robertson and Orr, that the "certainties" of the theory were very far indeed from the absoluteness often assumed. One brief but searching examination came from a disciple, who saw reason to change radically his point of view.

I refer to the young German lecturer Möller, who showed, convincingly, I think, that considerations of common sense lie with the greatest weight against the theory, for example, of the post-exilic drafting of "the Law."

The present work falls into the succession of these criticisms of the modern critical position, and does so in a way which at least should command the respect and attention of open minds. It is the work of a highly competent Hebrew scholar. It betokens in every page the true student's attention and patient study of the critical literature he discusses. It is totally devoid of the accent of bitterness, and it betokens (like Dr. Orr's masterly book *The*

*Problem of the Old Testament*) the attitude, not of the pleader with a case to sustain, but rather that of the judge, or, if you please, that of the King's Counsel arriving with a great sense of responsibility at a considered opinion.

The book, though appealing to readers who bring to it only ordinary culture with no claim to special scholarship, nevertheless asks, and justly, for a close and patient attention akin to that of the writer.

In order to arrive at large conclusions, it deals with much minute detail, following in this the best specimens of the work of the modern critic. It does not invite a comfortable arm-chair study, but the serious effort of readers alive to the immense importance of the issues.

I venture to say that such readers are at least likely to reap from careful perusals, new light upon the old belief, that not only upon the spiritual messages of the Bible, but on their historical embodiments there has rested the superintendence, working freely through man, but not less superhumanly, of the Holy Spirit of truth. They will feel better able, if their experience is at all like mine, to open their Bible again with a deepened persuasion that the Lord's own august formula " *It is written* " is what we His followers may use with a calm assurance.

A book like this leaves open, of course, many attendant problems. Not for a moment does it ask us, for example, to read the first few pages of the Bible with the assumptions of a literalism which excludes the presence of symbol and of poetic phrase. But that is a wholly different matter from the other assumption that the majestic narratives are little more than folk-lore cast into a certain form, or again are due to the halting and inconsistent editing of divers streams of tradition, each in itself uncertain, and combined into uncertain results.

But my purpose is not so much to express myself on the matters in question, as, with great sincerity and earnestness, to commend Mr. Finn's expression of the results of his studies to the earnest attention of the reader.

HANDLEY DUNELM.

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# ERRATA

| *p.* | *l.* | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | 13 | " the last verse " | " v: 29 " |
| 12. | 19 | xxi | xii |
| ,, | 3 (fr. foot) | 11 | 21 |
| 14. | 14 | | after " found " add " except in xxiv. 13 " |
| 21. | 9 | xxv | xxxv |
| 24. | 14 | | after " Irad " add " Mehujael " |
| 26. | 8 (fr. foot) | xv | xxvi |
| 72. | 22 | " there " | " these " |
| 74. | 4 | 15 | 35 |
| 81. | 7 | " on " | " in " |
| 116. | 5 | 14 | 4 |
| 118. | 26 | " all " | " call " |
| 124. | 28 | ix | xi |
| 141. | 10 | " are " | " as " |
| 153. | 5 (fr. foot) | " reformation " | " reformulation " |
| 157. | 1 | " at " | " as " |
| 163. | 3 | xiv | xix |
| 185. | 9 (fr. foot) | " Exodus " | " the Exodus " |
| 215. | 9 (fr. foot) | 57° | 75° |
| 232. | 5 (fr. foot) | " a " | " an " |
| 298. | 17 | " is " 2nd | " in " |
| 397. | 17 | " argued " | " urged " |
| 408. | 15 (fr. foot) | " that " | " but " |
| 428. | 14 (fr. foot) | " increase " | " increases " |
| 443. | 7 | xxi | xxxi |
| 476. | 17 (fr. foot) | " eronmous " | " enormous " |
| 511. | 18 | (4) | (a) |
| 519. | 6 | " text " | " test " |
| ,, | 13 | " Leviticu " | " Leviticus " |

# ABBREVIATIONS

BG. "Book of Genesis," Westminster Commentary. Prof. Driver. 3rd edition. 1904

BE. "Book of Exodus," Cambridge Bible for Schools. Prof. Driver. 1911

BEM. "Book of Exodus," Westminster Commentary. Dr. McNeile. 1908

BN. "Book of Numbers," Cambridge Bible for Schools. Dr. McNeile. 1911

BD. "Book of Deuteronomy," International Critical Comm. Prof. Driver. 1895

EPC. Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism. H. M. Wiener. 1910

HC. The Higher Criticism. Profs. Kirkpatrick and Driver. 1905

IP. Introduction to the Pentateuch. A. T. Chapman. 1911

LOT. ,, ,, Literature of the Old Testament. Prof. Driver. 7th edition. 1898

OSSP. Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem. Edited by Dr. Sanday. 1911

SS. Sanctuary and Sacrifice. Dr Baxter. 1895

EHH. Early History of the Hebrews. Prof. Sayce. 1897

EVV. English Versions. AV. Authorized Version. RV. Revised Version

LXX. Septuagint. Enc. Britt. Encyclopædia Britannica.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (according to Prof. Driver)

| | B.C. | |
|---|---|---|
| Abraham . . . . | about 2250 (BG. xxix). | c. 2100 (BE. viii) |
| The Exodus . . . . | ,, 1277 ,, | c. 1230 ,, |
| David . . . . . | | 1010–970 ,, |
| Solomon . . . . . | ,, 964 (BG. xxvii) | |
| The Temple . . . . . | ,, 960 ,, | |
| J . . . . | ,, 850 (LOT. 123) | |
| E . . . . | ,, 750 ,, | |
| [Hezekiah . . | 725] | |
| End of N. Kingdom . . | 722 (LOT. 205) | |
| [Manasseh | 696] | |
| Josiah . . . . . | 639 (LOT. 247) | |
| D published . . | 621 ,, | |
| Destruction of Jerusalem . | 586 (LOT. 205) | |
| Ezekiel's vision . . . | 572 (LOT. 292) | |
| Cyrus. Return under Zerubbabel | 536 (LOT. 540) | |
| Second Temple completed . | 516 ,, | |
| Ezra's Mission . . . | 458 ,, | |
| Nehemiah's 1st visit. PC published | 444 ,, | |
| Nehemiah's 2nd visit (?Expulsion of Manasseh) . . . | 432 ,, | |

*** Throughout this work the word "critic" is used in no invidious sense, but only as a convenient short term for those who accept the conclusions of what is commonly called the "Higher Criticism." Quotations from modern writers (chiefly of the critical school) are in thicker characters.

# PART I.

## The Evidence examined.

### (A) THE EVIDENCE OF THE NARRATIVES.

# I.

# THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

WHAT was the origin of the first five books of the Bible?

For about 2000 years they were almost unquestioningly accepted as forming a single work due (substantially) to the authorship of Moses.

Nowadays it is confidently asserted by very many students of the highest repute that this view is altogether mistaken; that, so far from being the work of a single author, they are in reality a compilation from a series of documents, the earliest of which was not committed to writing till long after Moses' death.

This comparatively modern but now widely accepted teaching is one of the leading and most important conclusions of what is commonly called the "Higher Criticism," i.e. the literary and historical criticism of the Old Testament. These conclusions are not now confined to a limited number of advanced students. They are freely set forth in the pulpit, the lecture room, and class room, and have been popularized in many publications, notably in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges." Besides the avowed adherents and advocates of the system, many of those who have no leisure or facilities for studying the matter for themselves are content to accept what are declared by high authority to be the "**assured results of criticism**" (HC. 40).

It is perhaps doubtful whether any two of the critics would agree absolutely in their definition of what these "**assured results**" are. But if there is one conclusion more than another on which all the critics are agreed, it is that the Pentateuch is "**composite.**"

Their view is that in the early ages of the Hebrew monarchy (say about 850 BC) a writer in the Southern kingdom (J) composed or compiled a narrative of the early history of his race;—that about a century later another writer (E) of the Northern kingdom composed a similar narrative;—that, later still, these two were combined into one by some unknown compiler ($R^{JE}$);—that, later still, in the reign of Josiah, another document, purporting to be an account of the last days and words of Moses, the work of yet another unknown writer (D), was discovered in the Temple, and

incorporated with the former work ;—that about the time of the Exile, another document (P) was drawn up, giving a different account of the early history of the race from a priestly point of view ;—and lastly that another compiler ($R^P$) combined, interwove, and edited these various works in such fashion as to form what afterwards became known as "The Law (or the Five Books) of "Moses," and "The Book of Joshua."

Even all this does not exhaust the list of contributors to this compilation. Gen: xiv is attributed to a "Special Source" ;—in Lev: xvii–xxvi, P is said to have embodied extracts from an older source (H), the "Law of Holiness" ;—and some sections in Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua are considered to be later additions to P. Moreover the disintegrating process has been carried further still; —J is said to be not **"homogeneous,"** and the existence of $J_1$, $J_2$ ; $D_1$, $D_2$ ; $P_1$, $P_2$, $P_3$ ; $R^D$ and $R^H$, has at least been conjectured.

So complicated a theory as this ought surely to be based on the clearest and most convincing evidence, especially as there is no shred of independent evidence for the existence of any one of these various authors, documents, and editors.

The critical view is in fact a theory upon a theory. There is first the theory that the Pentateuch, not merely may be but, *must* be analysed into several component parts ;—then the theory (an inference from the first, possibly legitimate enough, but still only an inference) that these various elements must be due to different authors ;—and lastly the theory that, from their contents, these various parts must be assigned to different and comparatively late ages.

Conceivably it might be held that the Pentateuch was compiled from four or more sources without necessarily impugning the Mosaic origin : Moses himself might have been the compiler. It is one thing to show that the Pentateuch can be resolved into separate documents : it is another thing to show that these documents must belong to the periods to which they have been assigned. But if the former contention fails, the latter fails with it. The crucial question therefore is

*Does the evidence bear out the critical contention that the Pentateuch is composite ?*

But this must be treated strictly as a question of evidence. If on the one hand the enquiry must not be prejudiced by theories of inspiration, or fears that possibly faith may be weakened, neither must it be influenced on the other hand by a desire to escape from difficulties of interpretation, or by a desire to find Evolution in Revelation as well as in Nature.

Only in all fairness the onus of proof should rest on the critics. Not only are they attacking long-established beliefs, but they contend that their view is the only one compatible with the facts.

Prof^r. Driver says (HC. 20), **"The historical books . . . are**

**" seen to present a multiplicity of phenomena which cannot " be accounted for, or reasonably explained, except upon the " supposition that they came into existence gradually ; that " they are compiled out of the writings of distinct and inde- " pendent authors, characterized by different styles, and " representing different points of view."**

And again (LOT. 8), **" As soon as the book** (Genesis) **is studied " with sufficient attention, phenomena disclose themselves " which show incontrovertibly that it is composed of distinct " documents or sources, which have been welded together " by a later compiler."**

Such positive assertions as these ought to be substantiated by indisputable evidence. It is not enough to show that the phenomena *may* be accounted for in this way. It is necessary to prove that they can be accounted for in no other way.

This, then, is the scope of the present enquiry. The critics assert that the evidence they adduce is so clear and so weighty that no candid and reasonable enquirer can fail to be satisfied that their conclusion is the only possible one. Is this assertion really justified ?

Those of the critical school are prone to suggest that their opponents are prejudiced, while they stand for impartial enquiry, and the honest recognition of facts.

To the facts, then, let us go.

## II.

## JEHOVIST AND ELOHIST.

NOWADAYS less stress is laid on the argument from the occurrence of different Divine appellations,—*JEHOVAH* and *Elohim*, LORD and God,—than was formerly the case :—" **the relative importance " of the test which Astruc discovered is less now than when " he first employed it** " (IP. 50). Yet it will be necessary to discuss the question, partly because it was admittedly that which first started the analysis of the Pentateuch, partly because it is still to some extent put forward as an argument for diversity of authorship : " **For such a variation** [*Elohim* and *JEHOVAH*] **in similar " and consecutive chapters no plausible explanation can be " assigned except diversity of authorship** " (LOT. 13).

It was Astruc, then, who in 1753 first suggested that the prevalence of *Elohim* in some parts, and of *JEHOVAH* in others indicated difference of authorship. On that slender foundation the whole portentous edifice of critical analysis has been gradually, and with many vicissitudes, built up.

For some way the distinction seems fairly marked, since the Elohist sections appear to be distinguished from the Jehovist in other respects. But from Gen: xv onwards another element has to be taken into account. Passages closely resembling the Jehovist sections in other respects are yet marked by the prevalence of *Elohim*.

What does this indicate ? Two answers are possible :—

(1) the difference in the Divine appellation may indicate difference of authorship ; or

(2) the resemblance in general style shows that these passages are due to the Jehovist.

Taken simply as evidence, it would be fair to argue that close resemblance of style is a stronger argument in favour of unity of authorship than is the change of appellation for diversity. But if these later Elohist sections are due to the Jehovist, the argument from the change of appellation is worthless. Therefore the critical school prefer the other alternative, and maintain that there must have been yet a third writer, agreeing with one in the use of *Elohim*

while differing markedly in style; and resembling the other in style, but differing in seldom using *Jehovah*. The critics admit the strong resemblance in style, but hold that there are some differences to be detected, and insist that here there must be two writers, J the Jehovist and E the Elohist, while the Elohist of the earlier passages is now usually designated P, the Priestly writer.

Further, after Exod: vi. 3 (the significance of which will be examined presently) the critics themselves give up the distinction between Elohist and Jehovist, e.g. in Lev: i–xvi, where the Name *Jehovah* constantly occurs, and yet the whole section is unhesitatingly ascribed to the Elohist writer P. So the distinction only applies to Genesis and five chapters of Exodus.

Now as regards the evidence,

(a) Even in Genesis *Elohim* is found in J passages (e.g. xxxii. 9), while E "**prefers God (though not exclusively).**" BG. xiii. Thus, according to the critics' own admission, the same writer can and does use both appellations, though usually he may prefer one of them.

(b) In two passages ascribed to P (Gen: xvii. 1; xxi. 1) the Name *Jehovah* actually occurs. This, the critics aver, must have been "**accidentally substituted for an original *God* in the two "passages"** because "**in the OT generally *Jehovah* is much "more common than God.**" BG. viii.

(c) The Name *Jehovah* occurs in another passage attributed to P,—Gen: v. 29. Here the critics resort to the expedient of separating this one verse from its context, and ascribing it to J. The converse is found at Gen: xxxv. 15 where a single verse containing *Elohim* is separated from a J context and given to P.

(d) The passage Gen: ii. $4^b$–iii, which is the very foundation of the analysis theory, though assigned to J has both terms combined,—*Jehovah Elohim*,—throughout, except iii. 3, 5, where *Elohim* stands alone. On this Prof. Driver comments, "**It is "usually supposed that in ii. $4^b$–iii. 24 the original author "wrote simply *Jehovah*; and that *God* was added by the "compiler, with the object of identifying expressly the Author "of life of ii. $4^b$–25 with the Creator of ch. i.**" BG. 37.*

Now this supposition may be very plausible, but it is at best only a guess unsupported by any evidence; and it is important to notice that this, and the previously noticed supposition of accidental substitution (also unsupported by any evidence), and the device of separating single verses from their context are in reality attempts to explain away bits of adverse evidence. They do not take the facts as they stand, but explain them in the interests of the theory. If the critical theory of a diversity of authors is correct, then these guesses may be the most probable way of accounting for the condition of the text. But if the guesses are wrong

* On the original reading here, see Additional Note at end of chapter, p. 15.

and the text has not been altered, then these passages are so many bits of evidence against the theory.

We may now turn to the evidence of Exod: vi. 2, 3, on which critics lay so much stress.

"And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am *Jehovah*, "and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as "God Almighty [*El Shaddai*], but by my name *Jehovah* I was not "known to them."

"**It is the theory of P,**" says Dr. Driver (BG. vii), "**expressed "distinctly in Ex. vi. 3, that the name 'Jehovah' was not in "use before the Mosaic age: accordingly until Ex. vi. 2, 3, "he consistently confines himself to *God*. J, on the other "hand, uses *Jehovah* regularly from the beginning, (Gen: "ii. 4b, 5, 7, etc:) . . . The statement in Ex. vi. 3 that God "appeared to the patriarchs as *El Shaddai* is in agreement "with the use of this title in xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. "3. The following words 'but by my name Jehovah I was "not known unto them' are additional proof,—if such be "needed,—that Gen. xv. 7, xxviii. 13, as also the numerous "passages in which the patriarchs make use of this name, "cannot have been written by the same author.**"

Assuming for the moment that the right meaning is here attached to the words "by my name *Jehovah* I was not known to them," what would this contention involve?

(1) That the compiler required by the critical theory so little understood the meaning of this verse (which seems so explicit to the critics) that he had no hesitation in interweaving with the narrative containing it, that other narrative according to which the Name *Jehovah* was known to the patriarchs. Either he must have been very dull, or else he must have attached a different meaning to the verse.

(2) That, according to P, Moses was to accredit himself and his mission to the Israelites by announcing to them a Name hitherto unknown. What possible value could this have? *

The critics in effect affirm that this verse, Exod: vi. 3, must mean that the Name *Jehovah* was altogether unknown to the patriarchs: therefore all passages which imply that it was known to them must be from another author. But it would be quite as legitimate to argue,—The history shows that the Name *Jehovah* was known to the patriarchs, and therefore this verse cannot mean that the Name was wholly unknown to them.

Can the verse bear any other meaning?

* Dr. McNeile admits (BEM. 21) that "**it is probable that the name "Yahweh was not new to Moses or the Israelites. An entirely new "name would have meant to them an entirely new God.**" Yet on p. 30 he can write, "**God here** [Exod: vi. 3] **says that up to this point "His name Yahweh has not been known**"!

Unquestionably there is in it a direct reference to Gen: xvii. 1, 2, . . . 7, 8.

"When Abram was ninety years old and nine, the LORD "[*JEHOVAH*] appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am God "Almighty [*El Shaddai*]; walk before me, and be thou perfect. "And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will "multiply thee exceedingly. . . . I will establish my covenant "between me and thee and thy seed after thee throughout their "generations for an everlasting covenant to be a God unto thee, "and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy "seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land of Canaan, "for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God."

It is very remarkable that this passage, as it stands, actually contains the Name *JEHOVAH*. The critics suggest that *Elohim* was originally written here, and *JEHOVAH* **"accidentally substi-"tuted,"** but for this there is no shadow of evidence, and it is obviously suggested in the interests of their theory.* Strange that an *accidental* substitution should occur just in the very passage where the occurrence of the Name *JEHOVAH* would be fatal to the critical theory, and only in one other place, while *Elohim* has been so often retained!

The title *El Shaddai* is found again in three other passages:—

Gen: xxxviii. 3, 4, (Isaac blessing Jacob), "*El Shaddai* bless thee, "and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be "a company of peoples; and give thee the blessing of Abraham, "to thee, and to thy seed after thee."

Gen: xxxv. 9–12, "God appeared unto Jacob again, when he "came from Paddan Aram, and blessed him . . . and God said "unto him, I am *El Shaddai*: be fruitful and multiply; . . . "and the land which I gave unto Abraham, and Isaac, to thee "will I give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land."

Gen: xlviii. 3, 4, "Jacob said unto Joseph, *El Shaddai* appeared "unto me at Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me, and said "unto me, Behold, I will make thee fruitful and multiply thee, "and I will make of thee a company of peoples; and will give "this land to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession."

It is evident that the four passages in Genesis are closely related to that in Exodus, and that in all four the title *El Shaddai* is intimately connected with the Covenant Blessing. Is it not, then, at least possible that this connection of the Name with the Covenant indicates the true purport of Exod: vi. 3? The meaning would

* In Gen: xvii. 1 (as it stands) *JEHOVAH* says to Abram, "I am *El Shaddai*": in Exod: vi. 3 *Elohim* says to Moses, "I am *JEHOVAH*." Since both passages are admittedly by the same writer (P) a comparison suggests the idea that in both there is an intentional change of appellation: *JEHOVAH* says, I am *El Shaddai*; *Elohim* says, I am *JEHOVAH*. If so, then the *JEHOVAH* in Gen: xvii. 1 is no *accidental substitution*.

then be, It was as *El Shaddai*, God Almighty, able to bless and multiply, and not as *Jehovah*, the Self Existent, that I made my Covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Now that the blessing of fruitfulness and multiplying has already been fulfilled, I make my Covenant with Israel as *Jehovah*, the unchanging I AM.

Further, in Exod: iii. 13, 14, God's revelation of Himself as "I AM THAT I AM" is made in reply to Moses' question, "When "I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, "The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say "unto me, What is his name? What shall I say unto them?"

Now this passage is assigned by the critics to E, who certainly did not suppose the Name *Jehovah* unknown to the patriarchs, for he himself occasionally uses it in connection with them (e.g. Gen: xv. 1, 2). Does not this imply that, although the Name was known and in use, a fuller meaning was now attached to it? If then in c: iii some acquaintance with the Name *Jehovah* is not incompatible with a more complete unveiling of its significance in answer to the query "What is His Name?" Why may not the statement "By "my name *Jehovah* I was not known to them" in vi. 3 mean simply "I was not *fully* known to them"? *

Even in English this limited sense of "know" is not unheard of, else would be falsified the prayer from the Cross, "Forgive them, "for they *know* not what they do."

But if this interpretation of Exod: vi. 3 be at all reasonably allowable, the critical argument is emptied of all force. For their contention requires that the verse can only mean that the Name was wholly unknown to the patriarchs. If this is not the necessary meaning, if the statement at all allows of the patriarchs having had some knowledge of the Name, then the occurrence of *Jehovah* in the patriarchal narratives does not prove that those narratives could not have been written by the author of Exod: vi. 3.

It has been rightly pointed out that, strictly speaking, *Elohim* is not a name, but the general term for "God," whereas *Jehovah* is a personal Name. So Dr. Waller (art: "*El*," Murray's Illustrated Bible Dictionary, p: 238) writes, **"The OT, as it stands, "has one word for God, *Elohim*, in the narrative from first to "last. In the narrative, this *Elohim* has one name *JHVH*. . . . "The OT narrative, as we have it is *JHVH*—Elohistic from "first to last."**

This argument, sound as it is, does not quite meet a further contention of the critics. They urge that the peculiar *alternation* of the terms *Elohim* and *Jehovah* in successive chapters, or groups of chapters, can only be accounted for by the theory of diversity of authorship:—**"Thus in** [Gen:] **xx. 1–17 the consistent use "of the term *God* is remarkable, whereas in ch. xviii–**

* The lxx. renders the word by ἐδήλωσα.

**"xix (except xix. 29, P), and in the similar narrative xii. "10–20, the term *Jehovah* is uniformly employed. The "term *God* recurs similarly in xxi. 6–31, xxii. 1–13, and "elsewhere, particularly in chs. xl–xlii, xlv. For such a "variation in similar and consecutive chapters no plausible "explanation can be assigned except diversity of authorship."** BG. xi.

The facts as to the distribution of the Divine appellations in Genesis are even more remarkable than the above statement discloses. Beginning with the call of Abraham.

cc: xii–xvi, xviii, xix (xvii will be discussed further on) are almost entirely Jehovistic : *Jehovah*, 46 times, *Elohim* only twice (in the last verse of xix) ; *El Elyon*, 4 times in xiv.

xx, xxi, mainly Elohistic :—J, 4 ; E, 16 ; *El Olam*, 1.

xxii, the terms occur equally, J, 5 ; E, 5.

xxiii, neither occurs.

xxiv, chiefly Jehovistic (*Elohim*, only occurring conjoined to *Jehovah*) :—J, 17 ; E. 7.

xxv–xxvii, largely Jehovistic :—J, 14 ; E. 4.

xxviii–xxxv, mainly Elohistic :—J, 14 ; E, 49 ; *El Shaddai*, 2.

xxxvi, xxxvii, neither term.

xxxviii, Jehovistic :—J, 3.

xxxix, Jehovistic : J, 8 ; E, 1.

xl. to end of book, Elohistic :—J only once (in Jacob's blessing) ; E, 35 ; *El Shaddai*, 2.

In this the greater part of the book, there are thus six groups of chapters :—

(1) xii–xix (omitting xvii), Jehovistic.
(2) xx, xxi, Elohistic. (xxii, equally divided : xxiii, neither).
(3) xxiv–xxvii, Jehovistic.
(4) xxviii–xxxv, Elohistic. (xxxvi–xxxvii, neither).
(5) xxxviii, xxxix, Jehovistic.
(6) xl–l. Elohistic.

The last group deserves further attention.

Why has Prof. Driver (see above) singled out cc: xl–xlii, xlv, only four chapters out of eleven in which *Elohim* is all but uniformly used ? Why does he not mention that in the omitted xliii, xliv, which are mainly attributed to J, *Elohim* occurs 4 times in J passages, and *Jehovah* not once ?

There is a significance (also not noticed by Prof. Driver) about this group of eleven chapters in that the whole of it is concerned with the history in Egypt. A similar significance attaches to the other two Elohistic groups. In xx, xxi Abraham is in Gerar ;— cc: xxviii–xxxv deal with Jacob's journey to, sojourn in, and return from Paddan Aram. In all three groups the patriarchs are brought in contact with lands other than the Promised Land.

Before going into details and noticing some seeming exceptions,

it will be well to consider the significance of the two appellations. "**It is true,**" says Prof Driver (BG. xi, note), "**that *Elohim* and "*Yahweh* represent the Divine Nature under different "aspects, viz; as the God of nature, and the God of revelation "respectively; but it is only in a comparatively small "number of instances that this distinction can be applied, "except with great artificiality, to explain the variations "between the two names in the Pentateuch.**"

The latter part of the statement may hold good with regard to "**this distinction,**" but it is not the only distinction which can be drawn between the meanings of the two terms.

*Elohim* is the general term for God, and therefore applicable to the God of all mankind: *Jehovah* is the Covenant Name, connoting the personal relation between God and His chosen People. Thus the former term is appropriate in narratives dealing with those outside the Covenant.

Returning to details, Prof. Driver calls attention to the use of *Elohim* in Gen: xx. 1–7 as contrasted with the use of *Jehovah* in the similar narrative, xxi. 10–20. Actually, in the latter passage, *Jehovah* is found once, and only once (v: 17). Moreover, this solitary mention of the Name occurs in a verse which is precisely parallel to a verse in the former passage in which also *Jehovah* is found:—

Gen: xii. 17: "The Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with "great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife."

xx. 18, "the Lord had fast closed up all the wombs of the house "of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife."

In both narratives the Name *Jehovah* is in connection with the plague inflicted on account of Sarah, a striking instance of God's special care of His servant, and this sufficiently accounts for the appearance of the Name *Jehovah* even in the narrative of Abram's stay in Egypt.

In Gen: xxvi. 1–33 we have another similar narrative, Isaac's stay in Gerar, and there *Jehovah* occurs 7 times, and *Elohim* only once (v: 24). Why should this be? Vv: 2, 3, run, "The Lord "appeared unto him and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell "in the land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; for unto "thee, and unto thy seed, I will give all these lands, and I will "establish the oath which I sware unto thy father." Gerar is now included in the Promised Land, and the Covenant Name is appropriate. Also it may be noted that in c: xx *Elohim* appears to Abimelech; in xxvi *Jehovah* appears to Isaac.

Some seeming exceptions to this use of the Divine appellations may now be considered.

(a) In the two narratives about Hagar, *Jehovah* is used in Gen: xvi; *Elohim* in xxi. 8–11.

In the former case, Hagar has run away, and is bidden to return to her mistress; she is therefore still a member of Abraham's

household. In the latter, she has been finally expelled, and thenceforward she and her son are outside the Covenant.

(b) In the story of Eliezer's mission (Gen: xxiv), though the scene lies in Aram, the Name *Jehovah* is chiefly used (*Elohim* only in conjunction with it) because here also is displayed God's peculiar care of His servant.

(c) *Elohim* is used for nearly the whole of the Egyptian history, but in c: xxxix, the history of Joseph in the Egyptian's household, *Jehovah* occurs 8 times. Yes, while Joseph is a slave, unjustly accused, and thrown into a dungeon, the Name of special providential care is used, and the one verse in the chapter containing *Elohim* (v: 9) is where Joseph is addressing his master's wife, an Egyptian.

The exclusive use of *Elohim* is continued on from Gen: xl–l into the first two chapters of Exodus. With the call of Moses in c: III, *Jehovah* begins to be used again, sparingly at first (7 times to *Elohim* 21) ; then in cc: iv–vi. 1 more frequently (25, J to 10, E) ; and at last in c: vi. 2–vii. 13 almost exclusively (J, 19 to E, 4).

(d) Gen: xvii is an Elohist chapter within the limits of the Jehovist section, xii–xix. It is the account of the giving of the Covenant of Circumcision to Abraham, and the account of the Covenant with Noah (c: ix) is similarly Elohistic. When a Covenant is in process of being given, the general appellation *God* is used, and not the Covenant Name.

(e) One more chapter needs notice. In the narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac (xxii. 1–19) *Elohim* occurs four times in vv: 1–10 ; —in vv: 11, 12, where Abraham's obedience is recognized, both words were found ;—and in vv: 13–19 *Jehovah* occurs four times. During the temptation, the general term for God ; after the triumphant emerging from trial, the Name of favour ; and both words used exactly equally. Can this be mere coincidence ?

There seems, then, to be traceable a definite meaning in the use of the Divine appellations throughout the chapters Gen: xii–Exod: vi.

Mr. Chapman (IP 68) comments on the frequent use of *Elohim* in Gen: i–Exod: vi (**" 120 times "**) as contrasted with its rare occurrence in the rest of the Hexateuch (**" about 30 times as " the name of the Deity "**) * :—**" the average in one part is " more than ten times higher than in the other."** Hence he argues that **" *Elohim* is used *designedly* as far as Exod. " vi,"** only he limits the design to **" this writer,"** viz: P.

That *Elohim* is used designedly is precisely what is being here argued, but the design is extended to all the sections, and not confined to the P sections alone. That *Elohim* is used sparingly after Exod: vi. 4 (" I have also established my covenant with them ")

* This must be understood as limited to the use **" as the name of the Deity,"** for, in conjunction with *Jehovah*, *Elohim* occurs much more frequently (some 40 times in Deut: i–iv alone).

is also in perfect agreement with the view that *Jehovah* is the special Covenant Name, and used particularly in connection with God's providential care of His people.

Now in these later chapters there are two markedly Elohistic passages.

In Exod: xviii, *Elohim* occurs 10 times; in Num: xxii–xxiv, 15 times. Mr. Chapman calculates that in this part of the Hexateuch (i.e. after Exod: vi), **"the average occurrence per chapter "is . . . less than ·2."** So in Num: xxii–xxiv the occurrence is 25 times, and in Exod: xviii 50 times this average. What is the reason for the unusual predominance of *Elohim* in these passages? It cannot be simply because these are extracts from the E document, for there are other extracts from it (e.g. Exod: xxiv. 3–9, 12–15) in which only *Jehovah* is found. The critical theory has no other explanation to offer. But the two passages in question are both concerned with persons outside the Covenant, viz: Jethro and Balaam. Also in each of them there is a short section markedly Jehovistic. In the 4 verses Exod: xviii. 8–11 *Jehovah* occurs 5 times, in Num: xxii. 22–35, *Jehovah* occurs twice, the "Angel of "*Jehovah*" 10 times, and *Elohim* only once at the very beginning. Now in Exod: xviii. 8–11 Moses informs Jethro of "all that the Lord had done," and Jethro owns that "the Lord is greater "than all gods." Excluding these verses, the rest of the chapter has *Elohim* alone. Is it not evident that here the Covenant Name is designedly used, because here Jethro is brought to see that the *Jehovah* who has done so much for Israel is indeed the God he worships? So too Num: xxii. 22–35 is the episode of Balaam and the ass, an instance of the Lord intervening on behalf of His people. In the rest of the narrative, *Jehovah* and *Elohim* are used about equally and in the messages to Balak *Elohim* predominates.

In both these passages an intentional use of *Elohim* in connection with those outside the Covenant, and of *Jehovah* in connection with God's care for His people, exactly accounts for the phenomena which the critical theory leaves unexplained.

Here again there seems to be traceable a definite meaning in the varying use of the Divine appellations which accounts for that usage more satisfactorily than the critical theory. This view does not require us to believe in two separate documents so much alike in style as the critical J and E, nor in the somewhat haphazard compilation of a capricious redactor. It accounts for the persistent use of *Elohim* in the thirteen chapters, Gen: xl–Exod: ii, and for the passages Exod: xviii, Num: xxii–xxiv better than the theory that these are made up of excerpts from different documents. It accounts for the use of *Elohim* in J sections, and of *Jehovah* in E sections, which the critical theory leaves unexplained.

But if a general principle can be traced governing the varying use of the Divine appellations, not only does this nullify an impor-

tant argument for diversity of authorship, but it affords something of positive evidence in favour of unity of design.

The examination of this part of the question may be thus summed up :—

(1) On the admission of the critics themselves, *Elohim* is found in J sections, and *Jehovah* in E sections, even before Exod: iii ;—

(2) Apart from conjectural emendations of the text, *Jehovah* is not wholly absent from the P sections in Genesis ;—

(3) Exod: vi. 3 does not necessarily imply that the Name *Jehovah* was wholly unknown to the patriarchs, and is therefore not inconsistent with the occurrence of that Name in patriarchal narratives.

(4) From Gen: xii to Exod: vi the terms *Elohim* and *Jehovah* seem to be used with a distinct purpose and meaning.

(5) After Exod: vi, the same purpose and meaning can be traced in two notable instances, and will account for the greatly preponderant use of *Jehovah*.

(6) Hence the variations in the Divine appellations do not afford proof of diversity of a uthorship, but rather point to unity of design.

### Additional Note.

Mr. Wiener has a long discussion of this question in his first Essay (EPC. 7–56). He argues that, from the evidence furnished by certain Hebrew MSS, the lxx, and other Versions, there is reason to think that the present Massoretic text has not preserved the original readings in regard to the Divine appellations in a large number of instances. This, if established, would render uncertain a great deal of the evidence on which the critics rely for their analysis. "**If,**" he says (EPC. 19), "**it is seldom certain whether the "original text of Genesis used God or Lord, it cannot be "argued that the occurrence of these words in the Masso-"retic text afford any presumption at all as to authorship.**"

In particular, Mr. Wiener considers that the evidence he has in view leads to a conclusion directly contrary to that of the critics in regard to the important passage Gen: ii. 4$^{b}$–iii. Here the critics hold that originally "Lord" alone was written, and "God" added at a subsequent date. Mr. Wiener maintains that there is evidence to show that originally "God" alone was written throughout the passage. "**While the witnesses are not unani-"mous, the preponderance of evidence certainly favours "Elohim as the original reading of Gen: ii, iii, and on the "whole iv. 26 is favourable to this conclusion.**" EPC. 40.

In the latter part of his Essay, Mr. Wiener devotes 10 pages (47–56) to the consideration of Exod: vi. 2, 3. He contends that there is evidence for a different reading, involving only the change of one Hebrew letter, according to which the last clause would run, "My Name *Jehovah* I made not known to them." He maintains

that this refers only to God's revelation of Himself to the patriarchs, and holds that in such revelations the sacred Name *Jehovah* did not occur. **"Thus it would seem that originally the Penta-"teuch presented a consistent text in which God announced "to Moses that He had revealed Himself to the Patriarchs, "but had not revealed Himself by His Name."** EPC. 46.

Mr. Wiener then argues that in thus uttering His Name, God was giving to Moses an additional assurance of protection and assistance. **"We thus conceive the utterance of the words 'I am the "'Lord' not as the introduction of a new and unfamiliar "name, nor as the revelation of a new meaning possessed "by a name already known, but as the inauguration of a "new and more intimate relationship."** (p: 54). **"Whereas "in Exod. iii Moses receives the same sort of revelation as "the patriarchs, in Exod. vi God enters into a connection "with the Hebrews that differs fundamentally from His "relation to their ancestors."** (p: 55).

The whole Essay is thoughtful, and deserves serious consideration, and as such its main outlines are here set before the reader. But inasmuch as it is chiefly based on grounds of textual criticism which the critics might not be willing to admit, it has been thought advisable in the foregoing examination to argue only on the evidence on which the critics themselves rely. Mr. Wiener's discussion of Exod: vi. 2, 3 at least shows that the critical interpretation of it is not the only one which may reasonably be held, and that is all that the present writer is concerned to maintain.

# III.

## DUPLICATE NARRATIVES.

THE phenomena which show that Genesis is "**composed of "distinct documents or sources which have been welded "together by a later compiler or redactor,**" says Prof. Driver (LOT. 8), "**are very numerous ; but they may be reduced "in the main to the two following heads : (1) the same "event is doubly recorded ; (2) the language, and frequently "the representation as well, varies in different sections.**"

In support of these assertions, the Professor adduces (BG. iii and LOT. 9) precisely 6 instances, presumably the clearest and best defined. Reserving for the present the consideration of the two most important, (the Creation, and the Deluge), we begin with the four lesser instances.

(a). "**In** [Gen:] **xvii. 16–19 and xviii. 9–15 the promise "of a son to Sarah is twice described,—the terms used "in xviii. 9–15 clearly showing that the writer did not pic- "ture any previous promise of the same kind as having "been given to Abraham,—with an accompanying double "explanation of the origin of the name *Isaac*.**" (BG. iii ; LOT. 9, where a footnote adds, "**There is a third explanation "from a third source in xxi. 6**").

In order to estimate these assertions the better, we place the two passages in parallel columns.

| Gen: xvii. 15–21 (P). | Gen: xviii. 9–15 (J). |
|---|---|
| (15) And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her name be. (16) And I will bless her, and moreover I will give thee a son of her : yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations ; kings of peoples shall be of her. (17) Then Abraham fell upon his face and laughed, and said in his heart, | (9) And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife ? And he said, Behold in the tent. (10) And he said, I will certainly return unto thee when the season cometh round ; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard in the tent door which was behind him. (11) Now Abraham and Sarah were old and well stricken in age ; it had ceased to be |

Shall a child be borne unto him that is an hundred years old? and shall Sarah that is ninety years old bear? (18) And Abraham said unto God, Oh that Ishmael might live before thee! (19) And God said, Nay, but Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant for his seed after him. (20) And as for Ishmael I have heard thee: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation. (21) But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.

with Sarah after the manner of women. (12) And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also? (13) And the LORD said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old? (14) Is anything too hard for the LORD? At the set time I will return unto thee, when the season cometh round, and Sarah shall have a son. (15) Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not: for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh.

In comparing these passages it must be borne in mind that to support the critical theory it is not enough to show that they *may* possibly be varying accounts of the same incident. It must be proved that they cannot be reasonably believed to be distinct: they must be **"the same event doubly recorded."**

Is this the case? Is it impossible, or even reasonably improbable, that both should have happened?

The points of resemblance are (1) the promise of a son; (2) the old age of Abraham and Sarah; (3) the laughter. In everything else the passages differ widely.

As for the assertion that the **"terms in xviii. 9-15 clearly show "that the writer did not picture any previous promise "of the same kind as having been given to Abraham,"** what possible ground is there for making it? It may perhaps be reasonably inferred that *Sarah* knew nothing of such a promise, but is it not probable that Abraham would have refrained from telling her of an assurance which he himself had found it hard to credit?

On the other hand, is it not exactly natural that the same thought of their old age should occur to each, and the same emotion of pleased surprise (or, if the critics will have it so, of incredulity) should be excited at hearing so startling an assurance? Both

had longed for an heir ; both had seen their hopes die out as they became aged. What more likely than that they should have experienced the same feeling, and expressed it in the same way, on hearing a promise so seemingly contrary to all possibility ?

As to the assertion that there is an **"accompanying double "explanation of the name Isaac,"** xviii. 9–15 does not even mention the name Isaac, much less connect it with the laughter of Sarah.

The sequel of these two passages is found in c: xxi. 1–7 :—

" (1) And the LORD visited Sarah as he had said, (J) ; and the " LORD did unto Sarah as he had spoken (P). (2) And Sarah " conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, (J), at the " set time of which God had spoken to him (P). (3) And Abraham " called the name of the son that was born unto him, Isaac. (4) " And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days " old, as God had commanded him. (5) And Abraham was an " hundred years old, when his son Isaac was born unto him. (P). " (6) And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh ; every one that " heareth will laugh with me. (7) And she said, Who would have " said unto Abraham, that Sarah should give children suck ? for I " have born him a son in his old age." (E).

The analysis of vv: 1, 2 is noteworthy. They contain a double statement of the fulfilment of the promise of a son, which the critics divided up between J and P, even although this involves an assumption that *JEHOVAH* has been substituted for *Elohim* in v: 1[b]. Now which is the more probable ;

(1) That a compiler, having before him two narratives of the same event in different words, should extract *both* of them, and tack them together ;

or (2) that a writer should *repeat* his statement in slightly different form, for the sake of emphasis ?

It is difficult to conceive any motive for the former course, while the latter, especially considering the importance evidently attached to the birth of Isaac as the fulfilment of a Divine promise, is at least not improbable.

Taking into account that the name " Sarah," both in xviii. 9–15 and in xxi. 1–7, refers back to the change of name in xvii. 5 ;—that the notable word *Mo'ed* (set time) occurs in all three passages ;—and that xxi. 1–3 combines the promise to Abraham of c: xvii with the promise to Sarah of c: xviii, is there not fair reason for thinking all three passages the work of one hand ?

Otherwise, consider what, on the critical hypothesis, the compiler is supposed to have done. Having before him two distinct narratives of a promise and its fulfilment, he has *separated* the narratives of the promise and made them look like different incidents, but has *combined* the narratives of the fulfilment in a curiously intricate fashion. Whereas, if there really were two promises, one to

Abraham and another to Sarah, the account of the fulfilment with allusions to both promises would be natural enough.

xxi. 6 is the verse which, it is alleged, gives yet a third explanation of the name Isaac.

The critical theory seems to be that according to P the name was given by God on account of Abraham's laughter ;—that J attributed it to Sarah's laughter a year before the birth ;—that E attributed it to Sarah's anticipation of **" good-natured surprise "** (BG. 210) on the part of others after the child was born.

But it is only in xvii. 19 that the name Isaac is at all connected with the laughter of any one. In xviii. 12–15 Sarah's laughter is recorded, but the name Isaac is not mentioned ; nor is it mentioned in xxi. 6, though no doubt there is an allusion to it.

Suppose, then, we assume that the promise of a son was actually twice made, first to Abraham alone, and afterwards to Sarah in quite different circumstances :—suppose we assume that the effect in each case, owing to the similar emotion excited, was to cause laughter on the part of the recipient :—suppose we assume that on the first occasion God did command Abraham, on account of his laughter, to name his son Isaac, but give no such command in connection with Sarah's laughter ;—suppose that we assume that, when the son was born, and in obedience to the command named Isaac, Sarah found in the name an appropriate allusion to her own joy and delight (**" God hath prepared laughter for me,"** BG. 210):—would there be anything impossible or even improbable in these assumptions ? Yet these would account exactly for the narrative as it stands without requiring us to believe that xviii. 12 and xxi. 6 are **" explanations "** of what they do not profess to explain, or that a compiler could be so dense as to insert three conflicting **" explanations "** one after the other.

(b). **" The section xxvii. 46–xxviii. 9 differs appreciably " in style from xxvii. 1–45, and at the same time represents " Rebekah as influenced by a different motive from that " mentioned in xxvii. 42–45 in suggesting Jacob's departure " from Canaan."** BG. iii, LOT. 9.

Here we have an alleged difference of representation, not a duplicate record of the same event.

In xxvii. 42–45 Rebekah urges *Jacob* to escape because Esau is intending to kill him ; in xxvii. 46 she urges *Isaac* to send Jacob away lest he should marry one of the daughters of Heth. She is represented as giving to different people different reasons for wishing Jacob's departure, but this is not at all the same thing as ascribing to her different motives. Do people who wish a thing done never suppress their real motive, and instead urge a reason which they think more likely to prevail with the person addressed ? Would not Rebekah be reluctant to make Esau's vindictiveness

known to Isaac, since it involved Esau's looking forward to his father's death? If Rebekah dreaded that Esau would revenge himself on his brother, she would naturally urge this on Jacob, but she would just as naturally wish to conceal it from her husband, urging instead a reason,—true in itself, though not her chief motive, —which she knew would have weight with Isaac.

What inconsistency is there in this? Is it not rather profoundly true to human nature?

(c). **"Further, in c: xxviii. 19 and xxv, 15 we find two "explanations of the name *Bethel;* in xxxii. 28 and xxxv. "10 two of *Israel.*"** BG. iv, LOT. 9.

Though only difference of **"explanation"** is here alleged, the charge of double record is really involved. For in xxviii. 19 we have the giving of the name Bethel when Jacob was on his way to Paddan Aram; in xxxii. 28 the giving of the name Israel at the Jabbok; in xxxv. 10 the giving of the name Israel at the place which Jacob called Bethel (xxxv. 15) after his return from Paddan.

The critical theory is that the Divine appearance and consequent naming of Bethel only occurred once, xxviii. 19 (J) and xxxv. 15 (P) being discordant versions of this, one placing it on the journey towards Paddan, and the other placing it after the return;—that the name Israel was only conferred once, xxxii. 28 (J) and xxxv. 10 (P) being discordant versions of this, one placing it at the Jabbok, and the other at Bethel later on (BG. 310, notes on vv: 10, 15). Thus this would be a double instance of **"the same event . . . "doubly recorded."**

Before dealing with this, there is something to be said about different **"explanations."**

xxviii. 22 (E) says, "this stone which I have set up for a pillar, "shall be God's house," on which Prof. Driver comments (BG. 267), **"Jacob promises (1) that the *stone* (not the *place*) shall be "the 'house,' or abode, of God,—clearly a second explanation "of the name 'Bethel,' different from the one in v. 17."** But v: 17 is also marked E. Therefore, according to Prof. Driver himself, one and the same writer gives different explanations of the same name, and that almost in the same breath. How then can difference of explanation prove difference of authorship?

Then, as to the alleged duplicate records, c: xxxv. 9–15 (in which both the duplicates are said to occur) is preceded by a section (vv: 1–8) which the critics assign to E. In this is recorded a command of God to Jacob bidding him go to Bethel, "and make there an altar unto God, who appeared unto thee when thou "fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother"; and vv: 6, 7 record Jacob's arrival at Bethel, his building an altar, and calling the place "*El-beth-el*: because there God was revealed unto him, "when he fled from the face of his brother." Then v: 9 (P) states,

"God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came from Paddan "Aram, and blessed him."

To what does the word "again" refer? Not to any previous appearance recorded by P, for there is none. It can only refer to the appearance alluded to in vv: 1 and 7, the appearance when he was fleeing from his brother, i.e. the appearance of c: xxviii. On the face of it, then, vv: 9–15 refer to a *second* appearance at Bethel, and cannot therefore be a discordant version of the first. The blessing then would be the solemn repetition and ratification of the promise of xxviii. 13, 14.

Would it be very wonderful if with this should be combined a re-affirmation of the name of favour, Israel, already conferred at the Jabbok? Would it be very wonderful if, on receiving the re-assurance of God's blessing, Jacob should repeat his former action in erecting a "pillar" (xxviii. 18, 22; xxxv. 14),—perhaps re-erecting the same stone, which could only have been put up very hastily on the former occasion,—and solemnly dedicating it, with a renewal of the name Beth-el?

Read in this way the whole passage xxxv. 1–15 becomes a consistent narrative of a renewal and repetition of the Divine blessing and of Jacob's vow of service. Can it be seriously contended, considering that the original blessing and vow are represented as having occurred when Jacob was a fugitive, that such a repetition and renewal, on his return in safety with wealth and abundant experience of Divine favour and protection, would be impossible or improbable?

It follows, then, that the appearance of "double record" is solely due to the analysis which separates vv: 1–8 from vv: 9–15, and thus conceals the fact that the latter section professes to be an account of a second appearance. So we have the analysis creating an appearance of "double record," and then this appearance of "double record" put forward as one of the proofs that the narrative is **"composed of distinct documents or sources"!** The critical argument amounts to this;—The narrative is composite, therefore xxxv. 9–15 is a second and divergent record, of xxviii. 19 and xxxii. 28;—this second record is a proof that the narrative is composite. Is not this arguing in a circle?

(d). **"In xxxii. 3 and xxxiii. 16 Esau is described as "already resident in Edom, whereas in xxxvi. 6f. his migra- "tion thither is attributed to causes which could not have "come into operation until after Jacob's return to Canaan."** BG. iv, LOT. 9.

Gen: xxxii. 3, "And Jacob sent messengers before him to "Esau his brother unto the land of Seir, the field of "Edom."

xxxiii. 16, "So Esau returned that day to Seir."

Neither of these passages asserts that Esau was *resident* in Seir. The most we are justified in asserting is that Esau was in Seir; that Jacob knew of this; and that Esau returned thither after the interview. From xxxiii. 1 we also learn that Esau had 400 men with him. That Esau was actually residing in Seir is only an inference from these facts, and not the only possible inference, since an armed reconnaissance or temporary encampment of men only, would equally account for them.

Gen: xxxvi. 6–8, "And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and "his daughters, and all the souls of his house, and his cattle, and "all his beasts, and all his possessions, which he had gathered in "the land of Canaan; and went into a land away from his brother "Jacob. For their substance was too great for them to dwell "together; and the land of their sojournings could not bear them "because of their cattle. And Esau dwelt in mount Seir."

As the narrative stands, this was after the death and burial of Isaac when both Esau and Jacob were present (xxxv. 29). It is therefore possible that Esau and his men had been on an expedition to Seir, from which he returned to Mamre in time to see his father before he died. Thereafter, finding there was not room for both him and his brother, he gathered together all his possessions, and finally migrated to the district he had already explored. This would account for the pointed mention in xxxvi. 8, "And Esau *dwelt* in Mount Seir," which had not previously been stated.

At any rate, considering how fragmentary the notices are, it is hardly possible to assert that there is absolute discrepancy. Even if there were, this would not necessarily prove difference of authorship. The names of Esau's wives given in Gen: xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9 differ widely from those given in xxxvi. 1–8, yet both lists are ascribed to P.

The truth is that inconsistencies, or seeming inconsistencies, are in reality more compatible with the theory of a single writer than with that of a compiler from different documents. An author, writing in some haste and perhaps without revising his work, or possibly because he is so familiar with the true explanation, will allow what look like discrepancies to stand where a compiler with documents before him would note the differences, and attempt to reconcile them.

None of these four out of the six selected instances of duplicate record or difference of representation can be said to be anything like conclusive, and those marked (b) and (d) are so singularly weak to as suggest a very weak case.

We go on to consider two instances of "duplicates" not included among the six of Dr. Driver.

(A). Mr. Chapman (IP. 61) compares the genealogies in Gen: iv, v, and from their consideration concludes,

**" (d) the resemblances are sufficient to suggest a common origin,**

**" (e) the variations are so marked that they cannot be " assigned to the same writer,**

**" (f) the difference of style points to the same conclusion " as (e)."**

And hence he draws the inference

***" these two genealogies are not from the same narrator."***

Both genealogies end with the name " Lamech," and it is tacitly assumed that this must be the same individual, and that because of this, and of similarities in the other names, the two lists are only variants of a common origin.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (i) | c: iv. 25, 26 | *Seth ; Enosh ;* | J. |
| | 17, 18 | *Cain ; Enoch ; Irad ; Methushael ; Lamech.* | |
| (ii) | c: v. | *Seth ; Enosh ; Kenan ; Mahalalel ; Jered ; Enoch ; Methuselah ; Lamech.* | P. |

In the text the last six names are represented as genealogies of different lines, but this is ignored, and it is taken for granted by the critics that they must be variant representations of the same line.*

The strength of the critical contention, of course, lies in the similarity of certain of the names. *Kenan* (in the original) is the same as *Cain* with the final letter doubled : *Enoch* and *Lamech* appear in both lists. The other three pairs of names are not so much alike as they might appear from the English. *Irad* begins with a strong guttural which is absent from *Jered* ;—*Mehujael,* besides the difference of termination, has a guttural differing from the *h* in *Mahalalel* ;—*Methuselah* ends in a guttural which is not found in *Methushael.*

Then, it is to be noticed that in the J document, *Seth* and *Enosh* do not come before *Cain* and his descendants, but at some little distance after, and are represented as commencing a different line. Thus the list in iv. 17, 18 is represented as showing six generations from Adam, where c: v shows eight.

The differences of order, too, should be taken into account :—

| | |
|---|---|
| In (i) *Seth* is the younger brother of *Cain* ; | in (ii) the grandfather of *Kenan*· |
| ,, *Enoch* is the son of *Cain* ; | ,, the great-grandson of *Kenan*. |
| ,, *Mehujael* is the son of *Irad* ; | ,, *Mahalalel* is the father of *Jered.* |
| ,, *Lamech* is the father of *Jabal, Jubal,* and *Tubal Cain ;* | ,, the father of *Noah* (no other son mentioned). |

* Dr. Driver does not go further than stating that it is **" possible to hold " with Zimmern, that they are at bottom divergent versions of the " same original tradition."** BG. 81.

If the two lists are really variants of one original, the variations are not easily accounted for. Whereas, allowing for the possibility that in primitive times there may have been a tendency to reproduce the same or similar names in different branches of the family, the differences are sufficiently great to make it not unreasonable to believe that the two lists are (as they profess to be) genealogies of different branches.

Mr. Chapman further urges the difference of style as a proof that these lists are "**not from the same narrator.**"

In c: v, "**Three verses are assigned to each member of "the genealogical tree; the first states his age at his "first-born's birth, the second the remainder of his life "with the phrase 'and begat sons and daughters,' and the "third the total length of life concluding with 'and he died.'**" IP. 57.

"**The precision of ch. v (already described on p. 57) is lack-"ing in c. iv; instead of the *repetition of the same phrases* for "each generation there are found three varieties in iv. 17, 18; "'she [Cain's wife] bare Enoch'—'unto Enoch was born "'Irad'—'and Irad begat Mehujael.'**" IP. 61.

If c: v is what it professes to be, it is part of the genealogy of the Chosen line in which peculiar care and precision might be expected, but would be unnecessary in the line of Cain's descendants. As, moreover, "**it is not denied that the patriarchs possessed the "art of writing**" (GB. xliii), it is even possible that records of the family descent may have been committed to writing long before the Mosaic age, and that the peculiar "**precision**" of c: v is due to its being an excerpt from such a record.

Mr. Chapman also deals (IP. 62) with "***The genealogies in "chs. x, xi.*** **The descendants of Japheth and Ham are given "in ch. x. 2–20; those of Shem in x. 21–31. Another genealogy "from Shem to Abraham is given in xi. 10–26. The same "differences that were noticed in chs. iv, v (p. 61) present "themselves here, but in a more complicated form, as "ch. x shows affinity of style both with ch. iv and with "ch. v.**"

This does not state the evidence quite fully and accurately. Of the list of descendants of Japheth and Ham in x. 1–20, parts (1–7, 20) are, like c: v, assigned to P. Yet these parts do not display the "**precision**" of c: v any more than the part assigned to J (8–19). The list of descendants of Shem in x. 21–32 (vv: 22, 23, 31, 32 assigned to P) is mainly concerned with those families which were not in the direct Abrahamic line. This also does not show the "**precision**" of c: v as described on p: 57 of Mr. Chapman's work (see above). In xi. 10–26, the direct line from Shem to Abraham is given, and ere the "**precision**" of c: v (in a slightly modified form) at once reappears.

The evidence of the genealogies, then, is really this ;—In cc: v, xi. 10–26, the direct descent of Abram from Adam is given, and in this remarkable precision is shown ; in cc: iv. 17–22 and x, the families of Cain, Japheth, Ham, and those descendants of Shem who were not in the direct line are given, and in those parts (whether assigned to J or to P) the same precision is not shown. This at least suggests a reason for the differences in the form of the genealogies which would not imply a difference of narrator.*

(B). As evidence that JE is composite, Mr. Chapman instances (IP. 99, 100) the narratives in Gen: xx. 1–17, xxi. 22–32 (Abraham and Sarah in Gerar), and in Gen: xxvi (Isaac and Rebekah in Gerar). In these, he notes five points of similarity :—

**" Both Abraham and Isaac (1) dwell in Gerar : where they " meet (2) Abimelech King of Gerar (xx. 2), or of the Philis- " tines (xxvi. 1), who dwells there. (3). They both represent " the wife as a sister ; and Abimelech in both cases reproves " them when the truth becomes known to him ; (4) they " both make a covenant with Abimelech and Phichol the " captain of his host, (5) at a place which on each occasion " is said to have been named in consequence Beersheba."** IP. 99.

Both Mr. Chapman (p: 99, note) and Dr. Driver (BG. 254) quote a comment of Prof. Sayce, (EHH. 64) :—

**" What does not seem very possible is that each of these " kings should have had a ' chief captain of his host ' called " by the strange non-Semitic name of Phichol (Gen: xxi. " 22 ; xxvi. 26) ; that each of them should have taken the " wife of the patriarch, believing her to be his sister ; or that " Beersheba should have twice received the same name " from the oaths sworn over it."**

Mr Chapman considers it **" highly probable that the two " narratives are variants of the same tradition "** (IP. 99) ; that they **" are not from the same writer "** ; and, as neither of them shows any affinity with P, ***" Two sources besides P can " be traced in Genesis "*** (IP. 100). Dr. Driver pronounces that the narrative in c: xv. 26–33 **" can hardly be anything but " a duplicate version of xxi. 22–34."** BG. 254.

Taking Prof. Sayce's three difficulties first ;—(a) if Abimelech may have been a hereditary title like Pharaoh or Cæsar, may not the **" non-Semitic "** Phichol have also been a title, like " Tartan " ? (b) the Professor has fallen into a slight mistake ; in c: xxvi Abimelech does not take Rebekah :—(c) in c: xxi. 31 Abraham calls " that place " (so far unnamed) Beersheba ; in c: xxvi Isaac goes

* For the difference in the Hebrew verbs mentioned IP. 61, note, see Appendix B (p: 514).

" to Beersheba " (v: 23), as though it were already known by that name, calls the *well Shibah* (v: 33), and thenceforward " the name of " the city is Beersheba " (v: 33).

Rightly to estimate these two narratives, differences as well as similarities should be taken into account.

Gen: xxi, xxii. Abraham migrates to the Negeb, and (apparently later on) " sojourned in Gerar," no cause being assigned for his migration. He calls Sarah his sister, and Abimelech sends and takes her, but, being warned in a dream, he calls for and reproves Abraham, who excuses himself on the ground that Sarah is actually his half-sister. Abimelech gives cattle and servants to Abraham, restores Sarah with 1000 pieces of silver as compensation, and invites Abraham to dwell in any part of the land he pleases. Abraham intercedes, and the plague of non-bearing is removed from Abimelech's household.

There follows a considerable interval, during which Isaac is born and weaned, and Hagar and Ishmael expelled (xxi. 1–21). Then (v: 22) Abimelech and Phichol come to Abraham to propose a sworn alliance. Abraham complains about a well which has been taken from him by violence. On Abimelech disowning knowledge of this, Abraham gives sheep and oxen to Abimelech, and they make a covenant. As a witness that the well is his, Abraham sets apart for Abimelech seven lambs, and calls the place Beersheba, with reference to the oath (and possibly also to the number seven). Abraham remains " in the land of the Philistines " many days " (xxi. 34).

Gen: xxvi. Isaac migrates on account of famine. Warned not to go into Egypt, he goes to Abimelech in Gerar (a rich corn country, see v: 12). Questioned by " the men of the place," he calls Rebekah his sister. " When he had been there a long time " (v. 8), Abimelech sees the two " sporting together." Realizing that they are man and wife, he reproves Isaac with the possibility that " one of the people " might have taken the supposed sister, and charges his own people to touch neither of them. Isaac sows, reaps, and becomes very great and wealthy, so that the Philistines envy him. Abimelech sends him away. He goes to " the valley of Gerar," and reopens wells dug in Abraham's time, which the Philistines had stopped. Two of these being claimed by the herdsmen of Gerar, he removes, and a third well is dug which is not disputed. After that he goes up " to Beersheba," where he has a vision of the LORD and builds an altar. Abimelech, Ahuzzath and Phichol come and propose a sworn alliance. They feast with him, exchange oaths, and depart in peace. That day his servants inform him that water has been found in the well which they had been digging. He calls the well " *Shibah,*"—the oath,—and " therefore the name of the city is called Beersheba unto this day " (xxvi. 33).

It will be seen that the accounts differ in a great many details. The more salient are

| Gen: xx, xxi. | Gen: xxvi. |
|---|---|
| Abraham goes to Gerar | Isaac goes to Gerar |
| in the course of his wanderings. | on account of famine. |
| Abimelech takes Sarah, | No one takes Rebekah. |
| and is warned in a dream. | Abimelech sees the pair sporting. |
| The household is plagued. | There is no plague. |
| Abimelech gives Abraham rich presents, | Isaac receives nothing, |
| and invites him to remain. | and is eventually sent away. |
| Abraham complains | Isaac makes no complaint |
| at being deprived of a well. | though deprived of two wells. |
| Abraham calls the place Beer-sheba. | Isaac calls the well Shibah. |

If these are indeed "**variants of the same tradition,**" it can only be said that the variations are remarkable.

The consideration that in both the wife is passed off as a sister is further complicated by there being yet another incident of the kind narrated as part of Abraham's earlier history (Gen: xii. 10–20). In this the scene is in Egypt; Abram goes there on account of famine; Pharaoh takes Sarai into his house, and gives Abram large presents (as dowry, not as compensation, BG. 208); a plague (not specified) occurs; Pharaoh reproves Abraham, and sends him away.

In several points this corresponds to the account in c: xx. In one point,—the famine,—it agrees with xxvi against xx. In one point,—the country,—it differs from both. In one point,—calling the wife a sister,—all three agree. In one point, all three differ;—(1) Pharaoh sends Abram away at once, (2) Abimelech invites Abraham to remain, (3) Isaac remains for a time, and is then sent away for a different reason.

"**It is difficult,**" says Dr. Driver (BG. 205), "**to avoid suspecting that the three narratives are variations of the same fundamental theme, a story told popularly of the patriarchs and attributed sometimes (as reported by J and E respectively) to different occasions in the life of Abraham, and once also to an occasion in the life of Isaac.**"

Why has Mr. Chapman not taken this third narrative into account on his argument? It may be conjectured that he preferred to limit himself to the two later narratives because by so doing he could make out a stronger case of similarity. Not only are the names of the country and king the same, but there is the subsequent and separate episode of Beersheba to furnish other points of resemblance: "**Gen: xxi. must not be omitted in estimating the evidence that JE is composite.**" IP 109.

Again, the existence of a third variant of the wife-sister theme in the JE document should, on critical lines, tend to show that in Genesis there are *three* sources besides P. Yet the critics are content to assign both xii. 10–20, and xxvi to J. If one writer could include two variants of the same tradition in his history, why not a third? How can the presence of duplicate narratives prove difference of authorship?

However taking the critical theory as it stands, what would it involve?

There was originally,—so the account would have to run,—a story current about one of the patriarchs having called his wife a sister. In one form $\alpha$ (Gen: xii), it was simply and shortly told of Abram and Pharaoh in Egypt. In another longer and more elaborate form $\beta$, (Gen: xxvi), it was told of Isaac and Abimelech in Gerar. This differed from $\alpha$ in some leading particulars (wife not taken by the king, no presents given, no plague), and also added a separate incident as to a covenant sworn which gave the name to Beersheba. These two accounts, being sufficiently unlike to look like separate incidents, get both incorporated into the J document.

A third form $\gamma$ (Gen: xx, xxi) finds its way into the E document. This agrees with $\alpha$ in attributing the incident to Abraham's history, in representing the wife as actually taken by the king, the consequent infliction of a plague, and the giving of large presents (though from a different motive). It agrees with $\beta$ in placing the scene in Gerar, and in adding (but at a considerable interval, and with several variations) the Beersheba incident. It further adds a picturesque touch of its own in the warning dream which is absent from both the others.

Finally, a redactor, combining the two documents, overlooks all similarity, and includes the three narratives in his composite history, as though they referred to distinct incidents.

There is some improbability that the $\alpha$ story should have developed into the strikingly dissimilar story $\beta$: that it should also have developed independently into the $\gamma$ story,—which retains the $\alpha$ features discarded by $\beta$, discards the famine retained by both $\alpha$ and $\beta$, and yet adds the Beersheba incident which is in $\beta$ but not in $\alpha$,—is surely a complication of improbabilities. If only $\beta$ and $\alpha$ are compared, there may be some ground for supposing that they are variations of the same theme, though there would be some very striking differences to be accounted for. But it is hardly possible to imagine how one story could develop into the three forms $\alpha$, $\beta$, $\gamma$, with their curious tangle of agreement and disagreement. The $\gamma$ version of the wife-sister incident has enough points of resemblance to the $\alpha$ story to make it seem possible that both might be derived from a common original. The $\beta$ version differs so far from both, that, if it is a variant of the same original, the development must have proceeded on altogether independent

lines. How then came both $\beta$ and $\gamma$ to take on independently the Beersheba incident which has no necessary connection with the other? The theory of a "**composite**" history is not without serious difficulties of its own.

The theory of a single history involves the difficulty of believing that there could have been a succession of incidents so much alike. But this difficulty will be considerably lessened if there is reason to think that there were similar causes at work to produce similar results.

As to the one feature which is common to all three narratives, the calling the wife a sister, there is a piece of evidence which has not yet been considered. In Gen: xxi. 13 Abraham is represented as saying to Abimelech, "It came to pass, when God caused me to "wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy "kindness which thou shalt shew unto me; at every place whither "we shall come, say of me, He is my brother." The artifice of passing off the wife as a sister, then, is not represented as an isolated expedient, but as a settled deliberate policy. This makes it considerably less improbable that Abraham should have adopted the ruse both in Egypt and in Gerar. It is further not unlikely that Isaac would have known of this policy, and therefore deliberately imitated his father's conduct.

There were reasons, too, for Isaac choosing to go to Gerar. (1) it was near; (2) it was fertile, promising food even in a time of famine; (3) his father had long resided there; (4) it was probably his own birthplace. It is not unnatural that Gerar should recur in the history.

The two proposals to make a covenant are represented as inspired by the same motive, the recognition that the patriarch is Divinely favoured:—"God is with thee in all thou doest" (xx. 22);—"We saw plainly that the LORD was with thee" (xxvi. 28). The unusual prosperity, wealth, and power of Abraham and Isaac would be sufficient reason for successive rulers desiring their alliance.

The double naming of Beersheba is attributed to causes sufficiently similar, and yet sufficiently distinguished. Abraham, having successfully maintained his claim to the disputed well, thereupon concludes the covenant with a solemn oath, and therefore names the place "The Well of the Oath." In Isaac's case, there is no such dispute, but the coincidence that the quest for water is successful on the very day that he has taken the oath prompts him to call the well itself "the Oath," as he had already given significant names to other wells. This renewed association between a well and an oath leads to the perpetuation of the name Beersheba.

There is fair reason for thinking that the coincidences are not so very unnatural after all.

The character of the narratives, also, is in keeping with their being genuine history.

There is the distinction between the different rulers, and the way they behave. The Pharaoh is a powerful monarch. It is the "princes" who report to him the beauty of Sarai. To him the importance of Abram would seem small. He proposes no alliance, and orders Abram away "**with some peremptoriness**" (BG. 151). Abimelech, on the other hand, could only have been a petty kinglet or chieftain of a district. There are no grandees here. He remonstrates with Abraham much more in the tone of an equal:—"Wherein have I sinned against thee that thou hast "brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin?" (Gen. xx. 9). He invites Abraham to remain, and in the end proposes a formal alliance.

Again, Abraham pleads that Sarah is really in a sense his sister: Isaac makes no such excuse, which would not have been true in his case. There is a delicate discrimination of character, too, in that Abraham complains about the usurpation of his rights, while Isaac puts up with injustice uncomplainingly. There seems also to be an advance of knowledge in the second Abimelech recognizing "the LORD" where the former speaks only of "God."

The delicate irony of Abimelech's reproof to Sarah,—"Behold, "I have given *thy brother* a thousand pieces of silver" (xx. 16);—the quite incidental allusion (xxvi. 12) to Isaac's reaping an hundredfold, quite borne out by modern experience in that very region;—the equally incidental mention of the vision of the LORD (xxvi. 24) not in the least called for or suggested by the rest of the narrative, all point in the same direction.

These subtle touches,—so natural and so consistent, yet so unobtrusive,—are evidences in favour of genuine narration rather than of amplified traditions. If these are not natural reminiscences of a true history, they would argue the use of most consummate art to convey the impression of verisimilitude.

# IV.

## THE ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

PROF. DRIVER (BG. 35, 36) specifies three **" more salient points " of difference "** between the account in Gen: i–ii. $4^a$, and that in ii. $4^b$–25; and these are in respect of (A) style and form; (B) representation; and (C) conception of God.

(A) *Style and form.*

**" The style of c. i is stereotyped, measured, and precise. " . . . Ch. i displays, moreover, clear marks of study and " deliberate systematization."** BG. 35.

**" Deliberate systematization "** implies that the " system " was not inherent in the subject, but was imported by the writer. It suggests the idea that the writer had to deal with a " chaos " of material, and deliberately arranged it into a formal system. It is therefore something of a question-begging phrase. If Creation did proceed by six orderly stages, the " system " was inherent in the facts, and not an artificial device of the writer.

Also, the judge of style who can only see what is **" sterotyped, " measured, and precise "** in the stately, impressive, almost epic force of the narrative in Gen: i must surely be a little deficient in literary perception. It is not indeed **" diversified and pic- " turesque "** as the style of c: ii is called (p: 35) but what then? Would the critic expect that a serious writer dealing with so tremendous a subject would treat it in journalistic style, or with the rounded periods of a Macaulay? Is not the sober restraint, the terse and weighty diction of this chapter in reality an evidence of sincerity and truth? Contrast with it the diffuse picturesqueness of mythological cosmogonies, particularly that of the Babylonian legend from which the critics maintain that the account in Genesis was ultimately derived.

The writer proceeds, **" that** [the style] **of ch. ii. $4^b$ ff, is diversi- " fied and picturesque; there are no recurring formulæ, such " as are so marked in ch. i; the expressions characteristic " of ch. i are absent here (e.g. to *create*); and where common " ground is touched (as in the account of the formation of " man) the narrative is told very differently, and without " even any allusion to the representation of ch. i (e.g. to the**

**" 'image of God') . . . ii. 4[b] ff. is fresh, spontaneous, and, " at least in a relative sense, primitive: we breathe in it the " clear and free mountain air of ancient Israel."** p: 35

The last clause is somewhat rhetorical. The atmosphere of c: ii is not particularly suggestive of mountains, but if it must be **" mountain air,"** why not that of Sinai?

To deal with the more precise allegations:—

(i). *Absence of* ***" recurring formulæ."***

This assumes that the **" formulæ "** are entirely due to the writer's style. If c: i deals with successive stages of a lengthy process, in which there was repeated action, **" formulæ "** equally repeated would be appropriate. If c: ii deals with one particular stage in which there was no such repeated action, **" formulæ "** would be out of place.

(ii). *Absence of characteristic expressions,* ***" e.g. to create."***

The very word " create " (as well as the word " generations," said to be equally characteristic of P) occurs in ii. 4[a], and is only excluded from the subsequent narrative by the very artificial separation of 4[a] from 4[b]. In the rest of the chapter, " create " is not needed, " form " taking its place with evident change of meaning.

The words " kind," " swarm," " swarming things," " creep," " creeping things," and the phrase " Be fruitful and multiply," are nowhere needed in the narrative of c: ii. " For food " (*l'akhlah*) only occurs twice in c: i, and is paralleled by a similar word (*l'meakhal*) in c: ii. These are absolutely all the expressions from c: i which Prof. Driver includes as **" characteristic of P "** in his list (BG. viii) with the exception of *Elohim,* and that is found in c: ii.

(iii). ***" The narrative is told very differently "*** *without* ***" allusion to the representation of c. i (e.g. the image of " God)."***

If c: ii is, as it may well be, the expansion of what is summarily told in i. 26–30, the formation of man would have to be narrated in different fashion, nor would the same writer need to repeat what he had just stated.

(B) *Difference of representation.*

**" Both the details and the order of the events of creation " (in so far as they are mentioned in it—for the narrator " deals briefly with everything except what relates directly " to man) differ from the statements of ch. i. The earth " instead of emerging from the waters (as in i. 9) is repre- " sented as being at first *dry* (ii, 5), too dry, in fact, to support " vegetation: the first step in filling it with living forms is " the creation of man (ii. 7), then follows that of beasts " and birds (v. 19), and lastly that of woman (v. 21 f): obvi- " ously a different order from that of c. i."** BG. 35.

In LOT, p: 8, it is stated that **" In ii. 4[b]ff. the order of creation**

**" is 1. man (v. 7) ; 2. vegetation (v. 9 cf. v. 5) ; 3. " animals (v. 19) ; 4. woman (v. 21 f.)."**

The differences of representation here alleged, then, are only two ; —(i) the state of the earth ; (ii) the different order of creation.

(i) *The state of the earth.*

Actually c: ii v: 5 does not say a word about the earth being **" *dry* . . . too dry, in fact to support vegetation."**

According to our English rendering (RV) it does say, " And no " plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field " had yet sprung up : for the LORD God had not caused it to rain " upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground."

Two reasons are here given for the lack of such vegetation as is mentioned :—

(a) Absence of rain. But the earth is not represented as dry, for the next verse continues, " there went up a mist from the earth, " and watered the whole face of the ground." If the mist arising from the face of the earth was sufficient to water the whole face of the ground, the earth could hardly have been **" too dry to " support vegetation."** On the other hand, c: i. 9, 10 does distinctly call the earth on its emergence from the waters " dry " (*yabasah*).

So since c: ii does not represent the earth as utterly dry, and c: i does call it dry, this **" difference of representation "** can hardly be maintained.

(*b*) Absence of a cultivator. This, together with the limitation to plants and herbs " of the field," shows that vegetation in general is not here spoken of, but only cultivated growths. The writer of ii. 5 could hardly have imagined that the presence of " a man to " till the ground " was needed for the growth of wild plants and forest trees.

(ii) *The order of Creation.*

The foregoing observation to some extent disposes of the assertion that in c: ii vegetation is represented as created after the formation of man. But further, after the formation of man, there is no mention of the *creation* of vegetation, but only (vv: 8, 9) of the planting of a " garden," and of the making to grow (or sprout—*yatzmach*) from the earth all trees " pleasant to the sight and good for food." This does not amount to " creation," nor is it extended to all trees, much less to all vegetation. It is not accurate, therefore, to assert that c: ii represents the creation of vegetation as having taken place after the formation of man.

As to the creation of animals, ii 19 says, " Out of the ground the " LORD God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the " air."

On this, Prof. Driver comments, **" The rendering ' *had* formed' " is contrary to idiom "** (BG. 42 ; LOT. 8, note referring to his " Hebrew Tenses " § 76. Obs.). The assertion is perhaps a trifle dogmatic and peremptory considering that Dr. Driver in the passage

of his work on the Hebrew tenses referred to, begins with, **"It "is a moot and delicate question how far the imperfect "verb with V'ya denotes a pluperfect"**; and proceeds to devote some 5 pages of close print to discussing the question. And there have not been wanting good Hebrew scholars who would demur to this dictum. But even if this assertion were accepted, the emphasis in the section ii 18–20 is surely not on the formation of the animals, but on the finding of a "help meet" for Adam. The sense really depends on the scope of the whole passage ii. 4b–25. When this is regarded as an independent account of the whole of creation, it is then possible to make out the order divergent from that in c: i. But it is also possible (as Dr. Driver admits it to be **"in the abstract,"** BG. iii) to regard the passage as an expansion in detail of the creation of man in i. 26–30. In this case, the order is no longer chronological, but the formation of the animals is only regarded with respect to their relation to man.*

(C) *The conception of God.*

**"In ii 4b ff. the conception of God is much more anthropo-"morphic than it is in ch. i: whereas there God accomplishes "His work of creation by a series of *words*, or by performing "other acts (as *creating, dividing, making, setting*), which "(taken in connection with the objects on which they are "performed) imply nothing local or sensible in the Divine "Nature, Jehovah here, for instance, *moulds, breathes* "into man the breath of life, *plants, places, takes, sets,* "*brings, builds, closes up, walks* in the garden (which is "evidently regarded as His accustomed abode), so that even "the sound of His footsteps is heard, and *makes* coats of "skin . . .; in other words, He performs various sensible "acts, and is evidently conceived as locally determined within "particular limits in a manner in which the author of "ch. i does not conceive Him."** BG. 35, 36.

It is a little difficult to perceive how such words as "places, takes, sets, brings" really differ from the "dividing, making, setting" of c: i. The *making* of coats of skin in c: ii is expressed by precisely the same word as that used in i. 16 of the *making* of the two great lights. In what is the one more **"sensible"** than the other? Is "breathing" one whit more **"sensible"** than saying?

Moreover, in the above quotation there are two phrases not warranted by the text. The expression "walking in the garden in "the cool of the day" by no means implies that it was **"His "accustomed abode."** The context rather suggests that He was not so present at other times. Also, there is no mention of **"foot-**

* There seems to be a hint of an altered standpoint in ii. 4. The verse begins (like i. 1) with "the heavens and the earth," but ends with "the earth "and the heavens." This suggests that what follows has to do with the terrestrial rather than with the cosmic interest.

**" steps,"** nor are they implied in the word translated " walking," for it is constantly used of " going " (e.g. the flowing of water). The word translated " sound " is quite as frequently used for " voice," and voice is not more anthropomorphic than " said."

However, it is more important to notice that the " anthropomorphisms " are connected with the Name *Jehovah* rather than with *Elohim*, and that not in this passage alone :— **" The same " contrasted conceptions of the Divine Nature recur in many " subsequent parts of the same two documents "** (BG. 36, note). In other words, anthropomorphic expressions are frequently connected with the Name *Jehovah*.

If it be borne in mind that this is the Covenant Name of God, i.e. His Name in relation to man, is this connection to be wondered at ? In particular, this applies to the earlier chapters of Genesis. In c: i the narrative sets forth God as the God of Creation and Nature, and therefore what we may call the human side of the language used concerning Him is for the most part in abeyance. But in cc: ii, iii it is precisely the human interest which is most prominent, and it is not to be wondered at that both the Name which concerns the relationship of God to man, and the " human " aspect of the Divine Nature should be prominent also. Thus both the " anthropomorphisms " and the change of appellation can be accounted for by the change of subject without requiring a change of authors.

There is yet more to be said. Undoubtedly the climax of c: i is reached at v: 26, the creation of man, where also there is much the fullest detail. It is just here that the most anthropomorphic language of all is used ;— " Let us make man in our image after our likeness."

Prof. Driver indeed says that the image of God **" can be nothing " but the gift of *self-conscious reason*, which is possessed " by man, but by no other animal "** (BG. 15). But we are considering the language used by the writer, not what may seem to us a rational interpretation of it. The word is " image " (*tselem*), and this is used (2 Kings xi. 18 ; Amos v. 26) of representations of false gods (Baal, Moloch, Chiun) which cannot be other than material images. In Gen: v. 3 (also attributed to P) Adam is said to have begotten a son " in his own likeness after his image," where material resemblance is surely not excluded. Why then should not the " image " and " likeness " of i. 26 be material also ? Imagine for a moment that the sentence had occurred in a J passage. How triumphantly the critics would have exclaimed, " See the " anthropomorphism ! Not only does the writer conceive of the " Deity as acting in human fashion, but actually imagines Him as " possessed of human form, and speaks of man as fashioned after His " image ! " The anthropomorphism of planting, building, walking, etc: is as nothing to this.

How then can the critics acquit P of anthropomorphism * ? Expressions of J which might fairly be taken figuratively are pressed literally, while the far stronger expression of P is interpreted non-materially, and then the critic asserts, **" In ii. 4$^b$ ff. the conception " of God is much more anthropomorphic than it is in ch. i " !** Is this fair treatment of the evidence ?

To sum up :—

(A). The change of style is accounted for by the change of subject. In c: i there is the briefest possible summary of a series of tremendous operations ; the severe, concise dignity of the style is in keeping with the majesty of the subject ; the recurring **" formu- " læ "** are the best possible means of marking the various stages. Cc: ii, iii, on the other hand, are a narrative of strong human interest, and therefore naturally (almost necessarily) written in flowing narrative style : c: ii. 4$^b$–25 is not a different account of the whole subject of c: i, but a detailed expansion of one portion, and the recurring " **formulæ** " would be out of place.

So far from the change of style being a necessary proof of difference of authorship, it may be fairly taken as an indication of consummate literary skill in the treatment of widely different subjects.

(B) Differences of representation are not made out. The account of the state of the earth in c: ii. 5 is not inconsistent with that in i. 9 : the seeming variation in the order of creation is solely in regard to the formation of animals, and that is not treated in historical sequence, but with regard to their relation to man.

(C) The conception of God in c: i is not free from anthropomorphism, the strongest of all occurring at v: 26, where man is first mentioned : the " anthropomorphisms " of c: ii are in keeping with the human interest of the narrative, and are designedly connected with the Name *Jehovah*, here introduced of set purpose.

To all this may be added the difficulty in believing that any redactor of ordinary intelligence could have tacked together two accounts so inconsistent as the critics make these out to be.

* In a note on Exod: xxxi. 17 (P) Dr. Driver says "***was refreshed*** **[lit. " *took breath*],—a strong anthropomorphism : elsewhere used only of " men, xxiii. 12, 2 Sam: xvi. 14** " (BE. 345). So P uses " strong anthropo- " morphisms " after all !

## V.

## THE DELUGE.

THE alleged treatment of this narrative differs remarkably from that of the Creation :—" **the compiler, instead of (as in Gen: " i for instance) excerpting the entire account from a single " source, has interwoven it out of excerpts taken alternately " from J and P, preserving in the process many duplicates.**" BG. 85.

" **The compiler instead of keeping the two sources separate " as in Gen: i and ii) has woven together his two sources " into a single narrative.**" IP. 74.

The question at once arises, Why should this have been done ? The compiler is supposed to have before him two documents, each containing an account of the Creation, and each containing an account of the Flood. The first pair he " combines " by placing one account entire immediately after the other ; the second pair (only a few chapters further on) he interweaves into "**a single narrative,**" preserving " **many duplicates.**" Why ?

One could understand a compiler framing his narrative mainly from one authority, and here and there inserting from another authority details which were not recorded by the first (e.g. the story of the raven and the dove). But what possible motive could there be for extracting a passage from one source, and immediately adding a " **duplicate** " from the other ? It is not that he is desirous of preserving the whole of the material from both sources : —" **the directions for the construction of the ark are naturally " given only once,**" BG. 85 :—" **J's account is sufficiently ' complete and independent to justify the conjecture that " some notices corresponding to (1)** " [the command to build the ark] " **and (3)** " [the departure from the ark] " **were origin- " ally contained in it,**" IP. 80. This rather understates the case. If there was a separate J account, it must have included some version of the command to make the ark before the command to enter it ; and it is hardly probable that a narrative could pass straight from Noah uncovering the ark to his building an altar without some notice of his leaving the ark. If the critical theory of combination be right, the compiler must have omitted some important parts of the J narrative. The insertion of duplicates, then, cannot be due to a desire to preserve all that was in both sources.

If there were only one or two such "**duplicates**" it would be difficult to explain their insertion. But the critics maintain that nearly the whole story is thus duplicated:—"**If the passages "contained in each of the columns P and J be read con- "secutively, it will be seen that each of them furnishes an "almost complete story,**" IP 75; "**repetition is the "rule and single record the exception,**" IP. 78. According to the critics, the compiler has inserted duplicate accounts of the state of the earth; of the warning that the Flood would come; of the command to take pairs of animals; of the entry into the Ark; of the actual coming of the Flood; of its duration; of the increase and decrease of the waters; of their being dried up; and of the promise that there should not be another Flood. What could have prompted such an extraordinary doubling of nearly (but not quite) the whole story? The mystery is further deepened because (according to the critics) some of these duplicate statements (the number of animals; the time of entering the Ark; the duration of the Flood) are inconsistent. Yet the compiler has inserted these contradictory statements together without attempting to reconcile them, though he has made some attempts to assimilate the style. If this is indeed a compilation, it is a most inexplicable piece of work.

It will be worth while to examine these "**duplicates**" in detail.

(a). "**vi. 9–13 is, in substance, identical with vi. 5–8.**" BG. 85.

"**Comparing vi. 5–8 and 9–13 it will be noticed that the "*same facts* are recorded in both passages.**" IP. 74.

For this comparison let us place the two passages side by side.

| vi. 5–8 (J). | vi. 9–13 (P). |
|---|---|
| (5) And the LORD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. (6) And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. (7) And the LORD said, I will destroy [*blot out*] man whom I have created from the face of the ground; both man, and beast, and creeping thing, and fowl of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. (9) But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD. | (9) These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, *and* perfect in his generations: Noah walked with God. (10) And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. (11) And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. (12) And God saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. (13) And God said unto Noah. The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. |

Mr. Chapman summarizes the contents of these in this way ;— **"There is a favourable notice about Noah, a statement "that God saw the wickedness that was in the earth, and "announced His determination to destroy all that was "therein."** IP. 74. This statement does not adequately represent the facts.

The J passage represents the LORD as seeing the wickedness of *man* ; repenting of having made *man* ; and determining to "blot "out" *man* from the face of the ground (beast, creeping thing, and fowl added here only, as though merely involved because of man's fault). Nothing is said of this determination being **"announced"** to any one. The passage closes with the statement that "Noah "found grace in the eyes of the LORD," the exception to what has gone before.

The P passage begins with the righteousness of Noah, (so that v: 9 follows naturally on v: 8, explaining why Noah "found grace"), and enumerates his sons ; records that the *earth* (not man alone) was corrupt, and filled with violence ; that God, seeing this, *communicated to Noah* His intention to destroy "all flesh" with the *earth*.

In each particular, the statements of the latter passage enlarge those of the former. In J, the subject is *man* ; in P, the *earth* and *all flesh*.* In J the determination to destroy is formed, but not announced ; in P it is communicated to Noah. In J, Noah simply finds favour ; in P, he is righteous, perfect, walking with God.

How can it be said that these are the **"same facts"** ?

The inversion of order, too, is significant. It would be very curious if the excerpt from one document should just happen to commence with the very verse which carries on the sense and explains the meaning of the verse which closes the other excerpt.

Mr. Chapman insists on the **"very different language"** which marks the two passages, instancing (1) different words for "destroy" ; (2) "*JEHOVAH*" and "*Elohim*" ; (3) "ground" and "earth."

(1) the word "blot out" (perhaps rather "wipe off" ; cf: 2 Kings xxi. 13, and the cognate Arabic) in vi. 7 is appropriate to the removal of human life from the earth ; it would not suit the destruction of the earth in vi. 13.

(2) *JEHOVAH* (together with the anthropomorphism "repent," also instanced) is suitable to the passage dealing with human interest ; *Elohim* to that which deals with the world at large.

(3) "Ground" occurs once (vi. 7), but "earth" twice in the J passage (vv: 5, 6). There is a special fitness in speaking of wiping

* Dr. Driver asserts that "all flesh" in vv: 12, 13 means **"man alone"** (BG. 87), but as he admits that elsewhere (vi. 17, vii. 21) it includes both men and animals, there is no real reason for restricting the meaning here.

away man (*Adam*) from the ground (*Adamah*) from which he was taken.

Mr. Chapman points out that "from the face of the ground" is like the use in the J chapter ii. Why does he not also point out that "beast and creeping thing and fowl of the air" more nearly resembles the P phrase, Gen: i. 26, than the J phrase ii. 20 ?

(b). vi. 14–16 gives the directions for constructing the Ark, and though these **"are naturally given only once,"** Dr. Driver continues, **"the sequel (vi. 17, 19, 20, 22. P) is similarly re-"peated in vii. 1–5."** BG. 85.

Gen: vi. 17–22 (P).

(17) And I, behold, I do bring the flood of waters upon the earth to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; everything that is in the earth shall die [*expire*]. (18) But I will establish my covenant with thee, and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. (19) And of every thing living of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. (20) Of the fowl after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. (21) And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them.

(22) Thus did Noah according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

Gen: vii. 1–5 (J).

(1) And the LORD said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark: for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

(2) Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the male and his female [lit: *man and his wife*]; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the male and his female [*man and his wife*]; (3) of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, male and female: to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

(4) For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I destroy [*blot out*] from off the face of the ground. (5) And Noah did according to all that the LORD commanded him.

In his references to the P account, Dr. Driver has omitted vv: 18, 21, presumably because the **"duplicate"** has nothing about the covenant, or the command to take food. Conversely, in the

J account vv: 1[b], 4[a] have nothing to correspond to them in the other part.

In the P passage (part of the continuous narrative vi. 13–22) God, having commanded Noah to make the ark, announces in general terms His intention to bring a flood upon the earth, promises to establish His covenant with Noah and his family; bids him bring with him "two of every sort," and collect food for all. v: 22 records Noah's obedience to these commands.

In vii. 1–5, the LORD bids Noah and his family come to the ark (already therefore completed); bids him take seven pair of "clean" animals, and one pair of those "not clean," and warns him that the Flood will come in 7 days. v: 5 records Noah's obedience to these commands.

How can these be said to be **"duplicates"?** They evidently refer to different periods. Between the command to make the ark and the command to enter it a considerable interval must have elapsed, for a vessel of that size could not be built in a short time. In conformity with this, the warning of the Flood in vi. 17 is indefinite, specifying no time; that in vii. 4, when the ark is ready, is the warning that the Flood is now near at hand, and gives the exact date, "seven days."

There is also the difference between the commands about the animals, vi. 19, 20 only mentioning "two of every sort," while vii. 2 requires seven pair of the "clean" animals to be taken. This very difference might fairly be taken as evidence that these are not **"duplicates,"** but separate and distinct commands. The critics treat this as a **"difference of representation,"** i.e. a discrepancy. But if there were two commands, separated by a long interval of time, it is not impossible that the original command to take pairs was subsequently enlarged into a command to take seven pairs of a particular class.

The mere mention of a distinction between clean and unclean animals, however, is taken to be another **"difference of repre-"sentation":—"It is to be noticed that J assumes for the "patriarchal age the Levitical distinction of 'clean' and "'unclean' animals, as he also speaks of sacrifices offered, "and altars built, during the same period. . . P, on the "contrary, never attributes Levitical institutions and dis-"tinctions to the pre-Mosaic age; he regards all such as "creations of the Sinaitic legislation."** BG. 89.

**"He [P] abstains from recording any act of sacrifice or "ceremonial distinction between clean and unclean before the "establishment of a priesthood in the time of Moses."** IP. 80.

Both these statements speak very positively as to what P does, or does not do, as if P actually existed as a separate document. In reality this involves the tolerably large assumption that the critics have been invariably right in determining the limits of P.

Even so, the reasons put forward would only account for P not mentioning the distinction between clean and unclean at this period, but do not at all account for its being found in J. For this latter is considered to be part of the "**prophetical narrative**" (LOT. 117), and, as such, little interested in ceremonial. Why then should this emphasize a ceremonial distinction at so early and important an epoch?

Further, if J introduces sacrifices, altars, and ceremonial distinctions in the patriarchal age, while P, writing 3 or 4 centuries later, "**regards all such as creations of the Sinaitic legislation,**" then either P must have been ignorant of J's history, or he must have deliberately discredited it. Is either alternative really credible? Apparently Mr. Chapman prefers the latter, for, in regard to these very questions of clean and unclean and sacrifice, he asserts (IP. 80), "**P omits *designedly*.**" In this case, it was very inconsiderate of the compiler to frustrate P's design by inserting all the J passages which contradict P's theory.

Mr. Chapman calls attention (IP. 78) to the phrase which occurs twice in vii. 2,—"**lit. 'a man and his wife,' here it might be "rendered 'each and his mate,'**"—instead of the "male and female" of vi. 19. He does not mention that the phrase "male "and female" does occur in the very next verse, vii. 3, only the critics mark this as an interpolation, though they have no authority so for doing (except that it conflicts with their theory).

(c). The entry into the ark, and beginning of the Flood, vii. 6–17[a].

Here the process of compilation becomes more complicated than ever. In his notes, Dr. Driver assigns the various parts of this passage as follows:—"**6. Noah's age, at the time of the Flood, "according to P . . . 7-9. Entry into the ark according to J ". . . 10. The beginning of the Flood according to J . . . 11. "The beginning of the Flood according to P . . . 12. The "duration of the Flood according to J . . . 13–16. The "entry into the ark according to P.**" 16[b] is attributed to J, and 17[a] to P (GB. 90, 91). According to this, 7–9 is a duplicate of 13–16[a], and 10 a duplicate of 11.

| Gen: vii. 6, 11, 13–16[a], 17[a] (P). | Gen: vii. 7–10, 12, 16[b]. (J). |
|---|---|
| (6) And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth. | |
| (11) In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. | (*see below*, *v*: 10) |

(13) In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; (14) they, and every beast after its kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every sort. (15) And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life. (16[a]) And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God commanded him

(*see above, v*: 11).

(17[a]) And the flood was [forty days] upon the earth.

(7) And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. (8) Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and everything that creepeth upon the ground.

(9) there went in [two and two] unto Noah into the ark,

[male and female]
as God commanded Noah.

(10) And it came to pass after the seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

(12) And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

(16[b]) . . . and the LORD shut him in.

The words in square brackets are considered to be interpolations by the compiler, and 16[b] to have been displaced from the end of v: 9.

Here the two accounts may really be termed **" duplicates "** in so far as they relate to the same events.

But there are some curiosities of analysis :—v: 6 is taken from between two J sections and assigned to P ; two short phrases in v: 9 are marked as interpolations ; v: 12 is taken out of a P section and assigned to J ; three Hebrew words (" and the LORD shut him " in ") are cut off from v: 16 and given to J ; and two words in v. 17 considered **" probably an addition of the compiler."** (BG. 91).

Why is all this done ? v: 6 specifies Noah's age, and P **" alone " gives the exact dates which are found in the Pentateuch,"** (IP. 80);—the phrases in v: 9 are considered to be characteristic of P, and therefore cannot belong to J ;—v: 12 refers to the J verse vii. 4, and therefore cannot belong to P ; —v: 16[b] has the Name *JEHOVAH* and is **" anthropomorphic,"** and therefore must be J, displaced from the end of v: 9 (though it fits the context quite well where it is) ;—and " forty days " in 17[a] fits with the J verses 4 and 12, and therefore probably belongs to the compiler.

The last item, by the way, causes a difference of opinion. Dr. Driver (BG. 91) considers 17[a] **"the link connecting (in P) "v: 16[a] with v. 18,"** and therefore considers "40 days" a compiler's addition: Mr. Chapman (IP. 77) treats the whole verse as belonging to J, in which case Dr. Driver's **"link"** disappears.

Since these assertions that short passages have been inserted from one document into another, or interpolated by a compiler, have nothing better to rest on than sheer conjecture, it is evident that this short section (less than a dozen verses in all) has needed a good deal of trimming to make it fit the critical theory.

If we take the text as it stands, what is the evidence?

vii. 6–10 is a short statement of the entry into the ark. It begins with a brief mention of Noah's age when the Flood came; states that he and his family entered the ark; that the animals accompanied them; and that after "the seven days" (foretold in v: 4) the Flood came.

Now in these 5 verses there are no less than 5 of the characteristics which are said to be marks of P:—(1) Noah's age, v: 6; (2) the phrase "his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him" (as in vi. 18), v: 7; (3), "two and two"; (4) "male and female"; (5) *Elohim*,* in v: 9. On the other hand, there are 2 marks of J; (1) distinction of clean and unclean, v: 8; (2) "the seven days," v: 10.

On this evidence, three alternatives are possible:—(a) that the so-called J and P characteristics can be used by one writer; (b) that a P passage has been interpolated with 2 J phrases; (c) that a J passage has been interpolated with 5 P phrases. But (a) would upset the composite theory, and (b) would show that **"dupli-"cates"** may occur in one narrative. Therefore the critics insist on (c), though surely it is the least probable of the three. Not only this, but they even advance this very passage as a proof that J has been interpolated:—**"Some parts of J have been ex-"panded by a redactor (or editor) who incorporated "phrases from P. The evidence in favour of this statement "is most clearly furnished by vii. 7–9."** IP. 80.

Turning now to the second part, vii. 11–17[a], we find that it begins with an amplification of v: 6, specifying the exact month and day of Noah's age when the Flood came, and giving details as to the cause of the Flood. This follows naturally after, and explains the summary statement of v: 10. Again (as in the case of vi. 8, 9) we have the curious coincidence that the commencement of one **"excerpt"** fits on to and explains the close of the other. Then vv: 13–16[a] amplify vv: 7–9 giving fuller details of the entry into

* Dr. Driver, on the word "God" in this verse, notes (BG. 90), **"Sam. "Targ. Vulg. *Jehovah*; no doubt rightly,"** for that would suit the contention that this is a J passage. He does not mention that 2 of De Rossi's Heb: MSS, the Samaritan, Syriac, and lxx read *Elohim* for *Jehovah* in vii. 1 (see EPC. 14). That would not suit his theory.

the ark (the names of Noah's sons ; the distinction between " beast " and " cattle " ; and generally a fuller form of description). The whole closes with the statement " the LORD shut him in " (if this is due to J, then the P account has no mention of closing the ark), and the statement that " the flood " (not merely the rain as in v: 12) was 40 days upon the earth.

This passage, then, is a **" duplicate "** of vv: 6–10, but it is not a *mere* duplicate. In every respect, it is an expansion of the former statement. Now the critics themselves attribute vv: 6 and 11 to P, and 11 is undoubtedly an expansion of 6. Why then may not the writer who expanded 6 into the fuller details of 11 have also expanded the briefer statements of vv: 7–9 into the fuller form of 13–16[a] ; and the terse summary of v: 10 into the details of 11, 12 ?

Once more it must be asked, Which is the more likely, (1) that a compiler, having transcribed a passage from one document, should immediately add a similar statement from another ? or (2) that a writer, for the sake of emphasis, should repeat his statement with added details ?

Another charge of **" difference of representation "** is brought against this pair of **" duplicates."**

**" From vii. 7 compared with vii. 10 it seems that Noah " and his family came into the ark before the Flood ; in " vii. 13 they entered ' on the selfsame day.' "** IP. 78.

vii. 7 simply says that Noah and his family entered the ark " be- "cause of the waters of the flood," and says nothing about the day when they entered : vii. 10 says, " it came to pass after the seven " days that the waters of the flood were upon the earth." Dr. Driver comments on v: 10, ***" The seven days.* Those mentioned " in v. 4 "** (BG. 90). Thus " the seven days " of v: 10 are not after the entry into the ark, but after the prediction, " Yet seven " days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth." When then vii. 13 states that Noah and his family entered the ark " on the selfsame " day " it simply shows that, after receiving the warning, Noah and his family took six days to make their final preparations, and entered the ark on the very day that " all the fountains of the great " deep " were broken up. Where is the discrepancy ?

(d) The duration of the Flood.

**" Another difference relates to the duration of the Flood. " In P the waters ' prevail ' for 150 days : then they gradually " decrease ; the entire period of their remaining upon the " earth being (vii. 11 comp. with viii. 14) one year and 11 " days : in J they increase for 40 days and 40 nights ; " then after three times seven days (viii. 8, 10, 12) they " disappear, the entire duration of the Flood in J being " thus 61 days."** BG. 85.

The dates (which, of course, are all attributed to P) are explicit enough :—

(a) The Flood commences. 600th year, 2nd month, 17th day . . . . . c: vii. 11
(b) The ark rests on Ararat. 600th year, 7th month, 17th day . . . . . viii. 4
(c) The tops of the mountains are seen. 600th year, 10th month, 1st day . . . . . ,, 5
(d) The waters are dried from off the earth. 601st year, 1st month, 1st day . . . . . ,, 13
(e) The earth is dry. 601st year, 2nd month, 27th day ,, 14

The actual duration of the Flood (a–d) is about 10½ months, the remaining month and 26 days being required for the drying of the ground.

What are the data in the portions assigned to J? In vii. 4 the LORD tells Noah that He will cause it "to rain upon the earth "40 days and 40 nights." In vii. 12 (only assigned to J by detaching it—in Hebrew 8 words—from the P context on either side) it is stated that "the [heavy] rain was upon the earth 40 days "and 40 nights."

So far the statement is limited to the duration of the rain, not of the whole Flood.

In viii. 6 we read "at the end of 40 days," (not *the* 40 days), "Noah opened the window of the ark." On this Dr. Driver comments, **"In the original context of J the 'forty days' referred, "no doubt, as in vii. 4 to the entire period of the Flood"** (BG. 93). This is pure assertion. There is not the slightest reason why these 40 days should not be counted from the date in the previous verse, except the theory that this was written by a different author. But even if the analysis is here correct, it is exceedingly doubtful whether these 40 days can be rightly identified with the 40 days of rain. For the last passage assigned to J (viii. 2[b], 3[a]) runs "and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the "waters returned from off the earth continually." If, then, the account proceeded immediately, "And it came to pass at the end "of 40 days," it would certainly read as though 40 days from the *cessation of the rain* was meant.

But does not vii. 17[a] assert that "the flood was forty days upon "the earth"? Dr. Driver cannot plead this, for he attributes the clause (omitting "forty days") to P. Even if, with Mr. Chapman, the clause is assigned to J, this will not help, for then the flood being 40 days on the earth is only mentioned as leading up to the statement that follows, "and the waters increased, and bare up "the ark, and it was lift up above the earth." Nothing is said as to how long it was before the waters began to diminish, nor as to how long it was after that before they had completely subsided.

After the 40 days of viii. 6 there are three periods of 7 days (the words "yet other seven days" in viii. 10 implying **"almost "necessarily that 'seven days' had been mentioned pre-**

"**viously.**" BG. 93) until "Noah removed the covering of the "ark."

These are all the notes of time in the passages assigned to J. Thus the assertion that J represents 61 days as the entire duration of the Flood can only be maintained by (1) detaching vii. 12 from its context; (2) identifying the 40 days of viii. 6 with the 40 days of vii. 12; and (3) assuming that there was no interval between the third mission of the dove (viii. 12) and the uncovering of the ark. Not one of these assumptions is necessary (except to the critical theory), and (2) in particular is very doubtful, while all three together do not prove the assertion. For the J passages in the narrative are admittedly incomplete ("**the verses which remain** "**. . . form part of the parallel narrative derived from J,** "**but not preserved so completely as that of P.**" BG. 85), and it would be most precarious to assume that there could have been no notes of time in the portions omitted. The most that can be legitimately claimed is that in the fragments assigned to J between vii. 11 and viii. 13 there is only the mention of 40 days' rain; of a 40 days (viii. 16) which may or may not be the same; and of three subsequent periods of 7 days each. That these 61 (or 101) days make up "**the entire duration of the Flood in J**" is unsupported assertion.

If on the other hand the narrative is consecutive, will the notes of time in viii. 6–12 account for the interval between the dates given in viii. 5 and viii. 13? From the 1st day of the 10th month (v: 5) to the 1st day of the 1st month (v: 13) is an interval of 3 months, and this may be taken as 90 days (since in viii. 3 the five months from the 2nd to the 7th are equivalent to 150 days). Noah, we are told, waited 40 days before sending out the raven, and 14 days later the dove brings him an olive leaf. 54 days of the 90 are accounted for, leaving a balance of 36. But the olive leaf may have been plucked from the top of a tree, and that tree growing on the slopes of a mountain. Then there would still be a considerable depth of water to be drained away, and it can hardly be said that 5 weeks is too long for this, before "the face of the ground "was dried." As Noah waited another 7 days before sending out the dove for the third time, this would mean that he waited yet another month before uncovering the ark.

The notes of time in viii. 6–12, then, may be reasonably considered to agree fairly with the interval between viii. 5 and viii. 13.

(e) Cause and progress of the Flood.

"**It is a minor difference that J attributes the Flood to** "**rain only (vii. 7, 12; viii. 2[b]), whereas P speaks also of** "**the subterranean waters bursting forth (vii. 11, viii. 2[a]).**" BG. 86; cf. IP. 78.

The "**difference**" depends entirely on the isolation of a few words from their context.

Gen: vii. 11, 12, "On the same day were all the fountains of the "great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.* "And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights."

viii. 2, "the fountains also of the deep and the windows of "heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained."

Who that read these passages in an ordinary book would doubt for a moment that each was a continuous sentence, and that each designedly connects the rain with the "windows of heaven"? Yet in both cases the critics cut the last clause out of a P passage, assign it to J, and then make out that J's representation differs from that of P.

The alleged **"difference"** is solely due to the analysis.

Similar instances of arbitrary analysis are found with regard to the increase and decrease of the waters.

Gen: vii. 17$^{b}$, "and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, "and it was lift up above the earth.

18, "And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly "upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face "of the waters.

19, "And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the "earth; and all the high mountains that were under "the whole heaven were covered."

Gen: viii. 3$^{a}$, "and the waters returned from off the earth con- "tinually:

3$^{b}$, 4, "and after the end of 150 days the waters decreased. "And the ark rested . . . upon the mountains of "Ararat.

5, "and the waters decreased continually until the "tenth month: in the tenth month . . . were the "tops of the mountains seen."

Notice how artistically the three stages reach a climax, and are set over against each other.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) | the waters increase, and lift the ark | the waters return continually. |
| (b) | the waters prevail and increase greatly, | the waters decrease, |
| | and the ark moves upon them | and the ark rests. |
| (c) | the waters prevail exceedingly | the waters decrease continually, |
| | and the mountains are covered. | and the tops of the mountains are seen. |

Surely this is a deliberate arrangement,—and an arrangement in peculiar agreement with the parallelism of Hebrew poetry.

* The full stop here only marks the end of a verse. At v: 8 the same ending is marked by a comma.

But the critics will not have it so. They insist that in both cases the first of the three clauses was borrowed from J, and the other two from P, and the collocation is due to the compiler only. It is difficult to find a reason for so mutilating the artistic effect of these two passages, except a desire to maintain the theory of "duplicate accounts."

Between these two, there is a third instance of threefold climax.

Gen: vii. 21, "And all flesh died [*expired*] that moved [*creepeth*]
"upon the earth, both fowl, and cattle, and beast,
"and every creeping [*swarming*] thing that creepeth
"[*swarmeth*] upon the earth, and every man:
22, "all in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit
"of life, of all that was in the dry land, died.
23, "and every living thing was destroyed [*blotted*
"*out*] which was upon the face of the ground, both
"man, and cattle, and creeping thing, and fowl
"of the heaven; and they were destroyed [*blotted*
"*out*] from the earth."

Again there are three stages in ascending climax:—"all flesh "expired,"—"all in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of "life died,"—"every living thing was blotted out." Again the critics mutilate it, only this time they credit the simpler statement to P, and the two more forcible to J. Indeed they are compelled to do this by their own theory, for v: 21 has some P expressions, and vv: 22, 23 some of the J.

In the compass of 13 verses, then, we have three passages, each containing three stages of steadily increasing force, producing (as they stand) a deep impression of literary skill. Is there not fair reason to conclude that the mind which planned one, also planned all three? Yet the critics would have us believe that the stately whole was produced in piecemeal fashion thus:—a compiler, whose methods were not too intelligent, extracted from J a simple statement of the increase of the waters, and added to it two more forcible statements from P;—then he took from P a simple statement of the destruction of life, and to this added two more forcible statements from J;—then (after taking 3 more verses from P) he took from J a simple statement of the decrease of the waters, and added to it two more forcible statements from P. And, lo, the total result has a wonderful artistic unity. Is it credible? The unity of thought and structure in three passages so closely connected is surely good evidence that all three are from the same mind, and evidence of this kind lies far deeper, and is much more weighty than the verbal peculiarities on which the critics lay so much stress.

But if these passages are really the work of one writer, not only do the alleged duplicates (as to the increase and decrease of the waters, and the destruction of life) disappear, but the argument from characteristic expressions is seriously weakened. For if vii.

21–23 is a unity, and not composite, this would show that the same writer can and does use the P expressions " expire " and " swarm,' as well as the J expressions " blot out " and " from the face of the " ground." Also in vii. 22 there occurs the phrase " the breath of " the spirit of life, concerning which Dr. Driver says (BG. 94), **" The " expression, as it stands, is unexampled, being a combina- " tion of the phrase of J (ii. 7) with that of P (vi. 17, vii. 15). " The bracketed words "** [the spirit of] **" —in the Heb. one " word—are probably a marginal gloss "**: another instance of conjecturing an interpolation simply because the evidence **" as it stands "** does not suit the critical theory.

To sum up :—

(1) The so-called **" duplicates "** are in no case mere repetitions. In one instance, they refer to distinct periods ; in the rest, the later statement is an amplification of the former.

(2) Of alleged **" differences of representation,"** (a) the difference as to the number of animals is due to there being two commands delivered at different periods ; (b) there is no reason for asserting that J limits the duration of the Flood to 61 days ; (c) differences as to cause and progress of Flood are due only to the analysis.

(3) Differences of style largely depend on a free use of conjecture as to interpolation, and a somewhat suspicious method of analysis.

# VI.

## JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

If there is one narrative in the whole of the Old Testament which one would be inclined to single out as bearing the marks of literary unity, it would surely be the history of Joseph. Yet the ingenuity of critics has been equal to the task of dissecting it into rival and inconsistent accounts.

Prof. Driver's list of differences may be tabulated as follows :— (see BG. 321, 332).

| | J | E |
|---|---|---|
| (a) | Joseph rescued by *Judah* : | rescued by *Reuben.* |
| (b) | *sold* to *Ishmaelites* : | *stolen by Midianites.* |
| (c) | sold to *Egyptian unnamed* : | sold to *Potiphar, "captain of the guard."* |
| (d) | *thrown into prison,* and made overseer of other prisoners by *keeper of prison* : | appointed by *"captain of "the guard"* to *wait on* prisoners *confined in his house.* |
| (e) | told about Benjamin in answer to *his own enquiry* : | told about Benjamin voluntarily *without enquiry.* |
| (f) | No mention of Simeon : | Simeon left as hostage. |
| (g) | The sacks opened *at the inn* : | The sacks opened *at the journey's end.* |
| (h) | *Judah* offers to be surety for Benjamin's return : | *Reuben* offers to be surety. |
| (i) | Goshen allotted to Jacob : | Goshen not mentioned. |

A portentous list of differences, truly. Let us examine them *seriatim.*

(a) *Rescued by Judah, or Reuben ?*

As the narrative stands, Reuben dissuades the brethren from killing Joseph, and suggests casting him into a pit, which is done. Later, while they are at food, the sight of an Ishmaelite caravan prompts Judah to suggest that they should sell Joseph, and that

is done. There is no necessary discrepancy here. There is no reason why both incidents should not have occurred. It is only by separating the passages, and insisting that there could only have been one rescue, that even an appearance of divergence is produced.

It is true that in Gen: xxxvii. 29 Reuben is represented as startled at the disappearance of Joseph, and seems ignorant of the sale, but there is no reason why he may not have left the others for a while. ("Reuben returned unto the pit," v: 29, seems to suggest his absence), and the sale have taken place while he was away.

It is not necessary to conjecture, as critics do, that in v: 21 "Reuben" has been substituted for an original "Judah." As they stand, vv: 21, 22 ("And Reuben heard it, and delivered "him out of their hand; and said,* Let us not take his life. And "Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, cast him into this pit," etc:) are not **"tautologous"** as Dr. Driver asserts (BG. 324). "Let us not take his life" is a general statement; "Shed no "blood, cast him into this pit" enters into particulars; while the repetition of "And So-and-so said" is a common enough feature in Oriental narrative. If it be objected that the speech "Shed "no blood . . . lay no hand upon him," attributed to Reuben in v: 22, closely resembles Judah's "What profit is it if we slay "our brother, and conceal his blood . . . let not our hand be upon "him," (vv: 26, 27), and that therefore these are only divergent versions of the same speech; it may be answered that probably Judah would intentionally echo Reuben's words, as much as to say, Reuben has told us to shed no blood, and lay no hand upon him: here is a way by which we can obey him literally, and yet be rid of Joseph, and be gainers into the bargain.

That the two rescues were distinct, and not merely divergent versions of the same, is the more probable in that different motives are given. Reuben is influenced by a desire to restore Joseph to his father; Judah, by a desire for gain.

(*b*) *Sold to Ishmaelites, or kidnapped by Midianites?*

Here the chief question is whether the names Ishmaelite and Midianite can or can not be applied to the same people. Prof. Driver's assertion (BG. 325), **"The absence of the article in "'Midianites' shews that the reference cannot be to the "'the Ishmaelites' mentioned specifically in v. 27,"** does not seem very conclusive. "Ishmaelites," without the article, are mentioned in just the same general way at v: 25.

As the text stands, v: 28, "And there passed by Midianites "merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the "pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver,"

* This may mean "said (*to himself*)"—cf. "And Moses feared, and said, "Surely the thing is known," Exod: ii. 14 ("*said* i.e., as often, said mentally "= resolved." BE. 24). Then follows what Reuben said "unto them."

clearly identifies the two. The critics maintain that as these Midianites cannot be the same as the Ishmaelites, the two parts of the verse must have been written by different authors. But, as there is no independent evidence for dividing the verse, it is quite as reasonable to argue that this verse connects the two names so closely that the writer must have considered them interchangeable. Certainly the compiler (if there was one) could have seen no inconsistency.

The assertion that one account represents Joseph as "sold," and the other as "taken away" without any sale, depends on the division of this same verse. For, unless 28[a] and 28[b] were written by different authors, the sale is there directly connected with the Midianites.

Then there is this further difficulty. The clause "they drew "and lifted up Joseph out of the pit," is thus explained by Prof. Driver (BG. 325), ***"and they drew*** (E). **I.e. (in the original "context of E) the Midianites, who drew Joseph up out of "the pit, without his brethren's knowledge (which explains "Reuben's surprise in v. 29), while they were at their meal."** How came the Midianites, mere passers by, to know that Joseph was in the pit? How could they draw him up and carry him away **"without his brethren's knowledge"?** Why were not the other brethren, as well as Reuben, surprised at Joseph's disappearance?

It is true Joseph says "I was stolen away" (xl. 15), but he also says (xlv. 4, 5), "I am Joseph your brother, *whom ye sold into "Egypt.* And now be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, *that "ye sold me hither.*" As this is found in a chapter assigned to E (who is supposed to know nothing of any sale), the critics are reduced to conjecture that the words in italics have been interpolated from J, another admission that the evidence of the text is against their theory. Yet, if these clauses are removed, and if the writer of this chapter supposed that Joseph was taken away **"without "his brethren's knowledge,"** what is the meaning of "be not "grieved, nor angry with yourselves"? Why in v: 8 does Joseph say, "It was not you who sent me hither"? Why, after Jacob's death, did the brethren say, "It may be that Joseph will hate us, "and will fully requite us all the evil which we did unto him" (Gen: l. 15)? Why did they invent the message from their father, "Forgive, I pray thee, now, the transgression of thy brethren, and their sin, for that they did unto thee evil" (l. 17)? Why did Joseph say, "As for you, ye meant evil against me" (l. 20)? Is it not clear that the writer of these passages connects the fear of the brethren with their guilty intention in sending Joseph into Egypt? Yet all these are from E.

(c) *Sold to an Egyptian unnamed, or to Potiphar, captain of the guard?*

That J represents Joseph as sold to an unnamed Egyptian depends entirely on removing the words, " Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, " the captain of the guard " from xxxix. 1, and attributing them to R as **" a harmonizing insertion."**

The reasons given for considering this clause an insertion are

(i) **" If the name and description of Joseph's master " originally stood here, the addition ' an Egyptian ' seems " superfluous,"** and

(2) **" it is strange also that the name should never recur " in subsequent parts of the chapter."** BG. 333, note.

To this it may be replied (1) There may have been some reason for emphasizing the Egyptian origin of the purchaser. An officer of Pharaoh need not necessarily have been of Egyptian race: (2) as the whole of the rest of the chapter turns on Joseph being a slave, the phrase " his master " is more appropriate than the mention of his name.

By themselves, the two reasons alleged could never have excited any suspicion that the clause was an interpolation. It is only when there is already a desire to find it an insertion that such minute points can be put forward. Anyhow, if the name and description did not originally stand here, this would be no kind of proof that this part of the narrative was not from the same pen as the part where the master is named: it would be no proof that the Egyptian who bought Joseph was *not* Potiphar.

(d) *Joseph's relation to other prisoners.*

According to the critics, one account represents Joseph as himself a prisoner, appointed by the keeper of the prison to be overseer of the other prisoners: the other represents him as appointed by the captain of the guard to wait upon certain prisoners confined in his own house. To maintain this, no less than 5 clauses (in xxxix. 20; xl. 3, 5, 15; xli. 14) have to be marked as editorial insertions. Again the evidence of the text as it stands is against the critical theory.

Also, it is asserted (BG. 333), **" In the existing (composite) " narrative the two versions are harmonized (though im- " perfectly) by Potiphar being represented as *both* Joseph's " master *and also* ' captain of the guard.' "**

That Potiphar was both captain of the guard and also Joseph's master is distinctly affirmed in the E narrative (xxxvii. 36) where no question of " harmonizing " arises. What may be called in question (when the evidence of xxxix. 1[b] is disallowed) is whether Potiphar was " the master " of c: xxxix who threw Joseph into prison. Also it may be questioned whether Potiphar was the " captain of the guard " of c: xl, where he is no more mentioned than he is in the greater part of xxxix.

Assuming the possibility of what is explicitly affirmed by the clause (xxxix. 1[b]) which the critics reject, viz: that Potiphar the

captain of the guard was also the master who threw Joseph into prison, how would the narrative run ?

Joseph is sold to Potiphar, captain of the guard, whose wife brings a false accusation against him. On this his master throws him into prison, which certainly reads as if his master was in some way in command of the prison, and in a position to imprison arbitrarily. If the prison was indeed " the place where the king's " prisoners were bound " (xxxix. 20, one of the clauses marked as insertions), what more likely than that it was in charge of the captain of the royal guard, and even attached to his house ?

In prison, Joseph gains the favour of the keeper of the prison, and by him (not by the captain of the guard) is made some kind of assistant warder, and implicitly trusted. Probably this implies a considerable interval of time.

Then, " after these things " (a phrase often covering a lengthy period) two prisoners of importance, the chief butler and the chief baker, are sent by the king to be " in ward in the house of the captain " of the guard,"—not necessarily Potiphar, who may have died, or been deposed, in the interval. This again suggests that there was a place of custody attached to the house of the captain of the guard. Needing an attendant to wait on these two important prisoners, what is more probable than that the captain of the guard should commit them to the charge of the man whom the keeper of the prison had found so trustworthy ? The keeper of the prison commits to Joseph's hand all the prisoners : the captain of the guard subsequently appoints him to " minister " to prisoners of note.

What trace of inconsistency or imperfect harmonization is there in all this ? On the contrary, on the assumption that Joseph's master of c: xxxix was actually " captain of the guard," the whole narrative falls easily into place, and there is no need to attribute several clauses to the perverse ingenuity of a Redactor.

If, then, the narrative taken as a unity is simply and rationally consistent, while the analysis,—by conjectural emendations, and by treating as coincident events that are narrated as consecutive,—only succeeds in disentangling two inconsistent narratives, this really throws discredit on the analysis. The method which creates discrepancies otherwise non-existent is very likely to be a mistaken method.

(e) *Information about Benjamin, volunteered or elicited by enquiry ?*

In Gen: xlii. 13 (E) the narrator states, " they said, We thy " servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of " Canaan ; and, behold, the youngest is with our father, and one " is not." In xlii. 31, 32 (E) the brethren tell Jacob, " We said unto " him, We are true men ; we are no spies : we be twelve brethren, " sons of our father ; one is not, and the youngest is this day with " our father in the land of Canaan."

In xliii. 7 (J), when Jacob reproaches his sons for mentioning their brother, "they said, The man asked straitly concerning "ourselves and concerning our kindred, saying, Is your father "alive? have ye another brother?"—and in xliv. 19, Judah says to Joseph, "My lord asked his servants, saying, Have ye a father, "or a brother?"

That these are "**divergent**" accounts, in one of which the information is volunteered, while in the other it is elicited by enquiry, depends on the assumption that we have a complete and full report of the interview with Joseph. It is more probable that the narrative, for the sake of vividness, is much condensed. In xlii. 11 the brethren defend themselves against the charge of being spies by simply asserting that they are all one man's sons. In v: 12 Joseph repeats the charge, "Nay, but to see the nakedness of the "land ye are come." To this, the added information about father and brother in v: 13 does not seem a very pertinent reply, while it would be the necessary answer to such questions as Joseph would be likely to put; e.g. "You say you are all one man's sons: is "your father alive? There are ten of you: have you another "brother?" While these questions are just what the Egyptian ruler would naturally put, they are also the questions Joseph would be most anxious to have answered. In vv: 30–34 the brothers give Jacob an even more condensed account, for they run into one the two answers of vv: 11, 13, and also the two speeches of Joseph (vv: 14–16, 18–20) though these were separated by an interval of three days. When, however, the brothers find themselves blamed for giving the information at all, they most naturally plead in self-defence the questioning which they had before passed over as of little importance.

Surely all this is but true to human nature, and would pass without comment in an ordinary narrative.

(f) *The detention of Simeon.*

"**In xlii. 13–24, 33–37, the detention of Simeon is an essen-**
"**tial feature in the narrative; but in xlii. 38–xliii. 10, and**
"**again in xliv. 18–34 there is entire silence respecting him;**
"**his release is not one of the objects for which the brethren**
"**return to Egypt. Had the whole narrative been by one**
"**hand, the non-mention of Simeon in the parts of xlii–**
"**xliv just referred to would have been hardly possible.**
"**It is inferred that the writer of xlii. 38–xliii. 10 and xliv.**
"**18–34 (i.e. J), in his account of the first visit of the brethren**
"**to Egypt made *no mention of the detention of Simeon*;**
"**and that the notices of Simeon in xliii. 14, 23[b] are harmoniz-**
"**ing passages, introduced from the parallel narrative**
"**of E.**" BG. 354, note.

Here we have a striking admission as to critical methods. Two short passages embedded in a long J section (cc: xliii, xliv, the

whole, except the two clauses in question, assigned to J) are adjudged by the critics to be "**harmonizing**" interpolations. On what ground? Because of differing style? No, but because they conflict with an inference the critics have drawn. From the non-mention of Simeon in other parts of the J narrative they *infer* that J made no mention of Simeon's detention. Therefore they decide that two clauses, which do mention him in an otherwise J passage, cannot belong to J, and must be interpolations.

This is hardly the way in which evidence is usually construed. One bit of positive evidence outweighs any amount of merely negative evidence. The sounder reasoning would be,—J in xliii. 14–23 twice mentions Simeon. Therefore the inference that J in his earlier narrative knew nothing of Simeon's detention must be mistaken.

Further, the inference itself is based solely on the non-mention of Simeon in the passages xlii. 38–xliii. 10 and xliv. 18–34, and arguments from silence are always precarious. In this case, they are more than usually doubtful. For in xlii. 38–xliii. 10, Jacob is chiefly concerned to persist in his refusal to let Benjamin go. He would not be likely to allude to the fact that this refusal meant leaving Simeon in detention. Judah in his reply would not be likely to allude to Simeon's detention, for that would give Jacob another excuse for persisting in his refusal. In xliv. 18–34, Judah's speech to Joseph turns entirely on Jacob's reluctance to let Benjamin go. There is absolutely no reason for alluding to Simeon, who (if xliii. $23^b$ is not cut out) had been already released. The silence of these two passages is anything but conclusive.

The critics have first drawn a very questionable inference;—on the strength of this they rule out two pieces of positive evidence that the J narrative does mention Simeon;—then they assert that J makes no mention of Simeon;—and lastly put forward this assertion as one of the proofs that J's narrative is divergent from that of E.

With this, we may consider the similar assertion (i), *E makes no mention of Goshen.*

c: xlv. $10^a$, "And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen," actually occurs in an E passage, but is cut out and assigned to J, "**because it is presupposed in xlvi. $28^a$ (also J), and because "it is only J who elsewhere speaks of the Israelites as "dwelling apart in Goshen, xlvi. $28^b$, 29, 34; xlvii. 1, 4, 6, "27; 1. 8; Ex. viii. 22; ix. 26.**" BG. 362, note.

Here are two assertions;—(1) xlvi. $28^a$ presupposes xlv. $10^a$; (2) only J mentions Goshen elsewhere.

(1) xlvi. $28^a$, "he sent Judah before him unto Joseph to shew "the way before him unto Goshen," shows that the writer represents Jacob as expecting to go into Goshen. It presupposes *some* promise on the part of Joseph, but it does not (on the composite theory)

presuppose the particular promise of xlv. 10[a]. On the critic's own showing, the J narrative is hereabouts defective, and there is nothing to show that a similar promise may not have been included in the earlier part. If indeed the narrative is *not* composite, then xlvi. 28 does presuppose xlv. 10, for that is the only promise recorded; but if the narrative is composite, then xlvi. 28 may refer to some passage omitted by the compiler. It is no possible proof that E does not mention Goshen.

(2) Of the passages cited to show that it is only J who elsewhere mentions Goshen, xlvii. 6[b] is a half-verse cut out of a P section, and v: 27 is similarly divided between J and P. As regards these two instances, at least, we have nothing for it but the critics' assertion that the mention of Goshen belongs to J at all.

It really comes to this:—the critics have assigned every other mention of Goshen to J; therefore xlv. 10[a] must belong to J also; therefore E does not mention Goshen; therefore E and J are **"divergent."**

(g) *The money found in the sacks, at the "lodging place," or at the journey's end?*

Gen: xlii. 27 (J) states that "as one of them opened his sack to "give his ass provender in the lodging place, "he espied his money."

35 (E), after they reach Jacob, "It came to pass as "they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every "man's bundle of money was in his sack."

So far there is no real discrepancy. At the lodging place, one opens his sack and finds his money, but it is only when they all empty their sacks at home that it is found that every man's money has been returned.

But in xliii. 21 (J) the brethren tell Joseph's steward, "When we "came to the lodging place . . . we opened our sacks, and, behold, "every man's money was in the mouth of his sack."

Now if this differs from the E passage (xlii. 35) in representing that the finding of the money took place at the inn, it equally differs from the J passage (xlii. 27) in representing that it was found by every man, instead of only one. Why should one difference be a discrepancy, and not the other? Whereas if all three passages are by the same author, it would only mean that, in recounting the matter to Joseph's steward, the brethren did not think it necessary to trouble him with details, and spoke as if the whole discovery was made at one time. Is there anything unreasonable or untrue to nature in that? Would it be thought worth noticing in an ordinary narrative?

(h) *Surety for Benjamin, Reuben or Judah?*

In xlii. 37 (E) Reuben says, "Slay my two sons, if I bring him "not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will bring him to "thee again." The following verse, in which Jacob refuses to

let Benjamin go, is assigned to J. Then, after a lapse of time in which "they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of "Egypt," Judah urges that if they are to go again into Egypt, Benjamin must accompany them, and offers to guarantee his return :—"I will be surety for him ; of my hand shalt thou require "him" (xliii. 9, J).

Is it quite impossible that both offers should have been made ; one, immediately after their return, refused ; the other, after their supplies were exhausted, accepted ? Perhaps Jacob had reasons for trusting Judah rather than Reuben ;—perhaps Reuben's offer, "Slay my two sons," was repugnant to him ;—perhaps, while they had corn, he hoped that the famine would end, and there would be no need to send again to Egypt, but, when there was a prospect of starvation for them all, he was forced to give a reluctant consent.

Here again, the appearance of divergence is only produced by insisting that what are narrated as distinct incidents, separated by an interval of time, must necessarily refer to the same event.

The treatment of the whole narrative is instructive. In 8 chapters (xxxvii, xxxix–xlv) no less than 9 clauses (xxxix. $1^b$, $20^b$ ; xl. $3^b$, $5^b$, $15^b$ ; xli. $14^b$ ; xliii. $23^b$ ; xliv. $4^b$, $5^b$) are marked as interpolations ;—one verse (xxxvii. 21), two verses (xlii. 27, 28), and a half-verse (xlv. $10^a$) are taken from an E context, and given to J ;—two separate verses (xxxvii. 36, and xliii. 14) are taken from a J context, and given to E ;—and one verse (xxxvii. 28) cut up, and part given to E and part to J. Then when all these alterations in the text (i.e. the evidence) have been made, a formidable list of **"differences"** is drawn up. But evidently the validity of these **"differences"** really depends on the correctness of the critical guesses as to the original text. *If* the various clauses attributed to R are really interpolations ;—*if* two contradictory clauses have been combined in one verse ;—and *if* little bits of one account have been dovetailed into passages from the other, then it is possible to make out a case for there being a composite narrative and divergent accounts. Not otherwise.

When the critics assert "J says this" and "E says that," what they really mean is, "J (as we suppose it originally stood) "says this" and "E (as we suppose it originally stood) says "that."

# VII.

# THE COMMISSION OF MOSES.

It is asserted that in Exod: iii–iv. 13 we have two accounts of the Commission of Moses, one from JE (iii–vi. 1), and one from P (vi. 2–vii. 13). But the former itself is alleged to be composite.

**"The narrative when examined closely, shows marks of "composition. In c. iii the main narrative is E (notice the "frequency of *God* in vv. 4, 6[b], 11, 12, 13[a], 14[a], 15[a]), with "shorter passages from the parallel narrative of J; in "iv. 1–vi. 1, on the contrary, the main narrative is J, with "short passages from E (see the notes on iv. 17–18, 20[b]–21, 27f.)."** BE. 18.

Here the frequent occurrence of "God" (*Elohim*) in c: iii is referred to as confirming the contention that **"the main narra-"tive is E,"** but no other reason is alleged. Attention is not called to the fact that in v: 4 both "Lord" and "God" occur, the verse being now * cut in half, thus :—"And when the Lord saw "that he turned to see," (J), "God called unto him out of the midst "of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses." (E). Also, the phrase "the Lord, the God of your fathers" is found both in 15 (E), and in 16 (J). Also, "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the "God of Jacob" (v: 15, E) is nearly matched by "the God of "Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob" (v: 16, J), and is exactly reproduced in iv. 5 (J), while in the J verses iii. 16, 18, "Lord" is coupled with "God" three times.

It has already been pointed out (p: 13) that the distribution of the Divine appellations in cc: i–vii. 13 is noteworthy, showing a distinct progression. In cc: i, ii *Elohim* alone is used; in iii, *Elohim* occurs three times as often as *Jehovah*;—in iv–vi. 1, *Jehovah* preponderates over *Elohim* in the proportion of 2½ to 1;—in vi. 2–vii. 13 the proportion is nearly 5–1. As the interference of God on behalf of His people is announced more clearly, so the Covenant Name is used more frequently. This looks more like design than the arbitrary piecing together of documents.

* Vv: 2–4[a], in which "Lord" occurs twice, are in BE assigned to J following Bacon) though formerly in LOT ascribed to E.

In c: iv, **"vv. 17–18, 20ᵇ–21 are assigned to E on account "of their imperfect connexion with the context."** BE. 29. Something more than **"imperfect connexion,"**—actual inconsistency is alleged.

**"iv. 17 speaks of 'the *signs*' to be done with the rod, "whereas only *one* sign to be performed with it has been "enjoined in vv. 1–9."** BE. 29.

In vv: 1–9 three signs are described :—(1) the rod turning into a serpent ; (2) the hand made leprous, and restored ; (3) the water turned to blood. The first of these was performed with the rod. Cannot v: 17,—" thou shalt take in thine hand this rod, wherewith " thou shalt do the signs,"—refer to these three even though (strictly speaking) only one was actually performed with the rod ? The objection seems a little hypercritical.

**"iv. 21 mentions 'portents' to be done before the *Pharaoh*, "whereas vv. 1–9 speak only of wonders to be wrought "for the satisfaction of the *people*."** BE. 29.

In iii. 16 (J) Moses is bidden to speak to the " elders of Israel," and afterwards he and the elders (v: 18, J) are to speak to the " King of Egypt." In iv. 1–9 (J) Moses is given three signs whereby to convince the people " if they will not believe." In iv. 21 he is emphatically bidden to " do before Pharaoh all the *portents* which " I have put in thine hand." Why should not this last be part of the same narrative ? As he was bidden to speak to the people first, and to Pharaoh afterwards, why should he not have been bidden to show " signs " to the people first, and do " portents " before Pharaoh afterwards ? The word used in v: 21 differs from that in vv: 1–9, but as to this word Dr. Driver comments,— **"portents. The Heb. *mōphēth* is more than a 'wonder,' "it means an unusual phenomenon,—natural or super- "natural, as the case might be,—arresting attention, and "calling for explanation."** (BE. 31). There even seems to be intentional meaning in the change of word. What to an Israelite, believing in God, would be a " sign," to an Egyptian would rather be a " portent."

**"Further, v. 19, from its contents, is not fitted to be the "sequel of v. 18 ; it in fact states an alternative ground for "Moses' return into Egypt ; and the name Jether (Jethro) "makes it probable that v. 18 belongs to the same current "of narrative as iii. 1 and ch. xviii (i.e. E) ; hence v. 19 "will be referred to J."** BE 29.

The argument here is (1) v: 19 does not fit with 18, and therefore belongs to a different narrative ;—(2) v: 18, containing the name Jethro, belongs to E, and therefore 19 belongs to J. The inferences depend on the two assertions ; (a) v: 19 does not fit with v: 18 ; (b) the name Jethro indicates E authorship.

(a). *The connection of v*: 19 *with v*: 18.

iv. 18 narrates the return of Moses from Horeb to Jethro in Midian (ii. 16); his request to be allowed to return to Egypt; and Jethro's consent. V: 19 then continues, "And the LORD said "unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are "dead which sought thy life."

**"That Moses should now be commanded by God to do "what he has already both determined to do, and obtained "Jethro's permission to do, is remarkable; and, as Dillm. "remarks, can only be explained by the fact that the "verse is by a different narrator from v. 18 (viz: J)."** BE. 30.

The J narrative has already recorded (iii. 16–18) a command given to Moses in Horeb to return to Egypt, and to the Pharaoh. Two objections would naturally arise in his mind; (1) Jethro, **"in whose service he was"** (BE. 30), might refuse to let him go; (2) in Egypt his life might be in danger. V: 18 disposes of one objection: v: 19 of the other. Jethro says, "Go in peace"; the LORD says, "Go, return into Egypt, for all the men are dead "which sought thy life." The latter is no more a command than the former; it is an encouragement. So far, then, from v: 19 being **"not fitted to be the sequel of v. 18,"** it is exactly what is needed to complete it. The two are complementary.

(b). *The name Jethro.*

The critical theory is not merely that the name "Jethro" belongs to the E narrative, but that the J narrative has a different name (Hobab, or Reuel), and therefore a verse containing Jethro cannot belong to J.

**"In Nu. x. 29, Ju. iv. 11. (RVm) he is called Hobab."** BE. 15.

**"In J Moses' father-in-law is called Hobab (Nu. x. 29, "cf Jud. iv. 11)."** LOT. 23.

**"It seems probable . . . that Hobab was really the "name of Moses' father-in-law in J."** BN. 54.

Num: x. 29 says, "Moses said unto Hobab, the son of Reuel the "Midianite, Moses' father-in-law." On this Dr. McNeile comments (BN. 54), **"These words do not make it clear whether Moses' "father-in-law is Hobab or Reuel. In Ex. ii 18 he is Reuel: "and accordingly in Jud. iv. 11, Hobab is described (in RV) "as the '*brother-in-law* of Moses' (and cf. Jud. i. 16). But "'brother-in-law' and 'father-in-law' are renderings "of the same Heb. word *hōthen;* and it would be strange "to find the father and brother of the same man's wife "described by the same term."**

Dr. Driver goes even further, and says that in Jud: iv. 11, **"RV. "'brother-in-law,' cf. i. 16, is a doubtful rend. adopted "entirely from harmonistic motives"** (BE. 15). Mr. Chapman speaks of the **"*very* doubtful translation 'brother-in-law**

**" of RV."** (IP. 106), and asserts that **" *ḥothen* always means " elsewhere ' father-in-law.' "** IP. 105.

As Num: x. 29 is admittedly ambiguous, and Jud: i. 16 mentions no name, the whole question really turns on Jud: iv. 11.

*Ḥothen* (with this vowelling) occurs in Exod: iii. 1, iv. 18, xviii. 1, of Moses' father-in-law, and in Jud: xix. 9 of the " father-in-law " of the Levite. But *ḥathan* (the same word with different vowel points) occurs in Gen: xix. 12, 14; Jud: xv. 6; 1 Sam: xviii. 18, xxii. 14; Neh: xiii. 28, for " son-in-law." In 2 Kings viii. 27 it is used of Ahaziah's relation to the house of Ahab through his mother Athaliah, and simply means " connection " (a " relative " by marriage," Fuerst). The question then arises, Have the Massoretes been right in putting the vowels o, e,—instead of a, a,—to the consonants ḥ, th, n, in Jud: iv. 11. If not, then the verse would only assert that Hobab was Moses' relative by marriage. The critics are very ready, when it suits them, to accuse the Massoretic text of being wrong in the consonants, and even in more important points. Are they prepared to maintain the infallibility of the vowel points, which at most only preserve the traditional pronunciation? If not, they have no right to insist that Jud: iv. 11 must mean that Hobab was father-in-law to Moses.

The assertion that **" in J Moses' father-in-law is called " Hobab "** is far from proven.

In Num: x. 29 the word *ḥothen* is in closer proximity to Reuel than to Hobab, and this agrees with Exod: ii. 18.

What then of the name *Reuel*?

Exod ii. 18 says that the name of Zipporah's father was Reuel. The critics think the name here an interpolation.

**" It seems probable that ' Reuel ' is a late insertion in " Ex. ii. 18 by some one who misunderstood "** Num: x. 29.—BN. 54.

**" Perhaps however the word** [Reuel] **here is a gloss "** [it is so marked in the text above] **" due to a misconception of " Nu. x. 29 . . . had the name been original, it would natur- " ally have been given in v. 16 (where the ' priest of Midian ' " is first mentioned). Still it is strange, if a name had to " be found, that it was taken from the remote Nu. x. 29, " rather than from Ex. iii. 1."** BE. 15.

At best, the suggestion that " Reuel " in Exod: ii. 18 is a **" gloss "** is only a conjecture, and not a very probable one. The argument that **" had the name been original "** it ought to have been found at v: 16 tells (if anything) rather the other way. A scribe inserting an explanatory gloss would almost certainly introduce it at the first opportunity. An original writer might easily omit the name of a character at the first mention and furnish it later on.

Taking, then, the text of Exod: ii. 18 as it stands, and adopting what is (at least) an equally probable interpretation of Num : x. 29,

we have two passages in which the name of Moses' father-in-law is given as *Reuel*, while in Exod: iii. 1, iv. 18, and xviii, he is called *Jethro*.

Does this require us to believe that two independent narratives have been combined ?

The word *Reuel* means **" the ' friend ' or ' companion ' of God "** (BE. 15). Quite possibly, therefore, it may be of the nature of an appellative rather than a proper name, just as nowadays in Palestine Abraham is invariably called *El Khaleel*,—the Friend (of God),—and not by his name. There will be no need to go, with Nielsen, to Sabæan kings and priests for an analogy (see BE. 15). As Jacob is also called Israel, so too Jethro may have been known as *Reu-el*. Then it would be more probable that a single author should use alternative names with which he was very familiar (as Moses must have been with those of his father-in-law) than that a redactor of any intelligence should have combined narratives giving different names to the same person, and leave the discrepancy standing within the space of 8 verses (Exod: ii. 18, iii. 1) without any attempt at explanation.

On examination, the reasons given for considering cc: iii.–vi. 1 (the JE part) composite do not seem very convincing. We turn then to the part alleged to belong to P, cc: vi. 2–vii.–13.

**" The phraseology of this narrative shews that it is derived " from P ; its contents shew that it does not describe the " *sequel* of iii. 1–vi. 1, but is *parallel* to it, and that it gives " a partly divergent account of the commission of Moses, " and of the preliminary steps taken by him to secure the " release of the people."** BE. 41.

In this his later work, Dr. Driver has not included a significant sentence found in LOT, p. 24 ;—**" though the revelation and " commission contained in vi. 2–8 might in *itself* be treated " as a repetition of that in c. iii, its different style points to " P as its source."** In other words, the *substance* of vi. 2–8 might be a renewal of the previous commission, but the *style* determines it as belonging to P. Here, however, we are not at present considering matters of style and phraseology, but the allegation that the contents of vi. 2–vii. 13 show that this is not the sequel to iii. 1–vi. 1 but parallel to it.

**" iii. 1–vi. 1 describes the call and commission of Moses, " the nomination of Aaron as his spokesman with the *people*, " and three signs given to him for the satisfaction of the " people, if they should demond his credentials. Moses " and Aaron have satisfied the people (iv. 30, 31), but their " application to the Pharaoh has proved unsuccessful (c. v), " and something further is threatened (vi. 1)."** BE. 41.

In the closing sentence, **" proved unsuccessful "** is inadequate.

The application to Pharaoh resulted in increased oppression,—" Let heavier work be laid upon the men," v. 9,—and the officers of the children of Israel reproach Moses and Aaron,—" Ye have " made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in " the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us " (v. 21). Moses complains to God that his mission has only made matters worse,—" since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, " he hath evil entreated this people " (v. 23),—and his complaint is met by the promise, " Now shalt thou see what I will do unto " Pharaoh " (vi. 1). What is more likely than that, just at this point, there should have been a renewal of the revelation and commission of iii. 6–10 ? Moses is depressed and discouraged at the evil result of his mission to Pharaoh. He needs encouragement to persevere. An emphatic re-iteration of the commission and promises given at the Burning Bush is just the encouragement needed. The contents of vi. 2–8 form exactly the sequel to v. 22–vi. 1 which might be expected.

**" vi. 1–vii. 13 is a *parallel* narrative of Moses' call and " commission, in which *unlike* iv. 31, the people refuse " to listen to him (vi. 9)."** BE. 41.

Precisely. If vi. 1–vii. 13 is a *parallel* narrative, this would be a discrepancy ; but if vi. 2–8 is a *renewal* of the former commission, the refusal of the people to listen follows naturally. Moses and Aaron had executed their commission to the people, and shown them the signs, " and the people believed " (iv. 31). Then Moses and Aaron had applied to Pharaoh, with the sole result that the already heavy burdens of the people had been made intolerable. The people had listened and believed, and their trust had only been met with cruelty and increased suffering. Why should they hearken again ? " And Moses spake so unto the children of Israel : " but they hearkened not unto Moses *for anguish* [marg. im- " patience] *of spirit, and for cruel bondage.*" (vi. 9).

**" Upon Moses protesting his inability to plead, not, as " in iv. 10-16, with the people, but with the *Pharaoh*, " Aaron is appointed to be his spokesman *with him* (vi. " 11–12, 29–30, vii. 1–2)."** BE. 41.

Again, precisely. Moses at Horeb is bidden to speak to the people, and objects that he is " slow of speech, and of a slow tongue " (iv. 10). He is told that Aaron " shall be thy spokesman unto the " people : and it shall come to pass that he shall be to thee a " mouth, and thou shalt be to him as God " (iv. 16). But " when " the LORD spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt " (vi. 28), bidding him " speak thou unto Pharaoh all that I speak unto thee," Moses objects, " Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh " hearken unto me ? " (vi. 30). The reply to this is, " See, I have " made thee a god unto Pharaoh ; and Aaron thy brother shall " be thy prophet. Thou shalt speak all that I command thee ;

"and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh." The place is different; the command is different; the objection is different; and the reply is different. Why should not the whole incident be different?

**"If the Pharaoh had already refused to hear him (as he "would have done, had ch. v–vi formed a continuous narra-"tive), it is scarcely possible that Moses should allege (vi. "12) a different, *à priori* ground,—a ground, moreover, "inconsistent with iv. 31,—for his hesitation."** BE. 42.

vi. 12, "Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto "me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me?" follows close after v: 9, "they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit, and for "cruel bondage." It refers therefore to the refusal of the Israelites to hearken *after* their sufferings had been increased, which is in no way inconsistent with their belief (iv. 31) before their bitter disappointment. The objection of Moses, then, amounts to this;—If the people, who at first believed, now refuse to hearken, how can it be expected that Pharaoh, who on the first occasion refused to hearken, will now be willing to hear? The argument is not *a priori* but *a fortiori*.

**"Both in P (vii. 13) and J (vi. 1) the same point has thus "been reached."** BE. 53.

**"The narrative at vii. 13 has reached just the same point "which was reached in vi. 1."** LOT. 24.

Is this assertion correct? In c: v an appeal is made to Pharaoh without any sign being given, and Pharaoh replies by increasing the people's burdens. In vi. 8–13 the appeal is backed up by a striking portent, in which Aaron's superiority to the magicians is shown. Yet "Pharaoh's heart was hardened." There is an advance of obstinacy. The point reached at vii. 13 is not **"just "the same"** as that at vi. 1.

If vi. 2–vii. 13 is treated as a **"parallel"** narrative to iii. 1–vi. 1, the whole becomes at once a mass of confusion and inconsistency: if the two are treated as *consecutive* narratives, not only are they perfectly consistent, but the one throws light upon the other, and the later is a natural development of the former. That affords good sound reason for refusing to believe that these can be **"parallel"** narratives. The very differences which the critics adduce as proofs of "**divergence**" are in reality evidence that the accounts relate to different events.

# VIII.

## THE PLAGUES.

THE narrative of the Ten Plagues is alleged to be curiously composite.

The account of the First Plague is said to be an intricate combination of J, E, and P; the Second is partly J, partly P; the Third and Sixth entirely P; the Fourth and Fifth entirely J;—the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth, J and E (with a long parenthesis about the Passover from P and J in the account of the Tenth).

The account of one plague, then, is from all three sources; one is from J and P; two from P only; two from J only; and four from J and E.

What could these documents have been like that such a compilation should have been advisable, or even possible?

That more detailed notices from J or E might be preferred to briefer notices from P would be comprehensible. But what about the Third and Sixth Plagues? Were the accounts in J and E, usually so full of detail, even briefer than those in P? Or were those Plagues absent from the J and E histories? If so, how came P, centuries later, to have preserved traditions unknown to the earlier narratives? Or did he invent them altogether? The short account of the Darkness is assigned to E, the subsequent interview being ascribed to J (by Bacon, followed by BE: in LOT, even this is assigned to E). Did J give no account of this Plague? or was his account even briefer than that of E?

**"Putting aside for the present purely literary differences, "we have thus a threefold representation of the plagues, "corresponding to the three literary sources, P, J, and E, "of which the narrative is composed."** BE. 55.

How can this be when the three sources are only combined in the account of one plague, and six plagues have no trace of P, and five none of E?

**"The differences relate to not less than five or six distinct "points,*—the terms of the command addressed to Moses, "the part taken by Aaron, the demand made of the Pharaoh, "the use made of the rod, the description of the plague,**

* LOT (p: 25) only enumerates "**four distinct points.**" So do "**differences**" develop and grow.

**" and the formulæ used to express the Pharaoh's obstinacy."** BE. 55.

On this follows a detailed list of the characteristics distinguishing the P accounts, and a list of those distinguishing J. These we will proceed to consider in their order, but bringing together the contrasts drawn between P and J.

The quotations are all (unless otherwise stated) from BE, pp: 55, 56.

(a). **" In P Aaron co-operates with Moses, and the command " is *Say unto Aaron* (vii. 19, viii. 5, 16; so " before in vii. 9; even in ix. 8, where Moses " alone is to act, both are expressly addressed."**

**" In J, on the contrary, Moses alone (without Aaron) " is told to go in before the Pharaoh, and he " addresses the Pharaoh himself (in agreement " with iv. 10–16, where Aaron is appointed to " be Moses' spokesman not with Pharaoh, as " in P, but with the *people*) vii. 14, 16, viii. 1, 9, 10, " 20, 26, 29, ix. 1, 13, 29, x. 1, 9, 25, xi. 4–8."**

There are four Plagues, and only four, in which any of the P narrative is alleged to appear. In two of these, the First and Second, Moses is told to go to Pharaoh and warn him of the impending plague (vii. 14–18; viii. 1–4), and after this comes the command " Say unto Aaron " (vii. 19; viii. 5). In these two cases, then, the features which are said to distinguish P and J are found together and are only separated by the analysis. In another case, the Sixth Plague, the commencement is " the LORD said unto Moses and "Aaron " (ix. 8), but there is no command " Say unto Aaron," and Moses acts alone. Five instances (including vii. 9) are adduced to establish the characteristics of P, and three out of the five are, to say the least, doubtful.

On the other hand, in the J passages viii. 8, 12, 25; ix. 27; x. 3, 8, 16 Moses and Aaron are mentioned together. Dr. Driver dismisses these in a footnote (p: 56) with the curt observation, **"Aaron, if he appears at all, is only Moses' silent companion."** But if this were all, why should Pharaoh on five occasions call for Moses *and Aaron*? Surely that is fair evidence that in the J passages also **" Aaron co-operates with Moses."**

It is true that in the J passages Moses himself is said to address Pharaoh, but it is equally true that Aaron **" does not in P ever " *speak* for Moses to Pharaoh "** (BE. 50). So that in P too Aaron is **" only Moses' silent companion,"** although it is the P passage vii. 2 that says, " Thou shalt speak all that I command " thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto Pharaoh." Since in the subsequent narrative there is no mention of Aaron speaking to Pharaoh, it is not impossible that where Moses is commanded to " say unto Pharaoh," or where the narrative says " Moses said

"unto Pharaoh," the writer really had in mind Moses addressing Pharaoh through Aaron. Why may not Moses have spoken to Aaron in Hebrew, and Aaron repeated the speech in Egyptian? Though the utterance was conveyed through an interpreter, it would still be true that "Moses said unto Pharaoh."

(b). In P, **"there is no interview with the Pharaoh, so that "no demand is ever made for Israel's release."**

In J, **"a formal demand is regularly made, *Let my "people go that they may serve me*, vii. 16, viii. "1, 20, ix. 1, 13, x. 3 (comp. before, iv. 23)."**

Again, as in (a), both the First and Second Plagues have the formal demand which is supposed to be peculiar to J, only the critics by their analysis remove it from P. Even if they are right in saying that this particular demand came from the J document, that would be no kind of proof that P never had any demand at all. If, because in the Third and Sixth Plagues no formal demand is recorded, we are therefore to conclude that none was made, what is the meaning of the P phrase "he hearkened not unto them" (viii. 19; ix. 12)? Also, in the JE accounts of the Ninth and Tenth Plagues the formal demand is not recorded.

As for interviews with Pharaoh, no such interviews are recorded before any of the Plagues (though some must have taken place) except before the Eighth and the Tenth (x. 3–6; xii. 4–8). At the Ninth Plague there is not even the command to speak to Pharaoh. Of interviews *after* the Plague, six are recorded: of the other four accounts, two certainly are attributed to P, but one (the First) is largely drawn from J, and the other (the Fifth) is entirely J. If in these two, J records no interview after the occurrence, it is probable there was none to record. But then this might account for the P instances also.

(c). In P, **"the descriptions are brief."**

In J, **"the interview with the Pharaoh is prolonged, "and described in some detail."**

In the former quotation it is not specified what **"descriptions"** are meant, but in the list of difference **"the description of the "plague"** is included, and in the corresponding passage of LOT (p: 25) the wording is **"the description of the plague is brief, "seldom extending beyond the compass of two or three "verses."** In the list of J characteristics nothing exactly corresponding to this is found, but the quotation given above occupies a similar position.

As a matter of fact, if by **"the description of the plague"** is meant the description of the actual occurrence, that is in no instance of great length. The two longest are those of the Hail (ix. 23–26) and the Locusts (x. 13–15), both partly E. In the first two Plagues, the passages ascribed to J contain no such description. In the Fourth and Fifth (J) the description occupies a single

verse (vii. 24, ix. 6), and in the Ninth and Tenth (JE) two verses each (x. 22, 23 ; xii. 29, 30).

(d). In P, **" except in ix. 10, Aaron is the wonder-worker, " bringing about the result by stretching out his " rod at Moses' direction (vii. 19, viii. 5f, 16f, cf. vii. 9)."**

In J, **" Jehovah himself brings the plague, after it " has been announced by Moses,—usually on the " morrow, viii. 23, ix. 5f. 18, x. 4, without any " mention of Aaron or his rod."**

There are two Plagues (3rd and 6th) assigned entirely to P : in one the plague is brought about by Aaron stretching out his rod ; in the other, by Moses sprinkling ashes. Two others (4th and 5th) are assigned to J : in these there is no human intervention. There are four Plagues (7th to 10th) partly J, partly E : in two of these, the plague is brought about by Moses stretching out the rod ; in a third, by stretching out his hand ; in a fourth there is no human intervention : in each case, the part describing the action is ascribed to E. There are two Plagues (1st and 2nd) in which the accounts are alleged to be partly P, partly JE or J : in these, Aaron and his rod are mentioned, but those mentions are attributed to P.

Is it not fairly evident that **" in P Aaron is the wonder- " worker "** because in two instances out of three the mention of Aaron has been cut out of the J context and given to P ? and that in J **" Jehovah himself brings the plague "** just because, in three instances, the intervention of Moses has been taken from J and given to E ?

On the other hand, it is worth notice that there is a definite arrangement in the methods by which the Plagues are brought about :—the first three at Aaron's action, and then two without human intervention ; then four at Moses' action, and the last without human intervention. Here, as throughout, Moses is given pre-eminence.

Does this look like arbitrary piecing together of different documents ?

(e). In P, **" The wonders wrought (' signs and portents,' " vii. 3. P does not speak of them as ' plagues ') are intended " less to break down Pharaoh's resistance than to accredit " Moses as Jehovah's representative."**

First, as to the word used. On p: 58 of BE there is a full note enumerating the various terms used, six in number. Of these, the three general terms,—" signs," " portents," " wonders,"—need not now detain us.

In c: ix. 14, before the Plague of the Hail, there is the passage, " I will this time send all my plagues [*maggephoth*,—severe blows] " upon thine heart." J.

In xi. 1, before the last Plague, there is, "Yet one plague [*nega*, "—a heavy touch, or stroke] more will I bring upon Pharaoh." E.

In xii. 13, with reference to the last Plague, there is, "there shall "be no plague [*negeph*,—a severe blow, cognate with *maggephoth*] "be upon you." P.

In the whole narrative, no word meaning "plague" is applied to any of the **"wonders wrought"** except once to the Hail, where punitive severity begins to be manifested, and twice to the final, overmastering blow. In these three instances, three differing words are used, one assigned to J, one to E, and one to P. The facts of the case, then, are that P speaks of the "signs and portents" as "plagues" just as often, neither more nor less, as the other sources,—and that is, once.

Then again, all the earlier signs seem rather intended **"to "accredit Moses as Jehovah's representative."** It is only at the Seventh, after prolonged obstinacy, that they begin to take the form of punishments intended **"to break down Pharaoh's "resistance,"** (see ix. 17, "As yet exaltest thou thyself against "my people"), and it is just as this point that a word meaning "plague" is used for the first time. As all the wonders in which any P account is alleged come within the first six, there would necessarily be treated as signs **"to accredit Moses."** When an allusion to one of the final punitive signs is found in a P passage (xii. 13), there a word meaning "plague" is used.

(f). **"They thus take substantially the form of a contest "with the native magicians, who are mentioned only in "the narrative (vi. 11f, 22, viii. 7, 18f, ix. 11), and who at "first do the same thing by their arts, but in the end are "completely defeated."**

In the first two Plagues, the magicians successfully imitate the signs given by Moses and Aaron. That in these two instances they appear only in the P narrative depends entirely on the separation of vii. 21[b], 22, and viii. 5–7 from the J context. In the Third Plague, they are unsuccessful, and have to confess, "This is the "finger of God" (viii. 19). After such a defeat, it is probable that they would not attempt to compete with a Power they owned to be higher than theirs, which would account for their not being mentioned in the Fourth and Fifth Plagues. In the Sixth they make no attempt to compete with Moses, but are only mentioned as suffering in common, with all the other Egyptians, and unable to "stand before Moses" because of the boils (ix. 11). This showed that they were not only unable to perform similar wonders, but were helpless to defend themselves against Moses' power. After so utter a defeat, it is not likely that they would venture to show themselves again, and no more is heard of them.

Thus the silence about the magicians in all the Plagues except

the first three and the sixth can be quite reasonably accounted for without any theory of "**differences of representation.**"

(g). In P, "**the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is expressed "by *ḥazaḳ*, *ḥizzaḳ* (*was strong*, *made strong*), vii. "22, viii. 19, ix. 12, xi. 10** (so **vii. 13).**"

In J, "**the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is expressed "by *kābed*, *hikbid* (*was heavy*, *made heavy*), vii. "14, viii. 15, 32, ix. 7, 34, x. 1.**"

The two words thus express different ideas ;—*hazak*, to be strong, "**i.e. *firm, hard, unyielding*.**" BE. 53 (LOT. 25, note, adds "**in a bad sense *stubborn, defiant*** ") :—*kabed*, to be heavy, "**i.e. *slow to move or be affected, unimpressionable*.**" BE. 53.

Moreover, the use of these words is remarkable.

In seven instances (iv. 21 ; ix. 12, 20, 27 ; xi. 10 ; xiv. 4, 8), the LORD is said to "make strong" (*hazak*) Pharaoh's heart. In three instances (viii. 15, 32 ; ix. 34), Pharaoh is said to "make "heavy" (*kabed*) his own heart. In six instances (four *hazak*, vii. 13, 22 ; viii. 19 ; ix. 35 :—two *kabed*, vii. 14 ; ix. 7) the word is passive or intransitive. *Hazak* is never used of Pharaoh's action ; *kabed* only once (x. 1) of Divine action.

Not less remarkable is the order in which these words occur. From vii. 8 (the preliminary sign of turning the rod into a reptile) down to viii. 32 (the end of the Fourth Plague) the order runs thus :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | vii. 13. Pharaoh's heart was hardened. | (*hazak*) | After preliminary sign. |
| (2) | 14. ,, ,, is stubborn. | (*kabed*) | Before 1st Plague. |
| (3) | 22 ,, ,, was hardened. | (*hazak*) | After ,, ,, |
| (4) | viii. 15. he hardened his heart. | (*kabed*) | ,, 2nd ,, |
| (5) | 19. Pharaoh's heart was hardened. | (*hazak*) | ,, 3rd ,, |
| (6) | 22. Pharaoh hardened his heart. | (*kabed*) | ,, 4th ,, |

So far the words have alternated regularly, suggesting the idea of moods of wilful defiance and dull obstinacy reacting on each other. The verbs, too, are either passive or express Pharaoh's action.

In the next pair the order is inverted :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (7) | ix. 7. the heart of Pharaoh was stubborn. | (*kabed*) | After 5th Plague. |
| (8) | 12. the LORD hardened the heart of Pharaoh. | (*hazak*) | ,, 6th ,, |

Is this mere chance ? or is any reason discernible for the change of order ?

In the Sixth Plague, the Egyptian magicians were finally defeated, and their inability to resist the Divine power shown. Resistance to such a sign is the more blameworthy, and for it the stronger word indicating defiance is reserved. Here, too, for the first time Divine retributive action is intimated ; "the LORD made strong."

After the severe lesson of the Hail, there is a remarkable collocation of three consecutive verses :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (9) | ix. 34. | Pharaoh hardened his heart. | (*kabed*) After 7th Plague. |
| (10) | 15. | the heart of Pharaoh was hardened. | (*hazak*) ,, ,, ,, |
| (11) | x. 1. | I have hardened his heart. | (*kabed*) ,, ,, ,, |

The alternation of words continues, but there is a deliberate progression. Pharaoh makes his heart "heavy"; his heart is made "strong"; and then, for the first and only time, the LORD makes "heavy" Pharaoh's heart. The dull passive resistance has hitherto been Pharaoh's own doing. Now by Divine retribution it hardens into a permanent state of brutish obstinacy. After this, the word *kabed* is no longer used.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (12) | x. 20. | The LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart. | (*hazak*) After 8th Plague. |
| (13) | 27. | ,, ,, ,, ,, | ,, 9th ,, |
| (14) | xi. 10. | ,, ,, ,, ,, | ,, Summary. |

Sullen obstinacy has passed finally into active passionate defiance.

The same verb, *hazak*, is used of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites, (xiv. 4, 8).

There are two passages (vii. 13, 14; ix. 34–x. 1) where the two words occur in consecutive verses, and the position of these is significant. One is at the commencement of the whole series; the other after the great crisis of the Hail. It was after this that Pharaoh first confessed that he had sinned, yet afterwards "he "sinned yet more, and hardened [made heavy] his heart."(ix.34)

Can all this be accidental? Yet we are asked to believe that it has come about by the piecing together of extracts from three separate documents. Is there not rather fair evidence of deliberate arrangement and intentional choice of words? But if so, this would point to a unity of thought running through the whole series of narratives, and the difference of words, instead of suggesting **"difference of representation"** would be distinct evidence of unity of authorship.*

(h). In P, **"the closing formula is, *and he hearkened not unto them, as Jehovah had spoken,* vii. 22, viii. "15ᵇ, 19, ix. 12 (so viii. 13)."**

In J, **"there is no closing formula."**

It is strange that the very narratives in which **"no demand "is ever made for Israel's release,"** should be the ones to terminate invariably with the formula, "and he hearkened not "unto them": while the narratives in which **"a formal demand**

* The two verbs are found near together in Gen: xlvii ;–v: 13, "The famine "was very sore (kabed)";—v: 20, "the famine was sore (hazak) upon them." The whole passage is ascribed to J, so one and the same writer uses both words in similar contexts.

**" is regularly made "** are the ones to have **" no closing for- " mula " !**

As a matter of fact, two of the narratives above referred to (vii. 14–22 ; viii. 1–15) have both the **" formal demand "** and the **" closing formula,"** only the critics have assigned the **" demand "** to one source, and the **" formula "** to the other. One of these instances is especially instructive. viii. 15 runs, " When Pharaoh " saw there was respite, he hardened [made heavy] his heart, and " hearkened not unto them ; as the LORD had spoken." The first portion contains the word *kabed* said to be peculiar to J ; the latter part is the **" formula "** deemed to be the special property of P. It is singular that any one should have thought it necessary to combine these two into one sentence. Why did he not think of adding the closing formula to other J narratives ?

Possibly because in five narratives out of six which have not got the phrase " he hearkened not unto them," it would be sadly out of place. After the Plague of Flies, Pharaoh said, " I will let you " go " (viii. 28) ; —after the Hail, " I have sinned this time . . . " I will let you go " (ix. 27, 28) ;—after the Locusts, " I have " sinned against the LORD your God " (x. 16) ;—after the Darkness, " Go ye, serve the LORD " (x. 24) ;—after the destruction of the Firstborn, " Rise up, get you forth " (xii. 3). To have added " he hearkened not unto them " after any of these would scarcely have been consistent. The absence of the **" closing formula "** is not due to any peculiarity of J.

(i). **" J also, unlike both P and E, represents the Israelites " as living apart from the Egyptians in the land of Goshen, " viii. 22, ix. 26 (so before Gen: xlv. 10, xlvi. 28f, etc:)."**

Exod: viii. 22. " I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, " in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies " shall be there."

ix. 26. " Only in the land of Goshen, where the children " of Israel were, was there no hail."

Both these passages distinguish the land of Goshen " where the " children of Israel were " from the rest of the country where there were no Israelites. They do not say a word about **" the " Israelites living apart from Egyptians."** There is nothing to show that there were no Egyptians in Goshen. The critics have read into the text more than is warranted.

It is not at all established that P and E do not mention Goshen, (see above p: 59, and Appendix A, p: 508).

So far the **" differences "** between P and J have been considered. There is yet the third source E.

**" The narrative of E has been only very partially preserved ; " so it is not possible to characterize it as fully as those " of P or J. Its most distinctive feature is that Moses is**

**"the wonder-worker, bringing about the plague by his "rod (in agreement with iv. 17, 20[b], where it is said to have "been specially given to him by God) vii. 15[b], 17[b], 20[b], "ix. 23[a], x. 13[a], (cf. afterwards, xiv. 16, xvii. 5, 9); only in the case "the darkness (x. 21f.) does he use his hand for the purpose."** BE. 56.

In Exod: iv. 2, Moses has a "rod" (shepherd's staff, see BE. 27) in his hand, which when thrown on the ground becomes a serpent, and on being laid hold of becomes a rod again (vv: 3, 4). This sign, and two others in which the rod does not play a part, he is to show to the people that they may believe in him (vv: 6–9). Moses pleads his want of eloquence (vv: 10–13), and is promised the help of Aaron (vv: 14–16). On this follows, v: 17, "And thou shalt "take in thine hand this rod, wherewith thou shalt do the signs."

What rod? Naturally one would suppose "this rod" would refer to the one mentioned a few verses earlier. No, say the critics, **"not the rod of vv: 2–4 (with which only *one* sign was to be "wrought), but the rod often mentioned in E as borne by "Moses."** BE. 30.

The sole reason for considering this rod different from the former is that vv: 2–4 speak of only one sign to be wrought with the rod, and v: 17 speaks of "the signs." Surely this is straining the requirements of language In vv: 2–9 three signs are to be shown, and the first of these is with the rod. Is it (at the outside) more than a verbal inaccuracy,* such as would pass unnoticed in an ordinary narrative, to speak of the rod "wherewith thou shalt do the signs"? Yet on this very slender ground not only is v: 17 detached from the whole preceding passage and assigned to a different source, but also a lost piece of narrative is conjectured:—**"In a previous "part of E, which has not been preserved, it must have been "told how Moses was equipped with a wonder-working rod, "and what 'the signs' were which he was to perform "with it before Pharaoh (so Di.)."** BE. 30. Of course, there is not a tittle of evidence to show that such **"a previous "part of E"** ever existed. It is simply guessed at to account for the meaning which the critics put upon v: 17.

Then it is further boldly asserted that in iv. 17[b], 20, this second rod **"is said to have been specially given to him by God."** "Thou shalt take in thine hand this rod" says nothing of the kind: there is not a word about **"specially given to him by God."** In v: 20[b] it is said, "And Moses took the rod of God in his hand," and xvii. 9 also mentions "the rod of God." How does this show that it was a rod **"specially given"** by God? Moses had a rod with

* That is, regarding the narrative as purely human. For those who believe that these words were really a Divine utterance, "the signs" would include, in God's foreknowledge, the signs to be wrought thereafter, as well as the one already described.

which God had given him a miraculous sign (vv: 2–4); God had bidden him "take in thine hand this rod" wherewith to perform the signs. Is that not sufficient reason for calling it "the rod of "God"?

Having decided that the plural "signs" in v: 17 prove that the rod there mentioned cannot be the rod of vv: 2–4; having evolved out of their inner consciousness **"a previous part of E"** to account for this other rod; having assumed that "thou shalt "take in thine hand this rod" of v: 17, and "the rod of God" in v: 20 must mean that it was a rod **"specially given"** by God, the critics proceed to build on these somewhat insecure foundations the theory that wherever the rod is mentioned as being in Moses' hand, it must be this **"specially given"** rod, and that all such passages must be credited to E.

Let us see how this works out.

Out of the J passage vii. 4–18, vv: $15^b$, $17^b$, have to be excised and given to E.

$15^b$, "and the rod which was turned to a serpent shalt thou take "in thine hand," is a short enough passage (in Hebrew six words), but it is too long for the critical purpose. It contains the words "which was turned to a serpent [*nachash*]," * and these would identify the rod with that of iv. 2–4, so they in turn must be cut out, and assigned to $R^{JE}$, leaving just three words for E.

$17^b$, "with the rod that is in mine hand" is again just three words in Hebrew, removed from J and given to E.

V: $20^b$ is separated in even more curious fashion. The whole verse runs, "And Moses and Aaron did so, as the LORD commanded "(P); and he lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that were in "the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants "(E); and all the waters that were in the river were turned to "blood (J)."

Truly an interesting piece of combination!

As the command in v: 19 is "Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod," and as Aaron's name is mentioned again in the first clause of v: 20, it would be only natural to conclude that "he lifted up the rod" in the second clause also refers to Aaron. But no:—**"At first "sight, in view of $19^a$ the subject seems to be Aaron: Aaron, "however, in v. 19 is to stretch out his hand over *all* the "water in Egpyt: here the Nile only is smitten, in exact "accordance with v. 17. At least therefore in its original "context, when the narrative of E was complete, the 'he' "will have been Moses, who carries the rod in vv. $15^b$, 17."** BE. 61.

* It is noteworthy that the older MSS of the LXX (B & A) not only have "which was turned into a serpent" in this passage but have actually inserted it in iv. 17, showing how that passage was understood. The critics do not quote the evidence of the LXX here.

Let us begin by making the critics a present of an additional "proof" that v: 20[b] cannot come from the same source as v: 19. In 19, Aaron is to "stretch out," not the rod but, "thine hand" over the waters of Egypt: in 20[b], "he lifted up" (not the same word as "stretch out") "the rod, and smote the waters that were in the river." The difference is not only in the object (**"*all* the "water in Egypt"—"the Nile only"**),—but in the action ("stretch out"—"lifted up"), and in the instrument ("thine hand"—"the rod"). What a glaring **'difference of repre-"sentation"**!

Now to consider the real value of this argument.

In v: 19 the command to Aaron is "Take thy rod, and stretch "out thine hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers "[**The Nile and its arms**, BE. 61], over their streams [**lit. "*their Niles*, i.e. their Nile-canals.** BE. 61], and over their "pools, and over all their ponds of water [**Probably *reservoirs* "(tanks, cisterns, etc:)** BE. 61], that they may become blood: "and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both "in vessels of wood and in vessels of stone."

Are we to understand that the writer of this conceived that Aaron was instructed to stretch out his hand over every individual river, canal, pool, reservoir, vessel of wood or stone throughout all Egypt? That would require either a miraculous arm, or a considerable amount of time and journeying. Even critical punctiliousness for insisting upon literal interpretation must surely shrink from such an interpretation. It is obvious that (unless we insist upon taking it absolutely literally) the requirements of this verse are sufficiently met by Aaron stretching out his hand over some main representative of the waters, while the effect would be produced in all the waters. What main representative could be so suitable as the Nile itself, and that "in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of "his servants"?

There is not, then, any inconsistency between "the waters of "Egypt," v: 19, and "the waters that were in the river," v: 20, and the reason for thinking that it was not Aaron who "lifted up "the rod" disappears.

Suppose that, for once, we treat this narrative like "any ordinary "book," and not as a jumble of inconsequent and inconsistent snippets from various sources, how will it read?

Moses has been commanded (vi. 29), "Speak thou unto Pharaoh "king of Egypt all that I speak unto thee." On his objecting that he is of "uncircumcised lips," he is given Aaron, who had already been his spokesman to the people, to be his spokesman before Pharaoh; and the enlarged command is "Thou shalt speak all that "I command thee: and Aaron thy brother shall speak unto "Pharaoh." The Divine communication is made to Moses; Moses conveys it to Aaron; and Aaron repeats it to Pharaoh. Hence

the frequent references in the narrative to "Moses and Aaron," acting in co-operation.

But the writer has some regard to style and vividness of narration, and will not encumber his pages with constant repetitions of "Moses said unto Aaron, and Aaron said unto Pharaoh." What one brother says, the other repeats, and it is enough to say (e.g. viii. 9) "Moses said unto Pharaoh." Nor does the writer consider it necessary, when Moses has been commanded to deliver a message, to say that Moses did deliver it. He takes that for granted, and passes on at once to the sequel (see viii. 5, 24; ix. 6, 20).

In vii. 14–18, then, Moses is commanded to meet Pharaoh "by the "river's brink," taking in his hand "the rod which was turned into "a serpent" (i.e. the rod of iv. 3). He is to warn Pharaoh that, by smiting the waters with the rod, they will be turned to blood. The narrative does not state, but takes for granted that Moses did as he was told, and in like manner takes for granted that he was accompanied by Aaron the spokesman. When the message has been delivered and disregarded (though this too is not stated), Moses is told to "say unto Aaron," (who must therefore have been present), "Take thy rod, and stretch out thy hand." Then v: 20 continues, "And Moses and Aaron did so," * (i.e. Moses conveyed the command, and Aaron took the rod), "and he (Aaron) lifted "up the rod," and the plague followed.

Read thus in common-sense fashion, and bearing in mind that the brothers are throughout looked upon as acting in perfect concert, the whole narrative becomes quite straightforward and consistent. In the earlier "signs," Aaron the interpreter is the leading figure, and has the rod, Moses remaining comparatively in the background. When it comes to the final triumph over the magicians and the more grievous "plagues," Moses assumes the lead, and the rod is once more in his hand; just as, after the defeat of Elymas, we read no more of "Barnabas and Saul" (Acts xiii. 7), but of "Paul and Barnabas" (v: 46).

Can it be said that this reading of the history is in any way strained or artificial? Yet it accounts perfectly naturally for the rod in Moses' hand without any **"difference of representation."**

**"This feature"** (the rod in Moses' hand), says Dr. Driver (BE. 56), **"differentiates E from both P (with whom the "wonder-working rod is in Aaron's hand), and J (who "mentions no rod. . . .)."**

Quite so. When every allusion to the rod in Aaron's hand has been carefully assigned to P, and every other allusion to the rod cut out of J and handed over to E, it is quite simple to **"differ-"entiate."** But is it fair treatment of the evidence?

* Here the verb is in the plural, "they did so." In vv: 6 and 10, where they join in a common act, the verb is in the singular, "And Moses did, "and Aaron (also)."

**" E uses the same word *be* or *made strong*, for ' harden ' " that P does, but he follows the clause describing the har- " dening of the Pharaoh's heart by the words, *and he did* " *not let the children of Israel* (or *them*) *go*, ix. 35 (contrast " J's phrase, v. 34[b]), x. 20, 27 (cf. iv. 21, E)."** BE. 56.

The word for " harden " has already been considered (see pp: 73, 74). As for the additional words, in viii. 32 we have " Pharaoh " hardened [made heavy] his heart this time also, and he did not " let the people go " ; and in x. 7, " the heart of Pharaoh was stub- " born [heavy], and he did not let the people go." Both these passages contain the word *kabed*, and are therefore both ascribed to J. Can it be seriously contended that this added clause differs appreciably from that ascribed to E ? Further, ix. 35, x. 27 (cited above) are only assigned to E by being separated from a J context on either side, and ix. 35 has a further addition, " as the " LORD had spoken by Moses," so like the **" closing formula "** of P, that it has to be cut off from E, and attributed to $R^P$.

It would not be fair in this examination of the evidence to give less than the full weight to the critics' contention.

Their claim is :—On literary criteria (i.e. matters of style and phraseology) we have assigned various portions of the text to different authors. On examination of these, it is found that portions assigned to one author show **" differences of representa- " tion "** to what is found in other portions. **" The grounds of " the analysis depend, in the first instance, upon literary " criteria ; which however are remarkably supported by " corresponding differences in the representation."** LOT. 24.

This would certainly be a strong, a cumulative argument. If passages are separated on account of one class of differences, and then are seen to display differences of an altogether different nature, the discovery of the latter would be a very strong confirmation of the correctness of the former division.

If then the analysis has been made *solely* on literary grounds, and then afterwards the **" differences of representation "** shown to characterize the portions so separated, the critical position would be strong indeed. Has this been the case ?

In his later work (BE) Dr. Driver has reversed the judgment as to authorship expressed in his earlier work (LOT) in several instances in this part of Exodus alone. For instance, c: x. 8–11 was formerly marked E ; it is now marked J. Why is this ? The **" literary criteria "** have not changed. Is there any ground for the alteration except that in this passage there is a **" difference of " representation "** which had not been so considered before ? Certainly there is here a mention of flocks and herds, and it is now (though not formerly) contended that E does not mention them.

There is a similar mention of flocks, herds, and cattle in x. 24–26, and these verses also have been transferred from E to J.

Again, ix. 31, 32, formerly marked J, are now marked E. Why? **"On account of the information on Egyptian matters which "it contains, the notice is referred by Di. and others to E"** (BE. 76). What **"literary criteria"** are here?

Again, the few words "and the rod . . . shalt thou take on thine "hand" (vii. 15[b]) are now detached from the J passage to which they were formerly considered to belong, and transferred to E. Can there be any possible question of literary style here? Is it not obvious that the change has been made solely because of the mention of the rod in Moses' hand which is now considered to be a **"difference of representation"** peculiar to E?

The later form of the analysis, then, is not above suspicion of having been made on grounds of **"difference of representation."** The earlier is not much better.

x. 27, "But the LORD hardened [*made strong*] Pharaoh's heart, "and he would not let them go," is attributed to E, both in LOT and in BE. It comes in the middle of a J passage (x. 24–29), and the final clause closely resembles the admittedly J phrase, "And he did not let the people go." Why is it separated from the context? Because it contains the word *hazak* which J is not supposed to use. This might be thought to be included among **"literary criteria,"** but Dr. Driver himself, **"putting aside "for the present purely literary differences,"** classes this very word among the differences of representation which distinguish P from J (BE. 55).

Again, xi. 1–3 is marked E. Why? It pictures the Israelites **"as having every one an Egyptian neighbour"** (BE. 56), and not as living apart in Goshen. Once more a **"difference of "representation."**

It may be urged that all these instances belong to the distinction between J and E which, the critics themselves admit is often hard to draw. That only makes it the more probable that the analysis in these cases has been made because of **"differences of repre-"sentation,"** and not on **"literary criteria."**

But we need not be limited to JE instances. The half-verse viii. 15[b], "and hearkened not unto them: as the LORD had spoken," is separated from the preceding J passage, to which it seems quite a natural termination, and marked P. Why? Because it is the **"closing formula"** said to be absent from J.

vii. 21[b], 22, "and the blood was throughout all the land of "Egypt. And the magicians of Egypt did in like manner with their "enchantments: and Pharaoh's heart was hardened [*strong*], "and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken," is separated from J passages, both before and after, and marked P. Why? It contains three of the alleged **"differences of repre-**

**" sentation "** :—(1) the mention of the magicians ; (2) the word *hazak* ; (3) the closing formula. Apart from these, there can hardly be any question of literary style. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that the whole analysis of the accounts of the first two Plagues (vii. 14–25 ; viii. 1–15) is really based upon **" differ- " ences of representation,"** and not on **" literary criteria "** at all.

The procedure here exemplified recurs frequently in the analysis of the Pentateuch. On literary grounds the critics assign certain passages to (say) P. In those passages they find certain peculiarities of historic representation. But they find the same peculiarities in passages assigned to (say) J. Thereupon they *assume* that these peculiarities have been interpolated in J from P ; mark them P, even if they are not distinguished by **" literary " criteria " ;** and then claim that these are **" differences of " representation "** distinguishing P from J, and therefore confirming the previous analysis. They have no right to do so. When peculiarities of representation not distinguished by **" literary " criteria "** are common to both J and P passages, their evidence does not support but contravenes the literary analysis.

Unless the analysis has been made solely on literary grounds, the alleged confirmation of **" literary criteria "** by differences in historic representation is wholly illusory.

# IX.

## THE SPIES.

In Num: xiii, xiv we have the account of the Mission of the Spies, alleged to be composite.

**"The narrative presents many serious difficulties which "cannot be removed except by the recognition that it con-"tains a fusion of the early traditions of JE with the later "account of P. . . .**

**"This separation of the traditions depends partly on the "presence of characteristic words and expressions, but "partly also on irreconcilable differences in the facts which "relate."** BN. 68.

The **"irreconcilable differences"** enumerated are four in number, viz :—

| | in JE | in P. |
|---|---|---|
| (a). The spies start from | Kadesh ; | the wilderness of Paran. |
| (b) They search | the south border of Palestine, round Hebron ; | the whole of Palestine. |
| (c) They report that the land is | fertile, but invincible ; | not fertile. |
| (d) Encouragement of people, and permission to enter Canaan due to | Caleb alone ; | both Joshua and Caleb. |

(See BN. 68 ; LOT. 62, 63).

(a). *The Start.*

**"In P the spies start from 'the wilderness of Paran' "xiii. 3: cf. v. 26) : in JE, though it is not here so stated, "it may be inferred from Nu. xxxii. 8 (cf. Dt. i. 19 ; Josh. "xiv. 6) that they started from *Kadesh* ; and with this "agree the words *to Kadesh* in xiii. 26."** LOT. 63.

That the JE narrative represents the spies as starting from Kadesh

is not based on any statement in cc: xiii, xiv, but on an inference from xxxii. 8. Now Dr. Driver (LOT. 68) marks xxxii. 1–17 as "**JE "(in the main),**" but Dr. McNeile says (BN. 170), "**The chapter "as a whole is the work of P,**" only on p: 172 he asserts that "**The starting point and the destination of the spies "(Kadesh and Eshcol)**" are from JE. This makes it a little doubtful whether xxxii. 8 has anything to do with the JE narrative.

What then are the passages referred to?

Num: xxxii. 8, "Thus did your fathers when I sent them from "Kadesh-barnea to see the land."

Deut: i. 19, "We came to Kadesh-barnea." (vv: 22–29 give the mission of the spies).

Josh: xiv. 6, 7, Caleb speaks of being sent "from Kadesh-barnea to "spy out the land."

There are then passages (whether JE or not) which represent the spies as starting from Kadesh.

Num: xiii. 3 (P) says, "Moses sent them from the wilderness of "Paran," and

v. 26[a] (P) gives their return "unto the wilderness of "Paran."

Does this constitute an "**irreconcilable difference**"? The "combiner" of v: 26 evidently did not think so, for he has made the spies return "unto the wilderness of Paran to Kadesh," only the critics will have it that he has put together two irreconcilable statements. Yet even a "combiner" of (say) the 4th century BC, being a Jew, and possibly living in Palestine, may have known something more about the positions of Kadesh and Paran than western scholars of to-day.

Dr. McNeile (BN. 53) says the wilderness of Paran "**apparently "corresponded to the modern desert of Et-tih,**" and the map at the end of his book shows Kadesh close to this very district.

Num: xii. 16, the last verse credited to the JE document previous to the mission of the spies, says "the people journeyed from Hazeroth, "and pitched in the wilderness of Paran," which looks very much as though JE also represented the spies as starting from the wilderness of Paran or its immediate neighbourhood.

The evidence, then, apart from the analysis, runs thus;—

Num: xii. 16 brings the Israelites to the wilderness of Paran;

xiii. 3 (three verses later) says the spies were sent from the wilderness of Paran;

xiii. 26 says that the spies returned "unto the wilderness of "Paran to Kadesh";

Num: xxxii. 8, Deut: i. 19, Josh: xiv. 6, 7, agree that the spies started from Kadesh-barnea.

Kadesh is believed to have been situated near the modern desert of *Et-Tih*, which probably corresponds to Paran.

If the Israelite encampment was near the edge of the wilderness,

it may have been sufficiently near to Kadesh to make it allowable to speak of the spies starting from either the one or the other.

Where is the "**irreconcilable difference**"?

Mr. Chapman, however, has a further difficulty to propound.

**"In Num. xiii. 26 'to Kadesh' is added as explanatory "after 'unto the wilderness of Paran.' This implies that "Kadesh was in the wilderness of Paran; but in Num. xx. "1, and still more distinctly in Num. xxvii. 14, Deut. xxxii. "51, Kadesh is mentioned as in the wilderness of *Zin*, "which the people reach only *after* the expedition of the "spies. The same place is thus differently described in "the *two* sets of passages. The variation can only be satis-"factorily explained by supposing that they are due to "different writers."** IP. 93.

Two assumptions are here made:—(1) that the Kadesh of Num: xiii. 26 is the "**same place**" as the Kadesh of Num: xx. 1; (2) that "the wilderness of Paran" must be a different locality to "the wilderness of Zin." If either of these is mistaken, the whole argument breaks down. Also, it must be remembered that the two mentions of Kadesh are separated by a long interval of time, Num: xiii belonging to the same year as the start from Horeb, before the sentence of the 40 years wandering; Num: xx to the end of that period; ("**It is clear that the chapter deals with "events at the close of the wanderings and not earlier.**" BN. 105).

Now (1) Num: xxxii. 8, Deut: i. 19, Josh: xiv. 6, 7, agree in calling the starting point of the spies "Kadesh-barnea," which looks as though there may have been another Kadesh not so distinguished. This name is nowhere associated with the Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin: (2) Little is known of the position of the wilderness of Zin. Mr. Chapman describes it as "**adjoining that of Paran**" (IP. 93). The account which states that the spies were sent from "the wilderness of Paran" also states that they "spied out the "land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob" (Num: xiii. 3, 21; both P), which looks as though the latter were closely connected with the former.

There are, then, two possibilities:—(1) there may have been two places called Kadesh; Kadesh-barnea in the wilderness of Paran, and Kadesh (associated with Meribah, Num: xxvii. 14, Deut: xxxii. 51) in the wilderness of Zin; or (2) the wilderness of Zin so closely adjoined that of Paran that the same Kadesh might be described as belonging to one or the other, and there were two visits to that place, separated by some 38 years. In either of these ways the "**two sets of passages**" can be accounted for quite satisfactorily without "**supposing that they are due to "different writers.**"

(b). *The Search.*

**"In JE the spies go only as far as the neighbourhood of "*Hebron* in the south of Judah (xiii. 22–24); in P they ex-"plore the *whole country* to Rehob (Jud: xviii. 28) in the "far north (xiii. 21; with this agrees the expression in "xiii. 32 and xiv. 7, 'through which we have passed')."** LOT. 62.

Num: xiii. 22 says "And they went up by [or *into*] the South [*the "Negeb*], and came unto Hebron," and the rest of the passage goes on to speak of the inhabitants of Hebron, of its foundation, and of the fruit brought thence. As the fruit was brought from the neighbourhood of Hebron, it was probably the last place visited by the spies, but there is simply not a word in the JE account to imply that they penetrated no further. It does not say that they **"only"** went as far as Hebron.

The preceding verse (21) says, "so they went up" (JE according to BN; P according to LOT), "and spied out the land from the "wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath" (P). Why should not the verse that follows,—"and they went up "by the South, and came unto Hebron,"—be a summary, bringing together the commencement and the end of the journey? If the spies went up as far as Rehob in the north, they would certainly have to return by Hebron, and it would probably be the last place of importance they would pass. It is quite likely that they would avoid visiting the same place twice, and would therefore pass by Hebron on their way north, reserving it for the return journey. Why, then, may not v: 22 simply mean, "They went up by the "South," (as they had been bidden to do, v: 17), and (in the end) "came to Hebron"?

It is to be noted that in the passages attributed to JE the spies are represented as starting "at the time of the first ripe grapes," and returning bearing pomegranates and figs. This would fairly agree with the "forty days" of v: 25, and a period of nearly six weeks would allow plenty of time for going a long way beyond Hebron.

(c). *The Report.*

**"In JE, upon their return, they represent the land as a "fertile one, but one which the Israelites have not the means "of conquering; in P they represent it as one that 'eateth up "'its inhabitants,' i.e. as an impoverished land (see Lev. "xxvi. 38, Ez. xxxvi. 13), not worth conquering (xiii. 32)."** LOT. 62.

As the narrative stands, the spies report that the land is (not merely **"fertile"**) especially fruitful, but the people are strong, the cities fortified, and some of the inhabitants gigantic (xiii. 26–29). The Israelites are dismayed, but Caleb stills them, asserting "We "are well able to overcome it" (v: 30). His companions contradict

this, saying " We are not able to go up against the people " (v: 31). Then follows v: 32, " And they brought up an evil report of the " land which they had spied out unto the children of Israel, saying, " The land through which we have gone to spy it out, is a land " that eateth up the inhabitants thereof ; and all the people that " we saw in it are men of great stature."

The critics assert that this one verse is an interpolation from another source, embodying a different tradition of the report made by the spies, a tradition which makes their report the direct contrary of what the other tradition states.

The question really turns upon the meaning of the phrase, " a " land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof."

Dr. Driver says this means **" an impoverished land . . . not " worth conquering "** : Dr. McNeile says it means, **" it is so " unfertile that its inhabitants have not enough to live upon."** BN. 71.

If this is the true meaning of the phrase, it is surprising to find the compiler (who presumably knew the meaning as well as modern Hebraists) inserting this statement only 5 verses after that which represents the spies as reporting the land to be one which " floweth " with milk and honey." How came he to overlook the glaring contradiction ? How came a Jew of later ages to suppose that the spies could report so unfavourably of the Promised Land ?

Dr. McNeile suggests (BN. 71) that the statement of v: 27 **" dates " from a time before the fall of the Southern kingdom when " the land was rich and prosperous, while the present passage** " [v: 32] **reflects the state of Judæa as it was known to the " priestly writer in the period which followed the Baby- " lonian conquest."**

According to this, neither writer is transmitting a real tradition of what the spies reported, but imagines them reporting in accordance with the state of the land in his own time, centuries later. But, even supposing that Judæa was in such an **" unfertile "** condition in the days of the **" priestly writer,"** was he altogether ignorant of the JE record which represented the land as " flowing " with milk and honey " ? Had he no knowledge of the **" rich " and prosperous "** state of the land before the fall of the Southern kingdom ? Did he imagine that the land had always been **" so " unfertile that its inhabitants have not enough to live upon "** ? Even if all this were so, it would not explain the obtuseness of the compiler who could combine statements so diametrically opposed. It will be worth while to consider whether the critics have rightly interpreted this phrase.

Dr. Driver supports his interpretation by references to Lev: xxvi. 38 and Ezek: xxxvi. 13.

Lev: xxvi. 38 is part of the denunciation of the woes that would befall Israel if they were unfaithful, and runs, " And ye shall perish

"among the nations, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up." Can it be seriously contended that this means that the enemies' land was "**an impoverished land . . . not worth conquering**"? Did the enemies also "**have not enough to live upon**"? Does it not rather mean that the land of their enemies should so swallow them up that they would lose their national existence?

Ezek: xxxvi. 13 is part of a prophecy of the reversal of the desolation of the land, a desolation of being left uninhabited, not of infertility. Thus v: 10, "I will multiply men upon you . . . the "cities shall be inhabited . . ."; v: 11, "I will multiply upon "you man and beast . . ."; v: 12, "Yea, I will cause men to walk "upon you, *even* my people Israel, and they shall possess thee, and "thou shalt be their inheritance, and thou shalt no more henceforth "bereave them of men." Then follows (vv: 13, 14), "Thus saith "the Lord GOD; Because they say unto you. Thou *land* devourest "up men, and hast bereaved thy nations; therefore thou shalt "devour men no more, neither bereave thy nations any more, saith "the Lord GOD."

But the land had not devoured men by its infertility. It had been "**rich and prosperous**" before the fall of the Southern kingdom. The devouring of men and bereaving of nations had been by the destruction of inhabitants, or their forcible removal, and this not only in the case of Israel, but of the nations that had been before them.

Does not this throw light on the use of the phrase in Num: xiii. 32? Instead of having any reference to infertility, it may refer to previous conflicts and waves of conquest (e.g. Hittites, Canaanites, etc:). It would then have some such meaning as this;—The land may be fertile enough, flowing with milk and honey, but it is a land that devours its inhabitants; it has a grim record of destruction and violence, "and all the people we saw in it are men of great "stature"; it will but devour us up in our turn.

If, then, the phrase "a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof" does not refer to infertility, the "**irreconcilable difference**" simply vanishes.

(d). *Caleb and Joshua.*

"**In JE Joshua is not named as one of the spies, and *Caleb* "*alone* stills the people, and is exempted in consequence from "the sentence of exclusion from Palestine (xiii. 30, xiv. 24); "in P Joshua as well as Caleb is among the spies; *both* are "named as pacifying the people, and are exempted accordingly from the sentence of exclusion (xiv. 6, 30, 38; cf. "xxvi. 65. P)."** LOT. 62.

In the passages assigned to JE in these chapters, there is no list of spies, the first JE passage beginning abruptly, "and said unto "them, Get you up this way," etc: If ever there was a separate JE narrative, this must have been preceded by some statement to say

something about the persons who were addressed. There is nothing to show that this did not include Joshua among the spies. The critics argue as though we had a complete JE narrative, including a list of the spies, and that in this Joshua is nowhere mentioned. Whereas all they have a right to say is, The imperfect fragments we assign to JE do not name Joshua as among the spies.

But in xiii. 30 Caleb alone stills the people ; in xiv. 6 both Joshua and Caleb are named as pacifying the people.

And why not ? Why should not both be true ? Is it quite unheard of that one man should try to quiet an excited crowd, and afterwards, when the excitement is renewed, that a second man should join him in the attempt ? In xiii. 30 Caleb stills the people with the argument, " We are well able to overcome." But the other spies retort with further discouragement, " and all the con-" gregation lifted up their voice, and cried ; and the people wept that night " (xiv. 1). Then they murmur, and say one to another, " Let " us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt." On this both Joshua and Caleb intervene, urging that the land is " an exceeding " good land " (xiv. 7), and that " the LORD is with us " (xiv. 9). What can be more natural ? The narrative as it stands is both reasonable and probable, giving a vivid picture of a popular tumult.

But in xiv. 24 Caleb alone is promised entrance into the Land ; in xiv. 30 both Caleb and Joshua are exempted from the sentence of exclusion, and in xiv. 38, xxvi. 65 these two are the only survivors of the twelve.

On this Dr. Driver comments :—" **This last difference is " remarkable, and will meet us again : had the whole narra-" tive been by a single writer, who thought of Joshua as " acting in concert with Caleb, it is difficult not to think that " Joshua would have been mentioned beside Caleb,—not " possibly, in xiii. 30, but—in xiv. 24 when *the exemption " from the sentence of exclusion from Palestine is first " promised.*"** LOT. 63.

The *naivété* with which the critic here betrays his view of the Scriptural writers is remarkable. He does not seem to contemplate for one moment the possibility that the narrative might be the work of a single writer who was only concerned to record events as they occurred, and utterances as they were delivered. He only takes into account what a single writer who *thought* " **of Joshua as " acting in concert with Caleb** " would be likely to do. Of course, such a writer, if he had any sense, would have been careful to couple the name of Joshua with that of Caleb at the first promise of exemption from the sentence of exclusion. But if Caleb did first still the people alone, and afterwards pacify them in concert with Joshua ; if God's first promise applied to Caleb alone, and

afterwards was extended to include Joshua, (will the critics venture to aver that this is impossible ?) then a single writer who was a faithful historian would record the facts as they occurred, and the promises as they were made, without regard to any possible appearance of discrepancy.

# X.

## KORAH, DATHAN, AND ABIRAM.

THE narrative of the Korah conspiracy, Num: xvi, xvii, is also said to be composite.

**"Ch. xvi contains a fusion of more than one narrative."** BN. 85.

**"Here two, if not three, narratives have been combined."** LOT. 63.

The view taken by Dr. McNeile is practically identical with that of Dr. Driver, but as the latter states the grounds for this view somewhat more fully, the following examination will be chiefly based on his statement.

The critical theory runs thus :—JE had an account of a rebellion **"of *laymen* against the *civil* authority claimed by Moses"** (LOT. 64), headed by Dathan and Abiram, Reubenites. These were **"swallowed up by the earth."**

P originally had an account of a rebellion of **"250 princes of "the congregation, not themselves all Levites,"** headed by Korah, **"protesting against the limitation of priestly rights "to the tribe of Levi, on the ground (v. 3) that 'all the congre- "'gation are holy'"** (LOT. 64) ;—**"an ecclesiastical offence"** (BN. 85). These were **"consumed by fire."**

The narrative of P was **"afterwards enlarged by additions,"** —three paragraphs, vv: 8–11 ; 16, 17 ; 36–40,— **"exhibiting "Korah at the head of 250 *Levites*, as setting himself in "opposition to *Aaron*."** LOT. 64.

These narratives were in the end **"combined"** or **"fused."**

Taking first the alleged **"two strata"** of P, the differences are said to be in regard to two points ; (a) the tribal origin of the 250 ; (b) the claim made.

(a). In P the 250 are **"princes of the congregation,"** not all Levites, (Dr. McNeile calls them **"laymen"**) ;— in $P_2$ they are **"represented as Levites"** (BN. 85).

In the passages assigned to $P_2$ there is no actual statement that the 250 were Levites. That they are represented as being all Levites is inferred because (1) in vv: 7–11 Moses addresses them as

"Ye sons of Levi"; (2) in "**v. 9 ff**" they are "**described as "dissatisfied with their menial position, and claiming equal "rights with *Aaron***" (LOT. 64); (3) in vv: 36–40 the brazen plates formed from the 250 censers are "to be a memorial unto the "children of Israel, to the end that no stranger, which is *not of the "seed of Aaron*, come near to burn incense unto the LORD" (v: 40).

Is the inference justified? Moses addresses the 250 as "Ye "sons of Levi," and reproaches them with seeking the priesthood. It does not follow that in so doing he included all, or even the majority, of the 250. It would be sufficient if he were addressing the ringleaders, and v: 8 distinctly states "Moses said unto Korah."

Since it is represented that Korah the Levite * was at the head of the rising, it is probable there were other Levites among the 250. He would naturally influence some of the leading men of his own tribe, being probably the next most important man in the tribe after Moses and Aaron, since he was their cousin. These Levites, already occupying a position of privilege, would in all probability take the lead. As they were charging Aaron as well as Moses (v: 3, P) with self-aggrandizement, what ground of accusation could they have had against him? Surely, the High-Priesthood; that as Moses had constituted himself civil ruler, so Aaron had made himself supreme in matters ecclesiastical.

This would be in fact an attack on the Aaronic privilege, and therefore a seeking of the priesthood on the part of such Levites as were present. That this really underlay the whole movement is indicated even in the P passages, for Moses in vv: 6, 7 proposes the burning of incense as a test, and it is for burning incense that the 250 are consumed (v: 35) .This then must have been a privilege which none of the 250, not even Korah and the Levites with him, possessed, and that could only be because it was a privilege of the priests alone ("**a sacred priestly function,**" BN. 86), and it is this which is in the end confirmed by the limitation of v: 40. Thus even the P passages draw a distinction between priestly and Levitical offices, and are not inconsistent with the passages ascribed to $P_2$. These do not require that Moses addressed the whole of the 250 as Levites.

(b). In P the 250 protest against "**the limitation of priestly "rights to the tribe of Levi**";—in $P_2$ they protest "**on behalf "of the tribe of Levi generally against the exclusive rights "claimed by the sons of Aaron.**" LOT. 64.

The passages ascribed to $P_2$ do not contain any protest whatever. That is only inferred from the nature of Moses' reply, vv: 8–11.

* Dr. McNeile considers that in P Korah was not represented as a Levite, for he attributes "**the genealogy of Korah from Levi in v. 1**" to $P_2$ (BN. 85). The above argument, however, is addressed to the position taken up by Dr. Driver.

But that is pointedly addressed to Korah, and if (as is probable) there were Levites with him, the leaders if not the instigators of the whole movement, Moses would naturally lay bare their motive, viz: grasping at the priesthood.

The assertion that the protest in P is against **" the limitation " of priestly rights to the tribe of Levi "** is based on the wording of the challenge, " Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congre- " gation are holy " (v: 3). It is indeed asserted (LOT. 64) that this agrees with xvi. 41–50 ; and with c: xvii, **" the point of " which is to confirm—not the exclusive rights of Aaron, as " against the tribe of Levi, but—the exclusive right to the " priesthood possessed by Levi, as against Israel generally "** (LOT. 64). But xvi. 41–50 simply records the dissatisfaction of the congregation at the fate of the conspirators, and the plague that followed, without a word about priestly rights or the tribe of Levi :—and in c: xvii, if it establishes the choice of the tribe of Levi above the other tribes, the writing of Aaron's name upon the rod, and the emphasis laid on Aaron throughout the chapter, surely suggest (if they do not imply) the superiority of the Aaronic family over the other families of Levi.

We are thrown back then upon the challenge of xvi. 3. This certainly claims that " all the congregation are holy," but against what ? Against the privilege of the tribe of Levi ? Not at all. The protest is against the self-exaltation of Moses and Aaron ;— " they assembled themselves together against Moses and against " Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing " all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the LORD is " among them : wherefore then lift ye up yourselves [*Tithnassoo*, " ' make yourselves princes,' cognate with *Nasii*, ' princes, ' v: 2] " above the assembly of the LORD ? " The assertion that the P passages put forward the claim of the whole congregation to *priestly rights* against the limitation to the *tribe of Levi* simply reads into the text what is not there, besides involving the anomaly that Korah, a Levite, headed the revolt against the privilege of his own tribe.

The real evidence is that the so-called P passages (both P and $P_2$) describe a revolt of 250 leading men, not all Levites, but probably including a number of Levites, and headed by the Levite Korah, against the joint authority of Moses and Aaron ;—and give the substance of Moses' reply in which, with characteristic humility, he takes no notice of the accusation against himself, but on behalf of Aaron addresses the Levite ringleaders, and points out that *their* real motive is a selfish one, namely seeking after the priesthood.

If the distinction between P and $P_2$ is not established, we have next to consider their relation to the parts marked JE. Since these latter are said to describe a secular revolt of laymen under Dathan

and Abiram, and the former an ecclesiastical revolt under Korah, how came these narratives to be "combined" at all? The critics insist much upon the dissimilarity;—the leaders are different, their behaviour is different, their claims are different, and their fate is different. But the greater the dissimilarity, the less the probability that any man of sense would try to combine them. There might be some show of reason in combining different accounts of the same event (e.g. the Flood), or in mistakenly confusing accounts of incidents strikingly similar. But if the accounts are utterly unlike, why should they be combined at all? Why should they not have been inserted separately, each complete in itself? The compiler is alleged to have given separately the narratives of Abraham in Egypt, Abraham in Gerar, and Isaac in Gerar, which are alike in several respects, and are considered by the critics to be different versions of the same story. Why should he intertwine narratives which have so little in common as those of these two revolts?

For consider. The narrative as it stands commences with an account of Korah and his claims, a mere mention of Dathan and Abiram being slipped into the first verse. This occupies 11 verses, and then follow 4 verses narrating Moses' summons to Dathan and Abiram, and their refusal to obey. Then 9 verses revert to Korah and his company. Then 10 verses narrate how Moses went to Dathan and Abiram, and the fate that overwhelmed them, with two passing mentions of Korah. Finally one verse records the fate of Korah's company. What reasonable justification can there be for such an intermingling of diverse incidents, unless the two revolts were in fact coincident and connected?

What then are the grounds for alleging that the conspiracies were distinct and unconnected?

(a). **"JE mentions only Dathan and Abiram, P only "Korah."** LOT. 64.

This assumes that vv: $1^b$, $2^a$, mentioning Dathan and Abiram, do not belong to P, but were introduced from JE, and, conversely, that the mentions of Korah in $27^a$, $32^b$, do not belong to JE, but have been inserted from P. As these brief passages cannot have been detached from their context on grounds of literary style, this is not interpreting the evidence but modifying it to suit the critical theory.

Dr. McNeile, however, refers further to c: xxvii. 3 where **"Korah "alone is referred to,"** and to Deut: xi. 6 Ps: cvi. 17 where **"Dathan and Abiram alone are mentioned as being swal- "lowed up"** (BN. 85). But Num: xxvii. 3, "he was not among "the company of them that gathered themselves against the "LORD in the company of Korah," is a very general reference, and the fact of Korah being the chief leader sufficiently accounts for his name alone being mentioned. Deut: xi. 6 is part of an address to the people in general, and an allusion to the specifically Levitical

revolt of Korah would be out of place. The same would hold good of Ps: cvi. 17, which can hardly have omitted Korah from ignorance about him, for the mention of Phinehas in vv: 30, 31 shows that the writer was acquainted with what is considered to be the P narrative (Num: xxv. 6–15). Also, neither of these passages belong to JE, nor is it certain that Korah was "**swallowed up.**"

(b). "**The motives and aims of the malcontents are in "each case different.**" LOT. 64.

Do parties having different motives and aims never combine for a common object? In Charles I's time did not an ecclesiastical party combine with a political party for the overthrow of the king? In this case, the common object was resistance to the authority of Moses.

(c). "**the inequality of the manner in which Korah, "Dathan, and Abiram appear in it: whereas in v. 1 f they "are represented as taking part in a *common* conspiracy, "they afterwards continually act separately; Moses speaks "to Korah without Dathan and Abiram, and to Dathan and "Abiram without Korah (v. 4–11, v. 12–14, v. 16–22, v. 25 f.); "Dathan and Abiram do not act in concert with Korah v. "16–22, but remain in their tents at a distance, v. 26, 27.**" LOT. 65.

Precisely. If Dathan and Abiram remained in their tents at a distance, how could Moses help speaking to Korah without them? and if Moses went afterwards to the tents at a distance (v: 25) how could he help talking to Dathan and Abiram without Korah? In this the narrative is simply consistent.

Whatever force the above objection may have lies only in this, that two parties engaged in a *common* conspiracy would not have adopted such different courses of action. Why not? Korah and his companions take the bolder course of confronting Moses and Aaron, and openly challenging their authority: Dathan and Abiram adopt a policy of passive resistance, and refuse even to appear before Moses. Such an adoption of different courses by parties who are yet acting in concert might easily be paralleled from modern history.

(d). "**finally their fate is different.**" LOT. 65.

Again, precisely. Their offences were different. To the secular rebels, destruction by an earthquake; to the presumptuous invaders of the priestly office, destruction by "fire from the LORD." Has it never been known that traitors have been sentenced to the gallows or the block, while heretics engaged in the same movement have been sent to the stake? Here again the narrative is simply consistent with itself.

"**Of course,**" Prof. Driver adds (LOT. 65), "**an alliance "between an ecclesiastical and a civil party is, in itself, no-"thing incredible; but such a representation of their *com-***

**" *mon* action is not probable, except upon the supposition of " a combination of two narratives describing the course " of it from different sides, or points of view."**

Apparently this means there may have been an ecclesiastical party under Korah, claiming the priesthood ; and there may have been a civil party under Dathan and Abiram, resisting Moses' seculiar authority ; and there may have been an alliance between them ; but that such a *representation* of their common action as we have in Num: xvi is not probable except upon the supposition of a combination of narratives.

Another supposition would do equally well, viz ;—that the events happened as stated, and that the writer recorded them faithfully.

# XI.

## HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS IN D.

It is alleged that the historical allusions in Deuteronomy show that the writer was ignorant of the P histories.

A table of "**verbal coincidences**" between the historical allusions in D and the previous history is given, LOT. 80, 81, and on this Prof. Driver comments;—"**The remarkable circum-**
"**stance is that, as in the laws, so in the history, *Dt. is de-***
"***pendent upon JE.* Throughout the parallels just tabulated**
"**(as well as in others occurring in the book), not the allusions**
"**only, but the words cited, will be found, all but uniformly,**
"**to be in JE, not in P. An important conclusion follows**
"**from this fact. Inasmuch as, in our existing Pent., JE and**
"**P repeatedly cross one another, the constant absence of**
"**any reference to P can only be reasonably explained by one**
"**supposition, viz: that when Dt. was composed, *JE and P***
"***were not united into a single work, and JE alone formed***
"***the basis of Dt.*"**

An important conclusion truly, and one that, if established, would go far to prove the critical theory.

But (1) *it assumes that the division between JE and P has always been made correctly.*

Now Deut: ix. 10[a], "the Lord delivered unto me the two tables "of stone written with the finger of God," is paralleled with Exod: xxxi. 18[b]. But the whole of that verse runs, "And he gave unto "Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon "mount Sinai, the two tables of testimony, | tables of stone, written "with the finger of God," which reads very much like a single sentence. Yet the earlier part, together with the long preceding section cc: xxv–xxxi. 17, is assigned to P; the final clause, (which has no particular connexion with the succeeding chapter, beginning "And "when the people saw that Moses delayed"), is marked E. If therefore the analysis is here mistaken in detaching a few words from their context, and transferring them from P to E, then Deut: ix. 10[a] would be a verbal coincidence with P, and not with JE.

So, too, Deut: ix. 9[b] is paralleled with Exod: xxiv. 18[b]. But the

analysis is Exod. xxiv. 15–18[a], P; 18[b] E; xxv. 1–xxxi. 18[a], P. That is to say a half-verse has been extracted from a long P section, and assigned to E. If the analysis is mistaken in doing this, then once more the verbal coincidence is with P, and not with JE.

(2). *The verbal coincidences must be with passages where P actually does cross JE.*

In the 16 chapters Exod: xxv–xl, three consecutive chapters (xxxii–xxxiv, the narrative of the Golden Calf) are marked JE; all the rest are P. "**C. xxv–xxxi. 18[a] forms P's account of "the instructions given to Moses respecting the Tabernacle "and the Priesthood**" (LOT. 37): "**c. xxxv–xl form the "sequel to xxv–xxxi, narrating the execution of the "instructions there communicated to Moses**" (LOT. 40), and these chapters also are marked P. Now in Prof. Driver's table of coincidences, out of 31 parallels, 21 are taken from the section Exod: xxxii–xxxiv. *Two thirds* of the instances cited come from a portion of the history in which P has no part, and does not cross JE at all. Moreover, in such an address as Deuteronomy professes to be, Moses would have had good reason for alluding to the incidents recorded in the JE chapters. He could have had no kind of reason for alluding to the details of the construction of the Tabernacle, which is all that these 13 chapters of P contain.

The critical argument, indeed, might be said to prove too much, for the large majority of these verbal coincidences refer to passages assigned to E, and hardly one (if there is one) to a passage definitely assigned to J. Hence it might be plausibly argued that inasmuch as J and E "**repeatedly cross one another,**" D must have been composed when J and E were "**not yet united into a single "work**"! Will the critics accept the suggestion?

In connection with these verbal coincidences, Prof. Driver notices, but does not explain, a phenomenon not without significance. "**A "singular characteristic of both retrospects is the manner "in which, on several occasions, a phrase describing origin-"ally one incident *is applied in Dt. to another.***" (LOT. 81). In the table of coincidences 7 such cases are marked.

This, inexplicable on the critical theory, is exactly what might be expected if Deuteronomy is what it professes to be, an address delivered by the writer of the history. The speaker has himself written or dictated these phrases fairly recently. They are fresh in his memory, and in speaking they recur to his mind in connection with some incident to which they were also applicable. A writer not the author of the history, writing long afterwards, would have no inducement to do this, and indeed would avoid it if (as the critics maintain) he had the history before him.

A somewhat similar phenomenon is noticed in a footnote on p: 84: "**—The curious transition in i. 37 from the 2nd to the 40th "year of the Exodus, and back again to the 2nd year in i.**

**" 39 points in the same direction,"** [i.e. that there was a long interval between the events and the writing] **"—unless, indeed, " (which is quite possible) the solution suggested above be " here also the true one, and the reference be to some incident " of the second year recorded in JE, but not preserved in " our existing Pentateuch."** On the critical theory, no doubt, one of these explanations would be required, but neither is really needed. In Deut: i. 34–36 Moses is represented as speaking of the sentence of exclusion from the Promised Land pronounced on the rebellious Israelites. What more natural than that this should suggest to his mind the sentence of exclusion pronounced on himself. It is the more natural because, according to iii. 26, iv. 21, 22, this deprivation was grievously present to his thought. As speakers constantly do, he glances parenthetically at the thought so suggested (i. 37, 38), though belonging chronologically to a much later period, and immediately reverts (i. 39) to his main subject. A scribe, writing in the name of Moses centuries later, would hardly insert such a digression, at least not without a word of explanation. From the lips of Moses himself it is intensely natural. The evidence of peculiarities like these in favour of the traditional belief is all the stronger as being far from obvious, and quite unlikely to be introduced artificially.

The **" solution suggested above "** is also propounded as an explanation of certain alleged discrepancies between D and P. **" In the light of the *demonstrated* dependence of Dt. upon " JE, it can scarcely be doubted that the real solution of these " discrepancies is that the representation in Dt. is based " upon parts of the narrative of JE, which were still read " by the author of Dt., but which when JE was afterwards " combined with P, were not retained by the compiler."** LOT. 84.

As instances of these discrepancies Dr. Driver mentions Deut: i. 22, x. 3, 6, 8, but the consideration of these passages will be better dealt with by discussing two of Mr. Chapman's arguments dealing with the relation of D to the history.

(i) *As to the making of the Ark.*

Mr. Chapman (IP. 82) compares Deut: x. 1–5 with certain extracts from Exod: xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii and xl; and on p: 84 reaches the following conclusions :—

**" (a) the two accounts in Exod. xxxiv and Deut. x in their " present form (one with, the other without reference to the " ark) are *not* from the *same writer*; *nor* were they placed " in their present positions by the *same compiler*; nor were " composed by the author of Exod. xxv or xxxvii.**

**" (b) The full and exact details about the ark in Exod. " xxv. and xxxvii belong to P. Therefore Exod. xxxiv does " *not* belong to P.**

"(c) **Deuteronomy shows affinity with that portion of "Exodus which does *not* belong to P."**

The reasoning by which Mr. Chapman reaches his conclusion about the compiler in the second clause of (a) is not very obvious, but the question of compilers or redactors need not detain us now.

The assertion that chiefly concerns the present investigation is that in (c) as to the affinity of D to the part of Exodus "**which does "*not* belong to P.**" On p: 83 Mr. Chapman puts this more strongly :—"**Whoever wrote Exod. xxv, or Exod. xxxvii "could not have written the account in Deut. x. 1–5**":— and this agrees with Dr. Driver's contention that the writer of D could not have been acquainted with the P account.

This assertion is based upon the difference (Dr. Driver calls it a discrepancy) as to the making of the ark.

"**The two accounts differ both as to the time of the com- "mand to make the ark, and as to the time when it was made :**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| "**The command to make the ark was given** | | | |
| **according to** | **Exodus** | **during** | **the first stay** |
| | **Deuteronomy** | **after** | **in the mount.** |
| "**The ark was made** | | | |
| **according to** | **Exodus** | **after** | **the second** |
| | **Deuteronomy** | **before** | **stay."** |

IP. 83

To this Dr. Driver adds a further "**discrepancy**" in that, according to Exodus, *Bezaleel* made the ark, while in Deuteronomy (x. 3) Moses is represented as saying "I made an ark." This, however, will scarcely need much attention, for surely if Bezaleel made the ark by Moses' direction and under Moses' supervision, it would be no serious inaccuracy for Moses to say "I made" instead of "I caused to be made."

With the discussion of this difficulty about the making of the ark we may combine the consideration of the assertion (a) that Exod: xxxiv and Deut: x "**in their present form (one with, the other "without, reference to the ark) are *not* from the *same* "*writer*,**" as the two matters are to some extent connected.

Now the critical position is that the "**verbal coincidences**" show that "**in the history Dt. is more closely dependent "upon the earlier narrative** [JE] **than in the laws**" (LOT. 80) ; and Mr. Chapman is careful to point out that, excepting the additions about the ark, the passage in Deut: x is nearly "**ver- "bally identical**" with the verses he quotes from Exod: xxxiv. The author of D, then, must have been familiar with the JE account. But the JE passages "**in their present form**" contain no mention of the command to make the ark, or of the making of the ark. Did they contain any such notices in their original form ? If not, how came the author of D to insert them in the account which he borrows so closely from JE ? Did he invent them ? or did he

combine with the JE account a tradition independently preserved ? Not in Dr. Driver's opinion :—" **That the fact of Moses' making " the ark, and putting into it the two tables of stone, was " once mentioned in Ex. xxxiv. 1, 2, 4 is practically certain " from Deut. x. 1–3 which agrees almost *verbatim* with " Ex. xxxiv. 1, 2, 4 except in not having the three clauses " relating to the ark. . . . The compiler who united JE with " P omitted them in Exodus, as he preferred the more " detailed account of P."** BE. lxvii, lxviii.

But if Exod: xxxiv originally contained these references to the ark, and they were only omitted by the compiler, what becomes of Mr. Chapman's argument that Exod: xxxiv and Deut: x " **are " *not* from the *same writer* "** because one is " **with, the other " without reference to the ark** " ?

What then of Dr. Driver's view ? According to that, JE originally agreed with D in connecting the command to make the ark, the making of it, and the placing the tables therein, with the second stay in the mount. P's account placed the command in the first stay, the making of the ark after the second stay, and the placing of the tables in it some months later still. The compiler who combined these accounts, preferring the more detailed account of P, cut all mention of the ark out of Exod: xxxiv by way of making them agree.

How very careless of him, while he was thus " **harmonizing,**" to leave untouched the D passage which, by agreeing " **almost " *verbatim* "** renders it " **practically certain** " that these notices of the ark originally stood in JE !

Is this conclusion, however, so " **practically certain** " ?

Deut: x. 1–3 coincides verbally with certain verses in Exod: xxxiv, but contains three clauses which are not in that chapter. What proof is this that these clauses were originally found in Exodus also ? Why may not the author of D have added them ? Unless we have reason to think that the author of D was reproducing the Exodus account without alteration, there is not even a presumption that these clauses were anything but additions.

Mr. Chapman prints the two accounts in parallel columns (IP. 82) to emphasize the similarity. From this it appears that while Deut: x. 1–3 corresponds closely enough to Exod: xxxiv. 1, 2, 4, we have to make a leap forward to Exod: xxxiv. 28[b] to find a parallel with Deut: x. 4. A large and remarkable portion of the Exodus chapter (the proclamation of JEHOVAH's nature, and the " Little Book of the Covenant ") is passed over, and there can be little doubt that it is deliberately omitted because it is not connected with the making and inscribing of the tables of stone. If then the author of Deut: x omitted a large part of the Exodus account as not bearing on his immediate subject, why may he not have introduced the notices of the ark because they were so connected ?

Again, in Deut: x. 1, 2 the command to come up into the mount precedes the promise to write on the tables: in Exodus this order is reversed. Deut: x. 4 is parallel to Exod: xxxiv. 28[b], but the parallel to the earlier half of this verse (28[a]) is not found till Deut: x. 10, six verses later.

While, then, the account in D reproduces closely certain parts of the JE account, it does not reproduce that account as a whole. There are omissions, and inversions of order, and there are also additions besides those referring to the ark. One of these additions is particularly remarkable. Deut: x. 5, the descent from the mount, is connected with v: 10, the duration of the stay in the mount. Yet between these two is a digression, vv: 6, 7 being a fragment from the itinerary of a late part of the Wanderings, and vv: 8, 9 referring to the separation of the tribe of Levi. How can this be accounted for on the critical theory? What possible motive could a writer of (say) Manasseh's age have for introducing these seemingly irrelevant verses to break the connection between vv: 5, 10? Nor can they be an interpolation of some later compiler, for there is no possible inducement to insert them at this point. The introduction of these verses, either by a writer such as the critical theory requires, or by a compiler, is well nigh unthinkable. Can they be accounted for otherwise?

The argument in c: ix. 7–17 is taken up with the persistently rebellious conduct of the people, especially in the matter of the Golden Calf. In vv: 18–20, the second period of 40 days is represented as a time of intercession by Moses, both for the people, and also for Aaron with whom "the LORD was very angry . . . to "have destroyed him." V. 21 goes back to the destruction of the Calf, and vv: 22–24 glance forward at later instances of rebellion at Taberah, Massah, Kibroth-hattaavah, and Kadesh. V: 25 reverts to the second 40 days, and Moses' intercession (26–29), which leads naturally on to the renewal of the covenant by the replacing of the broken tables of stone (x. 1–4), and v: 5 continues the retrospect as far as the second descent.

Now if all this was spoken by Moses, the mention of the second descent would almost inevitably connect itself in his mind with the first descent, and the sin of the people and of Aaron. What more natural, then, than that he should again digress to later events, and remind his hearers of the recent death of Aaron? This would account for the introduction (otherwise so inexplicable) of the fragment of itinerary. Then the thought of the sin of the people would suggest the memory (also connected with the first descent) of the part played by the tribe of Levi, and hence the second portion of the digression. Finally the speaker resumes (v: 10) his interrupted subject, the second 40 days and the efficacy of his intercession.

A real and quite inartificial chain of thought can be traced, but

the links are so subtle, and the connection so far from obvious that no later writer, composing a discourse in the name of Moses, would be likely to think of introducing such a digression, and certainly would not have introduced it in this form, and without a word of explanation. The sequence, hidden below the surface, is natural enough, but natural only in a speaker, and that speaker Moses himself.

The whole passage Deut: ix. 7–x. 10 is, then, a connected unity, but in it there is a complete disregard of chronology. The mind of the speaker travels rapidly backwards and forwards, bringing together events distant from one another in time, but related in thought. When, then, in Deut: x. 1–5 the making and inscribing of the tables of stone, the command to make the ark, its construction, and the placing the tables in it, are all brought together in connection with the second stay, this does not require that they were coincident in time. They are brought together because blended in the thought of the speaker by reason of their intimate relationship. It is not, therefore, permissible to assert that the account in Deuteronomy places the command to make the ark after the first stay, and the making of the ark before the second stay :—there is no necessary discrepancy between this account and that in Exodus ;—and there is no reason why **" whoever wrote Exod. xxv, or Exod. " xxxvii "** might not also have been the author of Deut: x. 1–5.

The way in which the critics have presented the evidence on this subject is noteworthy.

They bring into great prominence the similarity in language between Deut: x. 1–5 and Exod: xxiv. 1, 2, 4, 28[b] :—they lay stress on the 3 clauses found in Deut: but not in Exod : (though their inferences from this fact differ).

They do not call any attention to the fact that Deut: x. 10 corresponds to Exod: xxxiv. 28[a], and therefore the comparison ought not to end at v: 5 they take no notice of the other variations (omissions, inversions, additions) from the Exodus account : they do not take into account the disregard of chronological order in the context. They have with great skill presented the evidence which favours their view : they have not presented the whole evidence.

(ii) *The mission of the spies.*

Another **" historical retrospect "** in Deuteronomy is brought forward as evidence for the composite nature of the Pentateuch. Deut: i. 19–45 contains a summary of the Mission of the Spies **" closely parallel "** to that part of the narrative in Numbers **" which is *not* from P."** There are a number of expressions **" verbally the same as in Num.,"** and these resemblances **" are found *only* in the left hand column of pp. 87–90,"** (i.e. in the JE part ; see IP. 94). Hence the conclusion is drawn (IP. 95) **" There can be but one explanation of these facts ;**

**"the narrative in the left hand column once existed *apart* "*from* that in the right hand column, and as a *separate* "account served as the basis of the Deuteronomic account."**

There are, however, at least allusions to the other part of the narrative. Deut: i. 23, "I took twelve men of you, one of every "tribe";—v: 27, "ye murmured in your tents";—v: 38, referring to the promise that Joshua should enter the Promised Land;—each of these refer to matters mentioned in the parts attributed to P, and not in those marked JE.

Again, Deut: i. 19 mentions Kadesh-barnea: the solitary mention of Kadesh in Num: xiii, xiv is only separated from a P context by the analysis. The people's complaint that their children would be a prey (Deut: i. 39) is found in Num: xiv. 3, 31, and these are quite short passages detached from a P context. It is therefore doubtful whether they are rightly attributed to JE, and it is even not wholly impossible that they have been so attributed just because of the allusion in Deut: i.

Then, as in the case of Deut: x. 1–10, there are marked differences from the JE account; omissions, additions, and changes of order. Deut. i nowhere uses the characteristic expression "floweth with milk and honey." The report of the spies, "It is a good land "which the LORD our God giveth us" (Deut: i. 25) is nearer to the P verse Num: xiv. 7 than to the JE report xiii. 27–29. The complaint of the people, Deut: i. 27, 28 bears very little resemblance to that in Num: xiv. 3, 4, and the mutinous utterance, "Let us "make a captain, and let us return into Egypt" is altogether omitted. Deut: i. 20, 27, 44, speak of Amorites where the JE account "has the Amalekites and the Canaanite," Num: xiv. 25, 43, 45.

Similarities are insisted upon: differences are passed over in silence. Once more, the whole evidence is not presented.

One difference Dr. Driver does notice, (Deut: i. 23, **"the *people* suggest spying out the land of Canaan"**), because he finds in it a discrepancy from the P account, Num: xiii. i ff, **"the same "suggestion referred to Jehovah."** LOT. 84.

Num: xiii. 1, 2, "the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Send thou "men, that they may spy out the land of Canaan," is not a **"sug-"gestion,"** but a command or authorization. It does not require that this should have been the inception of the idea. Why then may not the first suggestion have come from the people? "Ye "came near unto me, every one of you, and said, Let us send men "before us, that they may search the land for us" (Deut: i. 22). Moses approves the suggestion, ("the thing pleased me well," i. 23), but will not act upon it without Divine sanction. Then "the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Send thou men." In this case the two accounts would not be contradictory but complimentary. The history is only concerned with the final Divine sanction: the

orator, addressing the people, compliments them by recalling that the first suggestion came from them.

There is one more argument on which Mr. Chapman evidently lays great stress.

Deut: i. 40 speaks of the command to turn back " by the way of " the Red Sea," and corresponds to Num: xiv. 25 ;—v: 41 contains (though with some variations) the Israelites' proposal to go up and fight, answering to Num: xiv. 40. **" In Num. xiv, verses 26–39 " are placed between two verses which form a continuous " narrative in Deut. Why does Deut. take no notice of " these intervening verses ? "** (IP. 95). Clearly (according to Mr. Chapman) because these verses were not in the account on which the author of D based his own. Therefore **" the conclusion to " be drawn is that Deuteronomy was *not* acquainted with " P's version of the spies ; and that P's version was incor- " porated with the other narrative after the Deuteronomic " account was written."** IP. 95.

Quite a triumphant QED ! Only, unfortunately, for the argument to be sound it would need to be clear (a) that the D account reproduces JE without serious omission ; (b) that the passage was such that D would have included it if he had known of it ; (c) that there was no reason for bringing the statements of Num: xiv. 25 and 40 together.

(a). The account in Deut: passes from the complaint of the people (v: 28) to a speech of Moses not recorded in Numbers (vv: 29–31), and then, after a parenthetic reproof (vv: 32, 33), to the sentence of exclusion from the Land, and the exemption of Caleb (vv: 34–36). In Numbers, the complaint of the people is in xiv. 3, 4 ; the sentence of exclusion, and Caleb's exemption are in vv: 23, 24. Part of vv: 5–10 is assigned to P, but from v: 11 to v: 22 is marked JE. Nothing of all this section is found in Deut: i, although it is remarkable enough, containing the LORD's threat to destroy the whole nation, Moses' intercession, and the promise of a partial pardon. Are we to conclude that **" Deuteronomy was *not* " acquainted "** with these 12 verses ? Were they also incorporated with the narrative **" after the Deuteronomic account was " written "** ? If not, why must we come to those conclusions about the 14 verses, 26–39 ?

(b). The section Num: xiv. 26–39 contains the expansion of the sentence of exclusion specifying who were to be excluded, (" from " 20 years old and upwards "), and the nature of their punishment, (not sudden death by pestilence, but the prolongation of the Wanderings), and the notice of the death of the faithless ten. In the (in any case) much abridged account in Deut: the sentence of exclusion has already been referred to (i. 35), and a further reference to the fuller sentence would be superfluous.

(c). In Num: xiv. 25 the prolongation of the Wanderings was to

begin the next day, " to-morrow turn ye." When, then, the people " rose up early in the morning, and gat them up to the top of the "mountain " (v: 40) it was in open disobedience to the command they had received. The command and the defiance of it are intimately related, and there was good reason for Moses to bring the two together, omitting what intervenes.

The evidence then shows (a) that the account in Deut: does not reproduce the whole of the JE account, so the omission of xiv. 26–39 has no special significance ; (b) there was no particular reason for including a reference to this section ; (c) there was sufficient reason for bringing together the command of v: 25 and the disobedience of v: 40.

The inference that Num: xiv. 26–39 was unknown to the author of Deut: i is not justified.

Mr. Chapman goes on to remark, **" The inference here drawn " must be of special interest to the Biblical student. The " *Bible itself* is here delivering its message, and furnishing " us with an illustration how one of its sections has assumed " its present form by a process of accretion."** IP. 95.

The message here delivered by **" the Bible itself "** is simply and solely that the passage Num: xiv. 26–39 is not referred to in the Deuteronomic account. The conclusion that therefore this passage is an **" accretion "** with which the author of Deut: i was not acquainted is no more than an **" inference "** drawn by the critic, and an inference which has not taken into account the whole of the evidence.

There remains to be considered the passage Josh: xiv. 6–15, where Caleb claims the fulfilment of the promise, " the land whereon thy " foot hath trodden shall be an inheritance to thee and to thy " children for ever."

Here, says Mr. Chapman (IP. 97), is **" a second passage (Josh. " xiv. 6–15) in addition to that in Deut. i. 19–44, which makes " no reference to P's account of the spies,"** and this **" con- " firms the inference drawn from considering the Deutero- " nomic account, viz: that the [JE] narrative contained in " the left hand column of pp. 87 ff, existed at one time as a " separate source, with which P has been combined."**

The reasons for this conclusion are stated on the previous page, 96.

(a). **" This promise of the land is not found in P's account " of the spies but in Num. xiv. 24 . . . and in Dt. i. 36."**

As Caleb's application is wholly concerned with the promise, it is not surprising that he does not refer to those parts of the narrative which do not contain it. If the passages attributed to P contained a different promise, or a promise in different terms, the absence of reference to this would have been some ground for

concluding that the writer of Josh: xiv. 6–15 was unacquainted with the P narrative. But if those passages had contained a different promise, the critics would at once have cried, "Difference "of representation: there must be two sources." As the passages do not contain the promise, and therefore Caleb has no occasion to refer to them, they cry, "He knows nothing of P: it is a separate "source, not yet combined with the narrative known to this writer."

(b). **"The words in vv. 8, 9 'brethren' . . . 'made the "'heart of the people melt' (cp. Deut. i. 28) and 'the land "'whereon thy foot hath trodden' (cp. Deut. i. 36) point "to the Deuteronomic version of the story; the mention "of 'Hebron' points to Num. xiii. 22, Kadesh-Barnea to "Deut. i. 19."**

That is to say, Josh: xiv. 6–15 shows a good deal of similarity to Deut: i and some likeness to Num: xiii. That is no proof that the P passages were unknown. Indeed if the utterance was really Caleb's, the likeness to Deut: i is just what might be expected. He is represented as speaking 45 years after the promise was made in Kadesh (v: 10), which would be about 7 years after Moses' farewell address. It would be to that address that he would be most likely to refer, especially as he is represented as saying "Moses sware "unto me" (v: 9).

(c). **"There is no trace of P's style or vocabulary."**

Even if it were granted (which it is not) that the style and vocabulary supposed to be distinctive of P would be suitable for a narrative incident of this kind, what would it prove? At the most it could only prove that Josh: xiv. 6–15 was not written by the author of the P passages. Who ever supposed it was?

(d). **"No reference is made to Joshua as associated with "Caleb in the task of spying out the land."**

At last we come to an argument to show that the Joshua passage betrays ignorance of the P narrative. That narrative represents that Joshua was associated with Caleb as one of the spies: Josh: xiv. 6–15 makes no reference to this. **"On the contrary vv. 7,8, "with the personal pronouns in the singular number, 'I' "'me' 'my' 'mine' imply that Joshua is not here regarded "as accompanying Caleb on that mission. The words "'Moses sent me' and 'my brethren that went up "'with me' are not appropriate when addressed to one "who was a companion of the speaker in spying out the "land: it follows that the writer who represented Caleb "as uttering these words did not consider Joshua as one "of the spies."** IP. 96, 97.

It is the use of the singular pronoun, then, which is to show that the writer cannot have supposed that Joshua was one of the spies, Now in vv: 10, 11, where Caleb speaks of his advanced age, and his vigour notwithstanding, only the singular pronoun could be used,

So, in quoting the promise (v: 9) only the singular "thee" could be used, for the promise was made to Caleb alone, and not to Joshua; and the same applies to "give me this mountain" in v: 12. The argument, then, applies only to the phrases in vv: 7, 8, and amounts to this, that if the writer had regarded Joshua as one of Caleb's companions, he must have represented Caleb as saying "Moses "sent *us*,"—"*our* brethren that went up with *us*."

This assumes that the phrases in question are due to "the writer," and not to Caleb, whereas the real question is, Could Caleb have used the singular pronoun instead of the plural? V: 7 runs, "Forty years old was I when Moses the servant of the LORD sent "me from Kadesh." There is no reason to suppose that Joshua was of the same age. Caleb is intent throughout on his own personal share in the mission, and the statement of his own age would determine the use of the singular in "sent me." That alone would be sufficient to account for the continued use of the singular in v: 8, but there is a further reason. Joshua is now the Divinely appointed Leader of the nation, entrusted with the task of apportioning the inheritance. It is in that capacity, and not as one of his former companions, that Caleb approaches him. It is quite likely that for this reason Caleb would avoid using language which might seem to imply an equality between them.

In v: 6, Caleb is represented as saying, "Thou knowest the thing "that the LORD spake unto Moses the man of God concerning me "and concerning thee in Kadesh-barnea." The words "and concern-"ing thee," referring to the promise made to both Joshua and Caleb that they should be spared to enter the Promised Land (Num: xiv. 30), would show that Caleb did look upon Joshua as a companion, and would be a reference to the P narrative. How are they dealt with? **"Hence the words 'and concerning thee' are not "from his** [the writer of the passage's] **pen: the predominance "of the *singular* personal pronouns throughout make it "almost certain that these words are a marginal gloss due "to the influence of the account contained in P."** IP. 97 (see LOT 110). There is no independent evidence that these words are a **"marginal gloss,"** so this is another instance of a piece of adverse evidence being dismissed on the strength of an inference. That inference does not rest upon **"the predominance of the "singular pronouns throughout,"** for in vv: 9–12—about two-thirds of Caleb's utterance—only the singular could be used. Even of the two phrases in vv: 7, 8 specially cited by the critics, one ("sent me") is directly consequent on the opening "Forty "years old was I"; and there is at least a possibility that Caleb might deliberately choose to use the singular rather than the plural. The inference is therefore by no means incontestable, and yet on this alone the critics do not hesitate to strike out the evidence against their theory.

In discussing the historical allusions in Deuteronomy it is worth while to notice their limitations.

There are no allusions to the patriarchal history. The bondage in Egypt, and the deliverance from it are repeatedly referred to, but only in general terms, and the one incident directly mentioned is the crossing of the Red Sea. On the other hand, repeated and detailed references are made to the scenes at Mt. Sinai, and to the victories over Sihon and Og. Next to these perhaps the fullest references are to the Mission of the Spies, and the ensuing rebellion.

Now these were just the events which would be within the recollection of the people to whom the discourses in Deuteronomy are said to have been addressed. Though close on 40 years had elapsed, there must have been many of the older folk on whose memory the solemn scenes of the giving of the Law were ineffaceably impressed. Even the younger generation must have heard much of the disobedience which entailed the long and weary wanderings. The victorious campaigns east of Jordan were fresh in the minds of all as the welcome earnest that at length the time of trial was nearly at an end. These would be just the topics which a skilful orator (to say nothing of an inspired one) would choose to impress his audience. Are they the topics which a writer, living centuries after, would select, not merely to mention but to dwell upon and re-iterate?

So far the critical assertion (founded on "**verbal coincidences**" and "**discrepancies**") that the author of Deuteronomy could not have been aware of the P narratives has been discussed. There is something to be said on the other side. Only it must be borne in mind that of what is assigned to P a large part is legislation, statistics, and the like: the amount of history is comparatively small. Beginning then from Exod: xvi (which is the real commencement of the historical allusion in D) the following histories are found in P:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⊕ | (1) Exod: | xvi (parts). | The Manna. |
| × | (2) | xxxiv. 29–35. | Shining of Moses' face. |
| | (3) | xxxv–xl. | Construction and erection of Tabernacle. |
| × | (4) Lev: | x. 1–7. | Nadab and Abihu. |
| × | (5) Num: | i–iv. | First Census. |
| × | (6) | ix. 15–23. | Cloud on Tabernacle. |
| ⊕ | (7) | xiii, xiv (parts). | Mission of Spies. |
| ⊕ | (8) | xvi (parts). | Korah's Rebellion. |
| × | (9) | xvii. | Aaron's Rod. |
| | (10) | xx. 2–13. | Meribah, and Moses' exclusion. |
| | (11) | xx. 22–29. | Aaron's death, and Eleazar's succession. |
| | (12) | xxv. 6–18. | Plague for Baal Peor. |
| × | (13) | xxvi. | Second Census. |
| × | (14) | xxvii. 1–11. | Daughters of Zelophehad. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (15) | Num: xxvii. 18–23. | Appointment of Joshua. |
| (16) | xxxi. | War with Midianites. |
| (17) | xxxii. 1–38. | Settlement of 2½ tribes. |
| (18) | xxxiii. | Itinerary. |

The passages marked × (viz: 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 14) are not likely to be alluded to in a popular address.

The histories marked ⊕ (1, 7, 8) are alluded to, but the allusions are said to be to the JE parts of a composite narrative. That they are not allusions to P depends largely on the analysis.*

There remain eight passages (3, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18) to which allusion might be made.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (3) | Deut: x. 3. "an ark of acacia wood." | see Exod: xxv. 10, xxxvii. 1. |
| (10) | iii. 27. "thou shalt not go over "this Jordan." iv. 21. "the LORD was angry with "me for your sakes, and "sware that I should not go "over Jordan." | Num: xx. 12 (cf: xxvii. 13, 14). |
| (11) | x. 6. "there Aaron died, and there "he was buried: and "Eleazar his son ministered "in the priest's office in his "stead." | Num: xx. 28. |
| (12) | iv. 3. "all the men that followed "Baal-peor, the LORD thy "God hath destroyed them." | Num: xxv. 8, 9. |
| (15) | iii. 28. "charge Joshua, and en- "courage him." | Num: xxvii. 18, 19. |
| (17) | iii. 12, 13. "Reubenites . . . Gad- "ites . . . . tribes of Man- "asseh." | Num: xxxii. 33. |
| (18) | x. 6, 7. the four names (Benejaakan, Moserah, Gudgodah, Jotbathah) correspond fairly to the four in Num: xxxiii. 31–33 (Moseroth, Benejaakan, Hor-haggidgad, Jotbathah). | |

Seven of the eight passages are alluded to, and the eighth (16) is the War against the Midianites, and there does not seem any particular reason for alluding to that.

To these may be added Deut: xi. 4 where the mention of the army, horses, and chariots of Egypt may fairly be referred to the P narrative (Exod: xiv. 17, 23, 26, 28) though JE has them (but separated) in the Song of Moses (xv. 1, 4) ;—Deut: iii. 27 referring to Num: xxvii. 12, the command to Moses to go up into the mountain and view the land ;—Deut: iv. 41, the separation of three cities beyond Jordan (Num: xxxv. 14) ; —Deut: x. 22, "Thy fathers

* For allusions to the P narrative in Num: xiii, xiv see above, p: 104.

"went down into Egypt with threescore and ten persons," (Gen: xlvi. 27) ;—Deut: vi. 22 combines "signs and wonders" as does the P verse Exod: vii. 3 ;—the separation of Levi to bear the ark and to bless, Deut: x. 8, agrees with Num: iv. 15, vi. 23 ;—and the representation of Levi as "without inheritance," Deut: x. 9 with Num: xviii. 20, 24.

Yet Dr. Driver can speak (LOT. 81, note) of the "***consistent*** **"disregard of P in Dt."**

His conclusion is **"The verdict of the *historical* allusions "in Dt. confirms that of the laws."** LOT. 82.

Most likely, yet not perhaps the verdict the critics would pronounce.

# XII.

## INDICATIONS OF LATE DATE.

It is alleged that there are passages in the Pentateuch which must be of later date than the time of Moses.

**"Jewish writers of the middle ages drew attention to "certain passages of the Pentateuch which seemed to be of "post-Mosaic date."** IP. 26.

**"There are certainly passages (which cannot all be treated "as glosses), in which language is used implying that the "period of the Exodus lay in the past, and that Israel is "established in Canaan."** LOT. 124.

A footnote to this passage refers to a number of these, and others (in Deuteronomy) are mentioned on p: 84 of the same work, but as Mr. Chapman's discussion of this subject (IP. 40–50) is much fuller, it will be as well to consider his arguments here, noticing afterwards a few additional instances given by Dr. Driver.

Mr. Chapman sets out the passages on which he relies under five heads.

**"I. Passages quoted by Ibn Ezra and critics of the 16th "and 17th centuries."** IP. 40, 41.

(a). "The Canaanite was then in the land." Gen: xii. 6, xiii. 7.

This **"is spoken to readers who had long forgotten that "a different nation from Israel had once occupied the land."** Wellhausen, art: "Pentateuch," Enc: Britt: ed: ix.

**"The words 'the Canaanite was then in the land' are "those of a writer who lived when the Canaanite was no "longer in the land. From Josh. xvi. 10, Jud. i. 27–33, 2 "Sam. xxiv. 7, 1 Ki. ix. 16 it appears that the Canaanites re-"mained in parts of the land till the time of Solomon. Ibn "Ezra suggests that this comment must be assigned to a "period later than that of Solomon."** IP. 26.

This is what Mr. Chapman considers to be the **"obvious"** meaning of Ibn Ezra's cryptic saying, **"if it is not so, I have a "secret, but the prudent man will keep quiet."** Mr. Chapman himself calls this **"putting forth a riddle, the solution of which "he leaves to the reader"** (I.P. 26); but whether the above somewhat confident interpretation of the riddle be correct or not,

Ezra ix. 1, 2 seems to show there were Canaanites in the land after the Exile, and there are some good reasons for thinking that the Fellaheen of Palestine in the present day are of Canaanite origin. It is therefore doubtful if there ever was a time when "**the Canaan-"ite was no longer in the land.**"

At any rate, "**the traditions respecting the beginnings "of the nation that were current among the people**" embodied by J and E (LOT. 117) were fully acquainted with the fact that Canaanites were in the land in Joshua's time, and later still. Those traditions (on the critical theory) must have been still alive when E cast them "**into a literary form,**" and that (according to Wellhausen) would be about 750 BC, some two centuries later than Solomon. Did those traditions die out after being preserved in written form? And if so, at what subsequent time had they so completely died out that the people had "**long forgotten**" the existence of the Canaanites? Also, both phrases are assigned to the *earlier* J.

If, then, the phrase was not inserted because the Canaanites had been forgotten, it can only have the meaning that the Canaanites were then—in Abram's time—*already* in the land, having dispossessed still earlier inhabitants. This interpretation, mentioned by Ibn Ezra, is at least as old as Josephus.

(b). "Before there reigned a king over Israel." Gen. xxxvi. 31. "**The time of the kingdom is implied.**"

The phrase—only 5 words in Hebrew,—is just the sort of comment which might easily creep from the margin into the text. There is nothing to show that the Edomite kings were not pre-Mosaic. There were not eight *generations*, for the successor in each case belonged to a different family or region, and the reigns may well have been short. Dr. Driver's dictum (BG. 317), "**The last "mentioned king will naturally have lived just before the "time of Saul,**" is mere assertion. There was already a "king "in Edom" when Israel was in Kadesh (Num: xx. 14). Did eight reigns bridge the interval till Saul?

(c). "They [the children of Esau] destroyed them [the Horites] "from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the "land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto them." Deut: ii. 12.

"**The writer refers to Israel as already in possession of "their land, after having destroyed their enemies from "before them.**" IP. 40.

The latter part of the verse,—9 words in Hebrew,—is one of the clauses which Dr. Driver admits "**might in themselves be "treated as glosses**" (LOT. 124). Apart from these, the statement is quite consistent with Mosaic authorship.

(d). Beersheba. Gen: xxvi. 33. This will be discussed later on (see section II. (a), p: 115).

(e). "And Moses wrote." Deut: xxxi. 9.

**"This coming after passages in which Moses has been "almost continuously speaking in the first person (in cc. i–"xxx) suggests a change of writers."** IP. 40.

Why so? The chapters which profess to record Moses' own words are of course in the 1st person. The narrative portions (e.g. i. 1–5; iv. 41–49; xxvii. 1–11) speak of him in the 3rd person, as do the narratives of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. That does not prove that they were written by some one else, and certainly does not prove that this phrase was of a later date than the time of Moses.

(f). "And pursued as far as Dan." Gen: xiv. 14: "All the land of Gilead unto Dan." Deut: xxxiv. 1.

**"The name Dan was given to the city Laish at the time of "the Danite migration northward (Josh. xix. 47, Jud. xviii. 29). The use of the newer name implies a writer "who lived *after* the name had been changed."** IP. 41.

This inference only holds good if the name Dan was actually used by the original writer. It is not impossible that copyists may have substituted the name which had become familiar (as in the proverbial phrase "From Dan even unto Beersheba") for that which had become obsolete. When it suits their purpose, the critics are very ready to conjecture scribal interpolations and alterations (e.g. the substitution of *Jehovah* for *Elohim* in Gen: xvii. 1, xxi. 1). They of all men have least right to insist that "Dan" was originally written here.

**II.** Passages **"which imply that an interval of some length "has elapsed between the time of the events described, and "that of the writer."** IP. 41, 42.

(a). "To," or "unto this day." Gen: xxii. 14; xxvi. 33; xxxv. 20; xlvii. 26; Deut: ii. 22; iii. 14; x. 8; xxxiv. 6. . . .*

**"It may be allowed that Gen. xxii. 14, xlvii. 26, Deut. x. 8 might have been said by Moses; but most of the "other passages could hardly have been written till after the "children of Israel had been settled in the land for a con-"siderable time. Let the reader consider what is involved "in attributing Gen. xxvi. 33 or xxxv. 20 to Moses. 'To "'this day,' in the mouth of Moses, must refer to a time "when the land of Canaan was still inhabited by idolaters "whom the Lord was about to drive out from before Israel "because of their wicked doings. Moses tells the children "of Israel that these idolaters have preserved the memory "of Abraham's Well and Rachel's Pillar. And neither "Moses nor the children of Israel had seen these memorials "of their forefathers."** IP. 41.

* The rest of the references are to Joshua, and need not be discussed here.

With all due deference to Mr. Chapman, the verses in question do not assert that **" these idolaters have preserved the memory " of Abraham's Well and Rachel's Pillar."** They do assert that the *names* still survived, which is quite a different matter. How is it that so many of the Biblical sites (some of them quite insignificant places) have been recovered in recent years? Because the names have been preserved for some 2,000 years by the Fellaheen, possibly descendants of these same Canaanites, certainly very ignorant and unacquainted with Bible history.

The Israelites had not seen these memorials, but Jacob at least, and probably some of his elder sons, knew of their existence, and (unless the Genesis narratives are sheer fabrications) the traditions concerning them had been carefully preserved. Since we know that communication between Canaan and Egypt was frequent before the Exodus, Moses (and the people too) may well have been in a position to know of the survival of the names.

As Mr. Chapman admits that Gen: xxii. 14, xlvii. 26, Deut: x. 8 might be Mosaic, there remain only three of his eight instances (Deut: ii. 22; iii. 14; xxxiv. 6) to be considered. Deut: ii. 22, the children of Esau still in Seir, could quite well have been spoken by Moses;—Dr. Driver admits that "unto this day" in iii. 14 may be a gloss (and they are words peculiarly likely to creep into the text);—and c: xxxiv is admitted to be post-Mosaic.

(b). "Only Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of the "Rephaim; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it "not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the "length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it." Deut: iii. 11.

**" The 'bedstead' of Og is referred to as an interesting " relic of the last of the giants (Deut. iii. 11). Moses, who died " a few months after Og's defeat, could not have written this " verse. It describes a historic monument of antiquity, the " existence of which became known to the children of Israel " in later times."** IP. 41, 42.

What authority is there for calling the "bedstead" an **" interest- " ing relic "** or **" a historic monument of antiquity "**? What authority is there for asserting that it **" became known to the " children of Israel in later times "**? Is there the slightest reason to suppose that anything was known of it after the Conquest? Was it preserved in Rabbah till the days of Manasseh?

Again it is not primarily a question of Moses' writing this verse: the question is, Could he have uttered these words? Is it not exactly such an allusion as an orator would make to bring before the minds of his hearers the formidable nature of the opponents they had recently overcome?

(c). "Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the towns thereof, "and called them *Havvoth-jair*." Num: xxxii. 41.

"Jair the son of Manasseh took all the region of Argob . . . and

"called them, even Bashan, after his own name, *Havvoth-jair* "unto this day." Deut: iii. 14.

"He [Jair] had thirty sons that rode on thirty ass colts, and "they had thirty cities, which are called *Havvoth-jair* unto this "day,* which are in the land of Gilead." Jud: x. 14.

**"Here are different traditions about the origin of the "name."** IP. 42.

The account in Judges says nothing about taking the towns; nor does it say they were then *first* called *Havvoth-jair*; nor that the Jair of that age gave them that name. The name Jair is not altogether uncommon, and there is no reason why Jair the Judge should not have been a descendant of Jair the "son" of Manasseh, perhaps even named after his ancestor. According to 1 Chron: ii. 22 the towns taken by the first Jair were twenty-three. If then Jair the Judge was a descendant of that first Jair, and the "towns," now increased to thirty, were all known by the name given to the original twenty-three, the accounts would be perfectly consistent.

Even if there were **"different traditions,"** that would not show that Num: xxxii, Deut: iii. 14 were of late date, unless it could be shown that the name *Havvoth-jair originated* in the time of the Judges, and that is in no way asserted. Also, the **"differ-"ence"** (if difference it be) of locality insisted on by Mr. Chapman (IP. 42)—Gilead in Num: xxxii. 41, Jud: x. 8; Bashan in Deut: iii. 14, Josh: xiii. 30,—is no possible proof that either Numbers or Deuteronomy are of late date, which is the point now under discussion.

**III. "Other passages of greater length and of a different "character."** IP. 43–45.

The first of these (a) is taken from the book of Joshua, and does not concern the present investigation.

(b). Lev: xviii. 24–30.

**"In vv. 24–26, as translated in AV. and R.V., the casting "out of the nations is described as future. But in vv. 27, "28 the expulsion is referred to as already past: the verses "seem to have been written after the children of Israel "had taken possession of the land."** IP. 44.

It is not quite accurate to say that in vv: 24–26 the EVV. describe the casting out of the nations as future. In both versions, "I cast "out" (v: 24),—"is defiled . . . I do visit . . . vomiteth" (v: 25) are present tenses, and this agrees with the Hebrew. For the word rendered "I cast out" in v: 24 is a present participle, "am casting "out," and the tenses in v: 25, being joined to this by the consecutive conjunction, "*vav*." would naturally have the same force. It is not therefore correct to say (as Mr. Chapman does) that in the

* May not "unto this day" in Deut: iii. 14 be an assimilation to this very verse? (see above, p: 115).

English versions in v: 25 **" the verbs are taken as prophetic " perfects."** As to the following verses :—

V: 27, " for all these abominations have the men of the land " done, which were before you, and the land is defiled."

The Canaanites had already committed these abominations, and the past tense " have . . . done " is absolutely required. " Were " is not expressed in the original, and " are " would be just as correct. " Before you " is literally " before your face " (as in v: 24, " from before you "), and does not necessarily refer to time. There is no suggestion that the expulsion is past.

V: 28, " that the land vomit not you out also, when ye defile it, " as it vomited out the nation that was before you."

Again " before you " is " before your face," and " was " is not expressed. The only point to be considered is the past tense in " it vomited out." It would be quite legitimate to treat this as a " prophetic perfect," expressing the certainty of what is about to happen, but it is not necessary. The verse warns the Israelites against what may happen to them if they follow the abominable example of the Canaanites, and at that (hypothetical) future time, the expulsion of the Canaanites would be already past. The past tense " it vomited out " conveys this meaning, and does not in the least imply that the expulsion was past when the verse was written.

(c). **" Other indications of time are found in Lev. xxvi.**
**" 34–45.**
**" ' 34. The land shall enjoy [or pay back] her sab-**
**" ' baths. . . ' (i.e. during the captivity).**
**" ' 35. As long as it lieth desolate it shall have rest**
**" ' (keep sabbath), even the rest which it had not**
**" ' in your sabbaths when ye dwelt upon it.'**

**" Here is a statement that so long as the children of Israel were " dwelling in the land they did not observe the sabbath or " sabbatical year. The last clause contemplates the children " of Israel as no longer dwelling in the land, that is, they are " in captivity."** IP. 44.

Passages isolated from their context may easily be given a meaning they were not intended to convey. For instance, " Touch not ; " taste not ; handle not " is sometimes quoted as though these were apostolic injunctions ; whereas the context makes it clear that these are ordinances " after the precepts and doctrines of " men," and therefore *not* binding. In the present case, the context is of considerable importance.

Lev: xxvi. 3–13 consists of promises of blessings " if ye walk in " my statutes and keep my commandments." Vv: 14–26 threaten punishments of gradually increasing severity " if ye will not hearken " unto me, and will not do all these commandments" :—sickness and defeat (16, 17) ; failure of all produce (18–20) ; a plague of wild

beasts (21, 22); sword, pestilence, defeat, and famine (23–26). Vv: 27–39 continue this series of denunciations. "If ye will not "for all this hearken unto me," then (29) famine will be so terrible that they will be reduced to devouring their own children;—(30) their false worship will be destroyed; (31) their cities and sanctuaries desolated; (32) their land desolated; (33) themselves scattered among the nations; (34, 35) the land shall keep sabbath in desolation; while (36–39) the disheartened exiles pine away. Vv: 40, 41 contemplate a state of penitence produced by these tremendous visitations; 42 promises that then God will remember His covenant. Vv: 43–45 recapitulate the desolation of the land, the penitence of the people, and the promise to remember the covenant.

Is it not evident that the whole passage, vv: 3–45, is hypothetical and conditional? Blessings depend on faithfulness; punishment on unfaithfulness; renewed remembrance on penitence. Nowhere is there a statement of what has actually happened; everywhere, a setting forth of what will, under certain conditions, inevitably happen.

Yet the critics would have us believe that here a writer **"towards the closing years of the monarchy"** (LOT. 151) or even later still, while attributing the whole exhortation to Moses, is simple enough to betray himself and the age in which he was living, by inserting a historical statement that the Israelites had not observed the sabbatical years, and were already in captivity! Not only that, but he is careful to all attention to the anachronism by suddenly changing from the future tenses he has been steadily using to a perfect tense in the second half of v: 35.

Now a literal translation of vv: 34, 35 would run,—"Then "shall the land enjoy her sabbaths all the days of the desolation, "and ye in the land of your enemies: then shall the land keep "sabbath and enjoy her sabbaths. All the days of the desolation "she shall keep sabbath, that which she kept not in your sabbaths "in your dwelling upon her."

Mr. Chapman speaks (p: 44) of **"the past tense 'when ye "'*dwelt* upon it."** Actually in the Hebrew it is not a past tense at all, but a participial form, which may just as well refer to present or future. The one past tense in the verse is "she kept not" (lit: "she *sabbathed* not"). It is difficult to know what other tense could have been used here, as Hebrew has so few tenses. The passage, in considering the possibility of the people being unfaithful, assumes that in their wilful disregard of "all these com-"mandments" (v: 14), the people will have neglected the Sabbath of the land, and therefore, if the punishment of desolation should be incurred, it would be because the land had not enjoyed her Sabbaths. Can the critics suggest any other construction by which this meaning could be conveyed in Hebrew?

Mr. Chapman goes on to assert:—"**Verse 44 should be "translated:—**

"'**And yet for all that when they be in the land of their "'enemies, I have not rejected them, neither have I abhorred "'them . . . for I am the LORD their God, but I will for "'their sakes remember.'**

"**Those in captivity are reminded that God hath not cast "off His people, but will remember them. The change "from the past to the future * seems to indicate the date "of the passage.**" IP. 45.

The verbs "rejected" and "abhorred" are certainly in the perfect tense. It would be legitimate to take these (as RV. has done) as "prophetic perfects," and render them by futures, but it is not necessary. V: 43 repeats the warning that in the event of continued disobedience, the land will be desolated, and the people will have to accept their punishment, "because they rejected my "judgments, and their soul abhorred my statutes." And yet (v: 44 continues) "for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, "I have not rejected them, neither have I abhorred them." Note how the verbs are caught up and repeated from the previous verse. The exile will be inflicted because the people have rejected and abhorred God's laws. Yet that exile will not be because God has rejected and abhorred the people "to destroy them utterly, and "to break my covenant with them; for I am the LORD their God," the unchanging One, and (therefore) "I will for their sakes re-"member the covenant of their ancestors." Again there is the repetition of a significant word. There is a delicate beauty about the double contrast:—the people have rejected and abhorred, but God has not rejected or abhorred; that would be to break the covenant, but He remembers the covenant. The past tenses in v: 44 are required to bring out this contrast, yet they refer to what will be past *at a future time.*

(d). "**The description of the woes that will befall Israel "as given in Lev. xxvi and Deut. xxviii is so full of detail "as to suggest that some calamities of a similar kind had "already befallen a part of the nation (cf. Deut. xxviii. 53, "57 with 2 Kings vi. 28, 29).**" IP. 45.

It is assumed that a warning "**full of detail**" must necessarily have been suggested by actual experience. Anything like Divine foreknowledge is of course ignored, but, even apart from that, is there really anything in the lists of woes which a man of Moses' experience and insight might not have anticipated as likely to happen? Mr. Chapman specially singles out the warning (Deut:

* Mr. Chapman is again hardly accurate. The verb "remember" is actually in the past like the previous verbs. It is only by insisting that the conjunction is "conversive" that it can be called a future at all. If the conjunction is *continuative* there is no change of tense.

xxviii. 53, 57) that "a nation . . . from far, from the end of the "earth" (v: 49) should so "besiege thee in all thy gates throughout "all thy land" that even the "tender and delicate" (54, 56) should be reduced to devouring their own children; and refers to the incident in the siege of Samaria (2 Kings vi. 28, 29) as though this may have suggested the character of the warning. But, if the warning must have been founded on previous experience, is it quite impossible that Moses may have known of some such incidents in (say) Egyptian or Hittite campaigns? Moreover, the warning goes far beyond the single incident referred to. It speaks of invasion throughout the whole country;—the description of the invader (vv: 49, 50) answers far more closely to Romans than to Syrians (a neighbouring nation, speaking a language akin to that of the Israelites); horrible incidents of devouring children are said to have been frequent during the siege of Titus;—the description in Deut: xxviii. 49–57 does correspond to the Roman invasion. Did that suggest the fullness of detail?

Again both Lev: xxvi and Deut: xxviii contain fairly detailed lists of blessings. Were these also suggested by previous experience? Why are the details of woes to be pressed, and not the details of benefits?

Also, if the critical contention is right, then two separate writers, D and H, have committed the same blunder of putting into Moses' mouth allusions to events which occurred long after his death. Is this likely?

**IV. "Two groups of passages which afford definite indica-"tion of the date of their composition."** IP. 45–49.

**"(a) Passages in which quotations are made from other "writers.**

**"(α) 'Wherefore it is said in the book of the Wars "'of the Lord . . .' Num. xxi. 14.**

**"(β) 'They that speak in proverbs** [note, **"the "'"ballad singers,"** Perowne] **say . . .' Num. xxi. 27."** IP. 45.

A third instance is from the book of Joshua, and need not be considered here.

Mr. Chapman asks, **"Would Moses in relating events in "which all the children of Israel had recently taken part, "have any need to refer to a book or poem?"** and then asserts, **"A writer who quotes the testimony of another "acknowledges in so doing that another stands nearer "than himself to the events he is describing."**

**"It may, then, be inferred that a literature intervenes "between the writers of the passages in (α), (β), (γ), and "the events which they are describing."** IP. 45, 46.

Indeed? Cannot a writer quote a contemporary, especially as in these cases) fragments of verse? Even if not strictly contem-

porary, there is no need to infer that **" a literature intervenes."**

Concerning these quotations, Dr. Driver says (LOT. 124), **" The " manner also in which songs are appealed to (Num. xxi. 14, " 27), in support of historical statements, is scarcely that " of a contemporary."**

Cautiously as this is worded, it is not altogether justifiable.

So far from the **" songs "** being quoted **" in support of " historical statements "** it is the historic statement which explains the poetic allusion.

" Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites." There is the historic statement, and because that is the fact, " *There-* " *fore* it is said in the book of the Wars of the LORD, Vaheb in " Suphah, and the valleys in Arnon."

" Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites. . . . " *Therefore* they that speak in proverbs say, Come ye to Heshbon."

The poetic fragments are introduced by way of illustration, just as in the same chapter (vv: 17, 18) there is the " Song of the Well." The critics do not refer to this quotation perhaps because it can hardly be said to support a **" historical statement."**

The " songs " are admitted to be ancient ;—**" The poems " themselves will naturally, at least in most cases, have " been composed shortly after the events to which they " refer."** (LOT. 121). Having regard to the known Oriental habit of improvisation, there is fair probability that they were composed at the very time ; and it is quite as likely that Moses would introduce quotations from songs current at the time as that a later writer should appeal to ancient ballads.

But Num: xxi. 14 refers to " the book of the Wars of the LORD," and this, it is asserted, **" can only have been a collection of " songs celebrating ancient victories gained by Israel over " its enemies."** LOT. 121.

That the victories were **" ancient "** is an assumption, and it is also an assumption that the book was only **" a collection of " songs."**

Mr. Chapman (IP. 47) says of the Book of Jashar, **" Whether it " was exclusively poetical, or whether a poem was intro- " duced by a historical notice of the occasion on which it was " composed . . . must be left undecided,"** and adds, **" In " character, it was similar to the book of the Wars of the " Lord."** This also is an assumption, for we know exceedingly little about either book, but it shows that Mr. Chapman admits the possibility that neither book was a mere collection of songs.

As to the antiquity of the book, Dr. Driver only says, **"At what " date they were formed into a collection must remain matter " of conjecture : the age of David or Solomon has been sug- " gested "** (LOT. 121), but gives no reason in support of this suggestion. Mr. Chapman says that it was **" probably compiled**

**"in the peaceful days of the undivided kingdom, when the "Lord had given 'rest on every side' (1 Kings iv. 24, 25; "v. 3, 4). Tradition ascribes literary activity to this "period."** IP. 47.

There is a good deal of "**conjecture**" about all this. Even if there was literary activity at that period, that certainly does not prove that there was none at an earlier period; still less does it prove that "the book of the Wars of the LORD" was then compiled. Mr. Chapman also says, "**David also fought the Lord's battles "(1 Sam. xviii. 17; xxv. 28, where the Hebrew words are "the same as in the title of the book).**" IP. 46. Saul exhorts David to "fight the LORD's battles" (1 Sam: xviii. 17): Abigail says "my lord fighteth the battles of the LORD" (1 Sam: xxv. 28); and in both places the phrase is the same as "the Wars of the LORD" in Num: xxi. What possible bearing has that on the date of the book so named? Mr. Chapman himself adds, "**The wars of "the Lord, or the Lord's battles, were the battles fought by "Israel on the way to their inheritance, and to secure their "possession of the land**" (IP. 46), long before David's time. If "the book of the Wars of the LORD" contained everything that could be described by that title, its compilation might be brought down to the days of the Maccabees.

It is at least not impossible that "the book of the Wars of the LORD" was a record of Israelite victories, begun at an early period, and continued from time to time as occasion arose, containing occasionally poetical extracts. "**The command to write 'in a "'book' the threat to extirpate Amalek (Ex. xvii. 14) "makes it probable that some written statement existed "of the combat of Israel with Amalek, and of the oath "sworn then by Jehovah to exterminate His people's foe. "The poetical phrases that occur in the context may suggest "that this too was in the form of a poem.**" LOT. 122. If such a record had been begun even before Sinai was reached, there is no possible reason why Moses should not have quoted it.

"**(b) Passages which refer to prophets and prophesying.**

"**When were prophets known in Israel by this name? "According to 1 Sam. ix. 9 they were known as 'seers' "in the time of Saul. 'Beforetime in Israel when a man "went to enquire of God thus he said, Come and let us go "to the seer; for 'he that is now called a prophet was "'beforetime called a seer.' . . . It would seem that in the "interval between Saul's time and that of the writer of "the first book of Samuel, the word prophet had become "the usual expression to denote that class of persons who "were in earlier times called 'seers.'**" IP. 47, 48.

Hence it is inferred that the majority of the passages in the Pentateuch which refer to prophets (Num: xi. 16, 17, 24–29; xii.

6–8; Deut: xiii. 1–5; xviii. 18–22; xxxiv. 10) **"could only "have been written during the era of the prophets."** IP. 49.

The whole of this argument turns upon the interpretation put upon 1 Sam: ix. 9. Here it is taken to mean that those who were afterwards known as "prophets" had *always*, up to the time of Saul, been known only as "seers," and never previously as "prophets." But that reads into the verse a good deal more than it actually states. "Beforetimes" does not necessarily mean "at all times pre-"viously": the word is quite vague. Then, the statement may only refer to popular usage, "when a man went to enquire," etc: (see the reading of the LXX, *ὅτι τὸν προφήτην ἐκάλει ὁ λαὸς ἔμπροσθεν, ὁ βλέπων*). Also, it may simply be a notice of the use of the word "Seer" which had become obsolete, without in the least implying that the word "prophet" was not also known.

We are explicitly told that in Samuel's childhood "the word "of the LORD was precious [marg: *rare*] in those days; there was no open [marg: *frequent*, Heb: *widely spread*] vision" (1 Sam: iii. 1), but that when Samuel grew "all Israel from Dan even to Beersheba "knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the LORD" (1 Sam: iii. 20). It would seem therefore that there had been a cessation of the prophetic gift in the time of the Judges, and, during that period, the term "prophet" may well have fallen into abeyance until the prophetic revelation "by the word of the LORD" (1 Sam: iii. 21) was restored in Samuel.

Deut: xxxiv. 10,—"there hath not arisen a prophet since in "Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face,"—**"can only be explained,"** it is asserted, **"by supposing that "the writer lived after a long succession of prophets had "arisen in Israel."** IP. 49.

The critic seems to consider that the verse can only mean that many prophets had arisen, but none to equal Moses. It need not imply that *any* prophet had arisen if it be (as it surely is) a reference to the promise of Deut: xviii. 18, "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee." Deut: xxxiv is admitted to be a later addition. Suppose that it was written by the author of the book of Joshua, say by one of "the elders that outlived Joshua" (Jud: ii. 7), would not such an one have reason to note that the promise of a prophet "like unto Moses" had not yet been fulfilled, when no prophet of any kind had arisen?

V. **"The narratives furnish proof that they were composed "in Palestine."** IP. 49.

(1). **"The phrase 'beyond Jordan,' however it may be "employed in particular passages, owes its origin to a "writer in Western Palestine, who thus describes the land "to the east of Jordan."** IP. 49.

We give the passages, noting the region to which they refer by E (east of Jordan) and W (west of Jordan).

Num: xxii. 1. The children of Israel journeyed, and pitched in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho. E.
xxxii. 19. We will not inherit with them on the other side [beyond] Jordan, and forward; W.
because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side [beyond] Jordan eastward. E.
xxxiv. 15. their inheritance beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastward, toward the sunrising. E.
xxxv. 14. Ye shall give three cities beyond Jordan, and three cities ye shall give in the land of Canaan. E.
Deut: i. 1. Moses spake unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness in the Arabah. E.
5. beyond Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this law. E.
iii. 8. the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan, from the valley of Arnon unto mount Hermon. E.
20. the land which the LORD your God giveth them beyond Jordan: then shall ye return. W.
25. the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon. W.
iv. 41. Moses separated three cities beyond Jordan toward the sunrising. E.
46. beyond Jordan, in the valley against Bethpeor. E.
47. the two kings of the Amorites, which were beyond Jordan toward the sunrising. E.
49. All the Arabah beyond Jordan eastward. E.
ix. 30. [Ebal and Gerizim]. Are they not beyond Jordan, behind the way of the going down of the sun? W.

As this is a question of the meaning of a phrase, and not merely of its usage in the Pentateuch, instances in Joshua may be cited.

Josh: i. 14. the land which Moses gave you [the 2½ tribes] beyond Jordan. E.
15 Moses the servant of the LORD gave you beyond Jordan toward the sunrising. E.
ii. 10. the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan. E.
v. 1. the kings of the Amorites which were beyond Jordan westward. W.
ix. 1. all the kings which were beyond Jordan, in the hill country. . . . W.
10. the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan. E.
xii. 1. their land beyond Jordan toward the sunrising. E.
7. whom Joshua and the children of Israel smote beyond Jordan westward. W.

The critical view is that "beyond Jordan" must always mean

*across the river*, the further side from the position of the one who uses the phrase. Therefore one who was actually on the east of Jordan would not use it to describe the Eastern territory. Therefore the writers of Numbers and Deuteronomy, who do so use it, must have been on the western side and accustomed to think of the eastern side as " beyond Jordan." Hence, although they attributed what they wrote to Moses who was on the eastern side, they repeatedly forgot their assumed position, and used the phrase only appropriate to their actual position.

According to this the writer of Numbers (P) has blundered in his use of the phrase four times out of five ; D, an independent writer of a different age, seven times out of ten ; while a third writer, $D_2$, in Joshua, (without any such excuse of forgetfulness of an assumed position), has actually called his own western side by the same name three times out of eight. Is this altogether likely ?

The one instance in which P has used the phrase consistently with what the critics consider his assumed position is in Num: xxxii. 19 where " beyond Jordan " is used of the western side in the first half, and of the eastern side in the second half. As to this Dr. Driver writes (BD. xliii, note) that it **" has no bearing on the " present question : the usage here falls into the category " of passages in which, in accordance with Hebrew idiom, " the same expression repeated acquires a contrasted mean- " ing in virtue of the juxtaposition (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 4, xx. " 21 f, xxiii. 26)."**

That is all very well, but will some critic explain why a writer who elsewhere (in the critics' view) uses the phrase only in the way suitable to his actual position, should in this one verse *begin* by calling his own western side " beyond Jordan," while indicating the eastern side by the same phrase with an acquired **" contrasted " meaning "** ? Has he in this one passage remembered his assumed position, and been oblivious of it in the other three ? Besides, there is a similar phenomenon in Josh: xii. In v: 1 " beyond " Jordan " is used of the East, and in v: 7 of the West. Is the **" juxtaposition "** here close enough to give the **" contrasted " meaning "** ? Anyhow, the fact remains that two independent writers have used the phrase first of one side, and then of the other.

As to the passages in Deuteronomy, Dr. Driver writes (BD. xliii), **" In Deut. iii. 20, 25 the (assumed) position of the speaker is " naturally maintained. In v. 8, on the contrary, *in a phrase " of common occurrence* (iv. 47, Josh. ii. 10, ix. 10), as in " Josh. i. 14, 15 the point of view of the writer unconsciously " betrays itself."**

The explanation seems plausible, but

(i) it does not account for the writer maintaining his **" (as- " sumed) position "** in only 3 instances, and forgetting it in

no less than 7. Surely a writer of any intelligence would be more careful than this.

(ii) The "**phrase of common occurrence**" (the two kings of the Amorites) is only found in Deut: iii. 8, iv. 47, so that 5 of the 7 instances of unconscious betrayal are not accounted for by it.

(iii) That phrase occurs in the wrong position. If the writer had maintained his "**(assumed) position**" for a time, and then in the "**phrase of common occurrence**" had forgotten it, there could be something to be said. But in both instances, the phrase comes *after* the writer has betrayed himself in connection with other phrases, and *before* he maintains the assumed position.

(iv) The writer forgets his supposed position in i. 1, 5; iii. 8;—suddenly remembers it in iii. 20, 25;—forgets it again in iv. 41, 46, 47, 49;—and remembers it again in xi. 30. How is the alternation accounted for?

(v) The explanation does not account for the usage in Numbers and does not in the least account for the writer in Joshua calling his own side "beyond Jordan" three times over.

There is one part of the evidence which has not yet received consideration. In the great majority of instances, "beyond "Jordan" is qualified by words defining the part intended; e.g. Num: xii. 1, "in the plains of Moab . . . at Jericho"; Deut: iv. 41, "toward the sunrising"; Josh: v. 1, "westward." In three instances it is not so qualified, and in these it seems to bear the strict meaning "across." In Deut: iii. 10 Moses uses it of the West: in Josh: ii. 10, ix. 10, Rahab and the Gibeonites use it of the East.

Taking the whole of the evidence into consideration, it seems reasonable to conclude that "beyond Jordan" is not commonly used in the strict sense required by the critics, but is applied sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other, only with qualifying words added to show clearly which side was meant.

(2). "**Towards the west is 'seawards'; and the south "is the 'Negeb' the stretch of imperfectly watered country "to the south of Hebron (cf. Jud. i. 15). These indications of "position are suitably used by an inhabitant of Palestine; "but for the children of Israel during their wanderings the "Negeb would be to the north. Yet they are employed in "the directions for making the Tent of meeting.**" IP. 49.

Putting aside the question whether the Negeb district may not have been so named just because it lay to the south, do the critics imagine that the Hebrew language originated after the Exodus? Even if the words may not be traced back to the geographical surroundings of Haram and Nahor, at any rate Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob resided in Palestine for a long period. Is it not possible that during their residence they adopted the words for "west" and "south" which were there appropriate, and that these words

became naturalized in the language? Do English folk residing in India never speak of Turkey, Syria, and Arabia as "the East," although these countries lie to the west of them?

(3). **"The geographical knowledge of the writers is exact "for places in Palestine, but indistinct for places connected "with the wanderings."** IP. 49.

Is the latter part of the statement justified? Owing to the survival of a settled population, the names of places in Palestine have been remarkably preserved, and we are thus able to test the accuracy of the Pentateuchal topography there. In the region of the Wanderings, where the tribes are mostly nomadic, the old names have to a great extent perished, and there is a great deal of uncertainty as to the localities intended. We are, for instance, quite unable to test the accuracy of the detailed list of journeyings in Num: xxxiii. That does not justify us in charging the writer with being **"indistinct."** It is our knowledge, not his, which is at fault.

There remain a few phrases, not mentioned in IP, adduced by Dr. Driver as indications of late date.

(a). "wrought folly in Israel." Gen: xxxiv. 7; Deut: xxii. 21.

There is no reason why Moses should not have used the phrase in Deuteronomy towards the end of the Wanderings. If, then, he was also the author of Genesis, written at about the same time, he might quite possibly have used the same phrase, though strictly speaking it is something of an anachronism.

(b). "I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews." Gen: xl. 15.

Joseph, not wishing to be considered a Canaanite, would probably avoid saying "out of the land of Canaan." As Abraham "the "Hebrew" (Gen: xiv. 13)* had been in Egypt, and there was a good deal of intercourse between the countries, it is quite possible that Egyptians would have readily understood what was meant by the "land of the Hebrews," i.e. the land where the Hebrews were then dwelling. There is no authority for supposing that "land of the Hebrews" was a title used in later times.

(c). Dr. Driver calls special attention (LOT. 84) to **"the "repeated 'at that time' ii. 34, iii. 4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 23"** as **"implying a longer interval of time than 6 months . . . "had elapsed since the events referred to had taken place."**

The references are all to the not very lengthy section Deut. ii. 26–iii. 29, dealing with the conquest of the territory east of the Jordan. Why Moses should not have emphasized "that time" when at last the Israelite victories showed that the Wanderings were nearly ended; and why "at that time" must imply an

* Joseph's mistress calls him "an Hebrew," Gen: xxxix. 14, 17.

interval of more than 6 months can only be left to the critical mind to explain.

Admitting that Deut: ii. 12, iii. 11, 14 might **"in themselves "be treated as glosses,"** Dr. Driver contends that **"the "attempts that have been made to reconcile the other pas- "sages with Moses' authorship must strike every impartial "reader as forced and artificial."** LOT. 124.

Impartial readers must judge for themselves whether the arguments here used are in any degree **"forced and artificial."** If they are reasonably sound, then the list of passages in the Pentateuch which may be of late origin is reduced to

(a) The mention of Dan in Gen: xiv. 14; Deut: xxxiv. 1;—
(b) five words in Gen: xxxvi. 31;—
(c) nine words in Deut: ii. 12;
(d) three words in Deut: iii. 14.

This is not a large amount of scribal interpolation or emendation to find in a MS of the length and antiquity of the Pentateuch.

# XIII.

## STYLE.

THE question of style is very largely a matter for the expert scholar. To judge it adequately one must be thoroughly familiar with the language in which the work is written. But so much stress is laid by the critics on the alleged differences of style,—rather, the argument from style is so manifestly the very foundation of the critical theory,—that a survey of the evidence would be incomplete without some discussion of the subject, and there are some considerations which even the least expert can estimate.

Peculiar words and phrases do not in themselves constitute style, though they may help to characterize it. Style may be defined as the manner in which thought is expressed in language. Peculiarities of diction may, or may not, mark it; it may be slipshod, or pedantically accurate in grammatical construction; the vocabulary may be rich and varied, or severely simple. But beneath these externals there will be something deeper, some impress of the individuality of the writer. "*Le style c'est l'homme.*" The terseness of Tacitus and the diffuseness of Livy, the rough eccentricities of Carlyle and the luxuriant periods of Macaulay are more than mere mannerisms. They are indications of character.

From this it follows that the greater the genius of the writer, the more likely is his style to be varied and complex. It will be coloured and modified by the nature of his subject. Great events will be differently treated from ordinary transactions. Virgil depicting the agonies of Laocoon differs from Virgil painting the rural felicities of Tityrus: the Tennyson of the "Morte d'Arthur" is not the same as the Tennyson of "In Memoriam."

All this must be given full weight in considering the evidence of style.

What evidence then do the critics adduce of these deeper characteristics of style, apart from mere verbal peculiarities?

Since the alleged styles of J and E are admittedly very much alike, so much alike as to be often indistinguishable, they may for the present purpose be treated as one, and compared with the style of P.

**"The literary style of P is strongly marked. If JE—**

**"and especially J—be free, flowing, and picturesque, P is "stereotyped, measured, and prosaic. . . . The descriptions "of P are methodical and precise. . . . Metaphors, similes, "&c., are eschewed . . . . and there is generally an ab-"sence of the poetical or dramatic element, which is fre-"quently conspicuous in the other historical books of the "O.T. (including J and E)."** LOT. 129, 130.

**"If the parts assigned to P be read attentively, even in a "translation, and compared with the rest of the narrative, "the peculiarities of its style will be apparent. Its language "is that of a jurist, rather than a historian; it is circum-"stantial, formal, and precise: a subject is developed syste-"matically; and completeness of detail, even at the cost "of some repetition, is regularly observed. Sentences are "cast with great frequency into the same mould; and "particular formulæ are constantly repeated, especially "such as articulate the narrative."** LOT. 12.

On the other hand we are assured (LOT. 119) that J **"excels "in the power of delineating life and character. His touch "is singularly light: with a few strokes he paints a scene "which, before he has finished, is impressed indelibly upon "his readers' memory. In ease and grace his narratives "are unsurpassed; everything is told with precisely the "amount of detail that is required; the narrative never "lingers, and the reader's interest is sustained to the end. "His dialogues especially (which are frequent) are remark-"able for the delicacy and truthfulness with which character "and emotions find expression in them."**

Here we have what certainly seems to be a very complete antithesis. In order to estimate it rightly, however, it will be necessary to take into account the subject matter dealt with. No one who takes the trouble to examine the parts of the "Hexateuch" assigned to P can fail to notice how little of them is occupied with narrative. Besides the legislation of nearly the whole of Leviticus, a great part consists of such matters as genealogies, census-takings, the details of the construction of the Tabernacle, itineraries, and the delimitation of tribal possessions. Even where P is assigned a share in narratives alleged to be composite, the parts so attributed are often the baldest of statements or mere mentions of statistics. For instance, in the whole narrative of Jacob's stay in Padan-Aram, —three long chapters, Gen: xxix–xxxi,—the only parts allotted to P are,

xxix. 24, "And Laban gave Zilpah his handmaid unto his "daughter Leah for an handmaid."

28[b], 29, "and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife. "And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter, Bilhah his "handmaid to be her handmaid."

xxxi. 18[b], "and all his substance which he had gathered, the "cattle of his getting, which he had gathered in "Paddan-aram, for to go to Isaac his father unto "the land of Canaan."

Whereas much the greater part of what is ascribed to JE consists of histories teeming with human interest.

For comparison of style it is absolutely futile to contrast passages of such widely different import, and then to assert that one is **"stereotyped, precise, and formal,"** and the other **"free, "flowing, and picturesque."** Do the critics expect to find **"the poetical or dramatic element"** in the enumeration of Esau's descendants, or the list of stations in the wilderness? Do they look for dialogue **"remarkable for delicacy and truth-"fulness"** in the account of the Tabernacle, or the laws regulating sacrifice? Do they suppose that a narrator of the smallest degree of skill would be **"stereotyped, precise, and formal"** in recounting the meeting of Eliezer and Rebekah?

For the comparison to be of any real value, passages dealing with subjects of a similar nature must be compared. Fortunately such comparison is possible.

Gen. vi. 5–7.

And the LORD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the ground; both man, and beast, and creeping thing, and fowl of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.

Gen. vi. 11–13.

And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.

Exod: ix. 1–6.

Then the LORD said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me. For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still, behold the

Exod: ix. 8–11.

And the LORD said unto Moses and unto Aaron, Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh. And it shall become small dust over all the land of Egypt. And shall be

hand of the LORD is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the herds, and upon the flocks : there shall be a very grievous murrain. And the LORD shall sever between the cattle of Israel and the cattle of Egypt : and there shall nothing die of all that belongeth to the children of Israel. And the LORD appointed a set time, saying, To-morrow the LORD shall do this thing in the land. And the LORD did that thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died : but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.

Num: xvi. 12–15.

And Moses sent to call Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab : and they said, We will not come up ; is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, but thou must needs make thyself also a prince over us ? Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey, nor given us inheritance of fields and vineyards : wilt thou put out the eyes of these men ? We will not come up. And Moses was very wroth, and said unto the LORD, Respect not thou their offering : I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them.

a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt. And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh ; and Moses sprinkled it up toward heaven ; and it became a boil breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast. And the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils ; for the boils were upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians.

Num: xvi. 1[a], 2[b]–7.

Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, . . . took men . . . with certain of the children of Israel, two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation, called to the assembly, men of renown : and they assembled themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the LORD is among them ; wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the assembly of the LORD ? And when Moses heard it, he fell upon his face : and he spake unto Korah and unto all his company, saying, In the morning the LORD will shew who are his, and who is holy, and will cause him to come near unto him : even him whom he shall choose will he cause to come near unto him. This do ; take

you censers, Korah, and all his company; and put fire therein, and put incense upon them before the LORD to-morrow: and it shall be that the man whom the LORD doth choose, he shall be holy: ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi.

Here then are three passages from J and three from P, fairly balanced as to subject matter. Which are which? According to the criteria supplied by Dr. Driver, it ought to be easy to decide. One set should be unsurpassed "**in ease and grace**"; the other "**methodical and precise.**" One paints indelible scenes "**with "a few strokes**"; the other studies "**completeness of detail "even at the cost of some repetition.**" One frequently has dialogues "**remarkable for delicacy and truthfulness**"; the other is marked by "**an absence of the poetical or dramatic "element.**" How easy it ought to be to distinguish these. But try the extracts given above by these tests, and—well, which *is* which?

Of course, a tyro in critical methods would at once know that where "LORD" and "God" are distinguished the former will belong to J, and that "magicians," and a Levitical revolt are sure indications of P, but these are not tests of style.

Again, in Gen: xxiii we have one of the very few independent narratives of any length assigned to P, the story of the purchase of Machpelah. Is the "**poetical or dramatic element**" absent from this? Does not the dialogue express "**characters and "emotions**" as delicately and truthfully as any in J? Are there lacking in it any of the alleged marks of J's style?

Contrast with that Gen: xxii. 20–24, "And it came to pass after these things, that it was told to Abraham, saying, Behold, "Milcah, "she also hath borne children unto thy brother Nahor; Uz his "firstborn, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram; "and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel. "And Bethuel begat Rebekah: these eight did Milcah bear to "Nahor, Abraham's brother. And his concubine, whose name "was Reumah, she also bare Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and "Maacah." As far as general characteristics of style are concerned, how does this differ from the lists of names attributed to P? Yet it is marked J. If this list of names were marked P, and the story of Machpelah J, who could say that there would be any inconsistency with the characteristics of style set forth by Dr. Driver. The one shows that J can be as prosaic and precise as P; the other, that P can be as dramatically picturesque as J. Where the subject matter is similar, there is no appreciable difference

of style. Hence, the contrast drawn between the bulk of the JE passages and the bulk of the P passages may fairly be attributed to difference of subject rather than to difference of authorship.

The presumption that this is the true explanation of the variations in style is further increased when it is considered that it is alleged that there is yet a third style in the Pentateuch, that of D, differing from both P and JE. For here the subject matter is neither historical narrative (like most of JE) nor statistical detail (like so much of P) but is very largely hortatory. Moreover, this portion professes to be chiefly reports of speeches, which would naturally differ in style from a history, or a legal and statistical work. The variations in style, then, come just where they might be expected in the work of a single author.

If, however, stress is laid on verbal peculiarities * rather than on general style, it must be borne in mind how very much of the evidence for these peculiarities is really dependent on the analysis.

There are over 50 instances in the "Hexateuch" in which short fragments not exceeding two verses, many of them only a verse or a half-verse, are detached from their context, and assigned to a different writer. Some of these contain statistics (e.g. "and "Isaac was threescore years old when she bare them," Gen: xxv. 26[b]); —others, a curt mention of itinerary (e.g. "and the children of Israel "journeyed from Rameses to Succoth," Exod: xii. 37) ;—others, a turn of phrase considered to be peculiar to P, (e.g. "and the children "of Israel went and did so ; as the LORD had commanded Moses and "Aaron, so did they," Exod: xii. 28) ;—others, a word or words considered peculiar to P (e.g. Num: xiv. 10, "But all the *congre-* "*gation* bade *stone* them with stones"). Passages like these can only have been assigned to P *because* they contain these peculiarities, for otherwise there is no conceivable reason for detaching them from their JE context. But it is very easy to make out that certain characteristics are absent from JE's style if every instance of them is carefully cut out of the JE narratives and marked P. Only this is hardly scientific reasoning, or the way in which evidence is usually treated.

Really, if a very homely simile may be permitted, such "analysis" is almost like "dissecting" a currant dumpling by picking out all the currants, and then saying, See the difference of material ! One part dark in colour, juicy, and luscious to the taste ; the other pale, close in texture, and somewhat flavourless. Clearly this dumpling has been made by two cooks using very different materials.

Mr. Chapman argues (IP. 55, note) that it is not so much by peculiar words as by the method of combining words that style is

* For a discussion of some of the more remarkable verbal peculiarities see Appendix B, p: 510.

distinguished ;—"***preference*** **and** ***combination*** **are the distin-** "**guishing marks which differentiate one writer from an-** "**other.**" This conclusion is led up to by an illustration ;—"**If** "**two children are sent into the fields to gather posies one** "**may return with a nosegay carefully arranged in con-** "**centric circles of different colours ; the other may adopt a** "**less systematic arrangement. One may have a preference** "**for dark colours, the other for light ; but light and dark** "**colours will be gathered by both.**"

No doubt, nosegays gathered by different children will probably show some differences of choice and arrangement. But is it safe to argue conversely that where difference of choice and arrangement is found, there different gatherers must have been at work ? That is what the critics have done as regards style. In certain parts of a book we find preference for certain words, and for a certain arrangement of words : in other parts we do not find the same choice or arrangement. Therefore, the critics have argued, there must have been different "gatherers," i.e. authors.

Suppose there were a basket of posies, some showing a care in selection and arrangement which others do not show. It would not be safe to conclude that therefore these must be the work of different children. That may be the cause of the difference, but it may have arisen in another way. The same child may have chosen and arranged some nosegays more carefully than others. They may be destined for some special person or purpose :—these for a show, or flower service ; those for the home. In the same way, one and the same writer may intentionally choose and combine his words in some parts to produce certain effects which are not needed elsewhere. The idea of purpose must not be overlooked.

Mr. Chapman introduces his illustration in connection with an argument about passages in Genesis referring to "blessing." He has grouped together Gen: i. 22, 28 ; ii. 3 ; v. 2 ; ix. 1 ; xvii. 16, 20 ; xxv. 11 ; xxviii. 3 ; xxxv. 9 (and 11) ; xlviii. 3 ;—and remarks concerning these, "**In these passages words and phrases recur** ***in the*** "***same combination.*** **A record of** ***blessing*** **is followed by** "**words signifying to be** ***fruitful*** **and** ***multiply.***" IP. 55. (Though not here specified, it will be as well, for the sake of clearness, to bear in mind that these passages are referred to P). Then he has grouped together Gen: xii. 2 ; xxii. 17 ; xxiv. 1 ; xxvi. 3, 12, 24 ; xxx. 27 ; xxxix. 5 (referred to other sources), remarking that "**It will be instructive to compare**" these with the former, and drawing a double contrast :—

"**(i) the words accompanying the blessing in the first** "**set of passages are not found in the second set,** "**(ii) in this second set, the blessing is a** ***continued*** **action** "**manifested by the course of God's goodness in the past,** "**or promised for the future. In the first group of passages,**

**"the blessing is recorded as a single formal act, a kind of "benediction. (Cp. Gen. xlvii. 7 'and Jacob blessed "'Pharaoh').''** IP. 55.

It will be very instructive to compare the two groups.

i. 22. God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.

i. 27, 28. God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them: and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish [fill] the earth, and subdue it.

ii. 3. God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

v. 1, 2. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made he him; male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created.

ix. 1. God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish [fill] the earth.

xvii. 16. And I will bless her [Sarah], and moreover I will give thee a son of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations.

xvii. 20. As for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly.

xxv. 11. It came to pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed Isaac his son; and Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi.

xxviii. 3, 4. God Almighty

xii. 2, 3. I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and be thou a blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth thee will I curse, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

xxii. 17. In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven.

xxiv. 1. And the LORD had blessed Abraham in all things.

xxvi. 3, 4. Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will give all these lands, and I will establish the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father; and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven.

xxvi. 12. Isaac sowed in that land, and found in the same year an hundredfold: and the LORD blessed him.

xxvi. 24. I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's sake.

xxx. 27. Laban said unto him, If now I have found favour in thine eyes, tarry: for I have divined that the LORD hath blessed me for thy sake.

xxxix. 5. It came to pass from the time that he [the Egyptian] had made him [Joseph] overseer over his house, and

bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a company of peoples: and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee.

xxxv. 9, 11. God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came from Paddan-aram, and blessed him . . . and God said unto him, I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee.

xlviii. 3, 4. Jacob said unto Joseph, God Almighty appeared unto me at Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me, and said unto me, Behold, I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make of thee a company of peoples.

over all that he had, that the LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake.

About Gen: v. 1, 2, Mr. Chapman remarks that "God blessed" is used **"in connexion with 'create', 'likeness,' 'male and "'female,' where the similarity to ch. i is very marked."** IP. 54, 55. A reference to the passages above will show that v. 1, 2, is a direct reference to i. 27, 28, and almost a verbal citation. Consequently there is nothing very surprising in the marked similarity. This combination, however, has nothing to do with the other 9 passages. The combination which is said to characterize the whole of the first group is that of "blessing" with **"words "signifying to be *fruitful* and *multiply*."** Yet neither of these words occur in Gen: ii. 3, v. 2, xvii. 16, xxv. 11. Four passages out of eleven,—more than a third of the list,—do not show the words supposed to characterize them. On the other hand, "multi-"ply" is found in Gen: xxii. 17, xxvi. 3, 4, and xxvi. 24, three of the eight passages from which the distinctive words are said to be absent.

When the 4 passages of Group I not containing these words are excluded, the remaining 7 passages will be seen to form two sub-groups; (1) the primal blessings; (2) the Abrahamic blessing.

(1) *The primal blessings*:—three passages (Gen: i. 22; i. 27, 28; ix. 1) containing the **"three imperatives, 'Be fruitful—mult-"'ply—fill.'"** (IP. 54). These are,—the blessing on fish and fowl (the first mention of animal life); the blessing of the human race; and the blessing of Noah's family, when the earth needed to be repeopled. Evidently the three are connected, and may

almost be considered repetitions of the same benediction, where the combination " Be fruitful—multiply—fill " is needed to express the scope of the blessing.

(2) *The Abrahamic blessing* :—four passages (Gen: xvii. 20 ; xxviii. 3, 4 ; xxxv. 9, 11 ; xlviii. 3, 4). These are all really dependent on xvii. 2–6, which is a promise of blessing (though the word " bless " is not used) containing the words " fruitful " (v: 2) and " multiply " (v: 6). In xvii. 20 Abraham, in reply to his intercession for Ishmael, is assured that he too, though not of the chosen line, shall share in the promised blessing of fertility ; in xxviii. 3, 4, Isaac bestows on Jacob the " blessing of Abraham " with evident reference to the terms of xvii. 2–6 ;—in xxxv. 9–11, God Himself bestows the same blessing on Jacob ;—and in xlviii. 3 Jacob is quoting this benediction. These four passages, then, are not independent and isolated. They are repetitions of one and the same benediction, and the recurrence of the same terms is inevitable. But in this set the third imperative, " fill," is not found. The chosen race was never intended to " fill " the earth, and that word is intentionally omitted.

The seven passages, therefore, may be said to consist of three repetitions of one benediction, and four repetitions of another ;—They purport to give the exact terms of the benedictions, and necessarily the same words recur ;—and those terms are chosen with evident meaning. The purpose of the " gatherer " is manifest.

Now turn to the passages of the second Group. Here there are four passages,—Gen: xii. 2, 3 ; xxii. 17 ; xxvi. 3, 4 ; xxvi. 24,—containing a general promise of blessing (" I will bless thee "), but not quoting the actual words of a benediction. Yet three of these contain the promise to " multiply," and the other promises " I will make of thee a great nation. " There are also four other passages,—xxiv. 1, Abraham blessed " in all things " ;—xxvii. 12, Isaac blessed with an abundant harvest ;—xxx. 27, Laban blessed for Jacob's sake ;—xxxix. 5, the Egyptian blessed for Joseph's sake,—where the terms " be fruitful—multiply " would be obviously out of place. The very nature of the case excludes them. How then can their absence be an indication of difference of style ?

In these eight passages, the word " bless " bears the sense " prosper " rather than " pronounce a benediction." Is Mr. Chapman then right in saying, **" A distinct difference in thought and " expression between these two groups is apparent "** (IP. 55)? The one, he says, speaks of **" a *continued* action "** ; the other of **" a single formal act."**

May not the same writer use a word in more than one sense ? St. Mark tells us, x. 16, " He took them up in his arms, put his " hands upon them and blessed them " ; xi. 9 says, " they that " followed cried, saying, Hosanna ; Blessed is he that cometh in the " name of the Lord." Must these have been written by different writers ?

As a further instance of "blessed" used of "**a single formal "act,**" Mr. Chapman refers to Gen: xlvii. 7, also attributed to P. He might have added Gen: xiv. 19, where it is written of Melchizedek, "And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of God most "High" (SS); xxxii. 29, the angel blessing Jacob, "and he "blessed him there" (J);—xlviii. 15, 20, Jacob blessing Joseph and his sons (E);—and xxvii. 22, 27, 33, 34, Isaac blessing Jacob and Esau(J). Only unfortunately none of these belong to P. Instead, these show that the same writer (J) who uses "blessed" of "**a "continued action**" in Gen: xxx. 27, 30 can also use it of "**a "single formal act**" in xxxii. 29.

Further, if the contrast between the two senses of "bless" is to be the test, the classification of the two groups is faulty. Gen: xvii. 16, "I will bless her, and moreover I will give thee a son of "her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations," is placed in Group I. Is this only "**a single formal act**"? Is it not an instance of "**the course of God's goodness . . . "promised for the future**"? Wherein does it differ from the promise of xii. 2, "I will make of thee a great nation, and I will "bless thee, and make thy name great" in Group II.

Again, the statement, "The LORD had blessed Abraham in all "things" (Gen: xxiv. 1) is in Group II. Why then is the similar statement of xxv. 11, "it came to pass after the death of Abraham, "that God blessed Isaac his son," placed in Group I?

The blessings of Gen: xvii. 16, xxv. 11, may both be fairly regarded as instances of "**continued action**": both are devoid of the distinctive words "be fruitful—multiply." Why are these not included in Group II?

If it be argued that on other grounds these must be assigned to P, then these would show that P (like J) can use the word "bless" in both senses. Also, they, together with Gen: ii. 3, v. 2,* would show that in P "bless" is used without the combination "be "fruitful—multiply," and the whole argument from "**preference "and combination**" breaks down.

The argument from style, then, whether based on general characteristics, verbal peculiarities, or the choice and arrangement of words, is anything but conclusive.

* The words said to be distinctive of P's "**preference and combination**" are, of course, absent from Gen: ii. 3 because "be fruitful—multiply" are absolutely inapplicable to the Sabbath day, but then this equally accounts for the absence of these words from Gen: xxiv. 1, xxvi. 12, xxx. 27, xxxix. 5.

In Gen: v. 1, 2, the writer has quoted i. 27, 28 as far as the words "and "blessed them." The words "be fruitful—multiply—fill" are absent because he has not gone on to quote the terms of the blessing. That only shows that these words are not simply associated with "blessing" in the writer's mind by individual preference. They belong to that particular benediction.

# XIV.

## THE BOOK OF JOSHUA (STYLE).

Of the other books of the Old Testament to which, as well as to the Pentateuch, the critical methods have been applied, the book of Joshua claims special attention in connection with the argument from style. For in this book the critics contend, not only that they can distinguish the work of more than one author, but that the sources so distinguished are **"homogeneous"** with those of the preceding five books; that in it the characteristics of JE, D, and P are plainly discernible. They do not hesitate, therefore, to affirm that at one time these six books formed one work, "The "Hexateuch."

**"The book of Joshua,"** says Dr. Driver (LOT. 103), **"is "separated by the Jews from the Pentateuch (the *Torah* "or Law) and forms with them the first of the group of "writings called the 'Former Prophets' (i.e. Joshua, Judges, "Samuel and Kings). This distinction is, however, an "artificial one, depending on the fact that the book could "not be regarded, like the Pentateuch, as containing an "authoritative rule of life; its contents, and, still more, "its literary structure, show that it is intimately connected "with the Pentateuch, and describes the final stage in the "history of the 'Origines' of the Hebrew nation."**

The fact that the Jews separate Joshua from the preceding five books is here recognized, but it is alleged that this distinction is **"artificial,"** and the only authority given for this allegation is the character of **"its contents, and, still more, its literary "structure,"** i.e. internal evidence, and internal evidence alone.

That Joshua ever formed part of the "Hexateuch" is, then, at best an inference: that it was separated from the preceding books a further inference depending on the former; that it was so separated because it could not be regarded **"as containing an authorita-"tive rule of life"** is simple conjecture. Yet the inferences and the conjecture are put forward as confidently as if they were ascertained facts.

Postponing for the present the consideration of the contents and literary structure, how does the case stand?

There is simply no external evidence whatever that Joshua was at any time connected with the previous books, and none that a separation, such as the critical theory requires, ever took place. On the contrary, the evidence, as far as we can trace it, points in the opposite direction.

(a) Ecclesiasticus (not later than 130 BC) and the New Testament agree in testifying to the triple division of "the Law, the "Prophets, and the Writings," and there is no reason to suppose that "the Law" ever included Joshua.

(b) Josephus specifies the first *five* books are books of Moses.

(c) The *Haphtoroth* (selections from the writings of the prophets corresponding to the lections from the Torah, said to date from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, 168 BC) testify to the special estimation in which the Law was held, and its use above other Old Testament writings.

(d) It is admitted that the translation of the Pentateuch alone was the commencement of the Septuagint version.

(e) The five "books" of the Psalter (older than the LXX) suggest that a fivefold division was already held sacred.

(f) The Samaritans, accepting and reverencing the Five Books entirely reject the Hebrew Joshua.

Now the combination of JE, D, and P, (according to the critics), took place near the end of the Exile, not much, if at all, earlier than 444 BC, while the Samaritan Pentateuch probably goes back to 432 BC.

The evidence, then, knows nothing of the arrangement which the critics assert must have existed, but rather negatives it, and that evidence reaches back to a period within 20 years of the time when that arrangement is said to have been completed.

To outweigh all this, the evidence from the contents and literary structure of the book would need to be particularly clear and conconvincing.

"**The book of Joshua,**" Prof. Driver asserts (LOT. 158), "**is not severed from the following books and connected "with the Pentateuch, for the purpose of satisfying the "exigencies of a theory, but because this view of the book "*is required by the facts*.**"

Well, it is precisely the facts that we want to go upon, and as Dr. Driver assures us that Joshua differs from the following books "**especially in the P sections**" (LOT. 158), we will begin our examination of the facts by looking for those sections. At once we are confronted by a very remarkable fact. The first half of the book, cc: i–xii, has very few traces of what is considered to be P, only 11½ verses :—in the next 10 chapters, xiii–xxii, there is a very large proportion of P, over two-thirds of the total :—the last two chapters, xxiii, xxiv, have no P at all. In the 14 chapters, i–xii, xxiii, xxiv, containing 352 verses, only 11½ are

marked P, i.e. a percentage of 3.27 ; in the 10 chapters xiii–xxii, containing 306 verses, no less than 225 are marked P, a percentage of 73.5. What is the meaning of this startling discrepancy ?

We note another fact. The first 12 chapters and the last 2 consist almost entirely of narrative ;—the intermediate 10 are mainly taken up with details of the territories assigned to the various tribes,—**" topographical descriptions "** according to Dr. Driver (LOT. 104),—often little more than lists of names, and it is especially in these (according to the same authority) that **" the work of P predominates "** (ib:).

These two facts put together show that the so-called P characteristics coincide with what may be called statistical passages ; the so-called JE, with narrative. Once more, we are pointed to the conclusion that variations of " style " are closely connected with differences of subject matter.

We return to Dr. Driver's " facts." The passage above quoted continues, **" a simple comparison of it** [Joshua] **with the " Pent. showing viz. that it is *really homogeneous with it*, " and (especially in the P sections) that it differs entirely from " Jud., Sam., Kings."** LOT. 158.

As to the latter assertion, the simple fact already noted that the **" P sections "** are mainly occupied with the division of the land amongst the tribes, (so that these parts have been compared to the Domesday Book), is sufficient to account for the difference from the other books. Once recorded, details of this kind would not need repeating.

As to the homogeneity, the evidence from vocabulary to show that the P of Joshua is **" homogeneous "** with the P of the Pentateuch is not strong. Prof. Driver gives a list (LOT. 131–135) of 50 P characteristics. Of these only 15, less than a third, have any references to Joshua ; and of the references that are given, a good many are doubtful as being in short passages detached from their context by the analysis. One illustration must suffice. Concerning Josh: xxii, Dr. Driver writes (LOT. 112, 113), **" The " source of v. 9–34 is also uncertain. The phraseology is " in the main that of P (cf. the citations, p. 131 ff) ; but the " narrative does not display throughout the characteristic " style of P, and in some parts of it there occur expressions " which are not those of P. Either a narrative of P has been " combined with elements from another source in a manner " which makes it difficult to effect a satisfactory analysis, " or the whole is the work of a distinct writer, whose phrase- " ology is in part that of P, but not entirely."** In other words, either this passage does not belong to P at all, but to a **" distinct writer "** ; or if there be any of P in it, that has been so mixed up with the work of some one else that it is impossible to say what belongs to P and what does not. How then can words

and phrases occurring therein be cited as instances of P characteristics? Yet no less than *eight* of the 15 characteristics which have references to Joshua have references to this very passage. It is worth noting that Josh: xxii. 9–34, so doubtfully ascribed to P, is almost the only bit of *narrative* in the "**P sections.**"

What then of the other elements of which the book of Joshua is made up?

"**In c. i–xii the main narrative consists of a work, itself "in parts composite, which appears to be the continuation "of JE, though whether its component parts are definitely "J and E or whether it is rather the work of the writer who "combined J and E into a whole, and in this book, perhaps, "permitted himself the use of other independent sources, "may be an open question. . . . There is however another "element in the Book of Joshua besides JE and P. In this "book, JE, before it was combined with P, passed through "the hands of a writer who expanded it in different ways, "and, being strongly imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy, "may be termed the Deuteronomic editor, and denoted by "the abbreviation $D_2$. The parts added by this writer are "in most cases readily recognized by their characteristic "style.**" LOT. 104.

"**The book of Joshua thus assumed the form in which "we have it by a series of stages. First the compiler of "JE, (or a kindred hand) utilizing older materials, com-"pleted his work: this was afterwards amplified by the "elements contributed by $D_2$: finally the whole thus formed "was combined with P.**" LOT. 114.

It will be seen that the JE and D passages in Joshua are not *identified* with the JE and D of the Pentateuch. The one set is attributed to "**the compiler of JE (or a kindred hand) utilizing "older materials,**" some of which may not have been J or E at all; the other, to a writer "**strongly imbued with the "spirit of Deuteronomy.**"

That the "JE" passages ever formed part of the JE document of the Pentateuch is therefore a mere conjecture. The $D_2$ passages are not even alleged to be a continuation of D: they are said to be an expansion of the JE passages by a "**Deuteronomic editor.**" Here too the subject matter of these passages differs from that of both the JE and P sections. "**Historical matter, as such, "is not that in which $D_2$ is primarily interested: except in "his allusions to the 2½ trans-Jordanic tribes (which are "of the nature of a retrospect) the elements contributed "by him either give prominence to the motives actuating "Joshua, or generalize and magnify the successes achieved "by him.**" LOT. 114.

"**The chief aim of these Deuteronomic additions to JE is**

**" to illustrate and emphasize the zeal shown by Joshua in " fulfilling Mosaic ordinances, especially the command to " extirpate the native population of Canaan, and the success " which in consequence crowned his efforts."** LOT. 104.

Yet again a **" characteristic style "** coincides with a difference of topics.

The outcome of the examination may be summarized thus :—

(1). The statistical portions of the book of Joshua show a general resemblance to the style of the P (mainly statistical) portions of the Pentateuch, and some resemblance in vocabulary.

(2). The narrative portions show a general resemblance to the narratives of the Pentateuch, and continue the history.

(3). What may be called the moralizing portions, emphasizing Joshua's motives and successes, show some resemblance to the style of Deuteronomy.

(4). The critics themselves do not venture to assert that the narratives are due to J or E, but prefer to attribute them to the compiler, or a kindred hand. The moralizing portions they assign to a **" Deuteronomic editor."**

These are the " facts " which, according to Dr. Driver, *require* that the book of Joshua should be **" severed from the following " books, and connected with the Pentateuch "** in spite of all external evidence.

Whereas, on the traditional view that the Pentateuch is of Mosaic origin, and the book of Joshua of somewhat later date, say the work of one of " the elders who outlived Joshua " what might reasonably be expected ?

It might fairly be presumed that such an one would be familiar with the Mosaic writings, and particularly with the last great addresses in Deuteronomy, which he would himself have heard delivered. It may be presumed that his narrative style would differ somewhat, but not greatly, from that of the narratives with which he was familiar, while the style in lists of names would be much the same under any circumstances. With the utterances of Deuteronomy deeply impressed on his mind, he would be keen to notice the way in which the commands (such as that to drive out the Canaanites) were obeyed or disobeyed, and the way in which the promises of success were fulfilled. He would be very likely to reproduce some of the very words and phrases used by Moses.

Would not such a writer inevitably produce just such a work as we have in the book of Joshua, with its intermingling of narrative, statistics, and Deuteronomic summaries ? Is not this view of the origin of the book at least as consistent with the " facts " as the critical theory of various authors, and a lengthy process of combining and editing ?

The question of the origin of this book is the more important because, if the critics are mistaken in believing that Joshua is so intimately connected with the five preceding books that originally they must have formed a "Hexateuch," it is because they have misinterpreted the evidence, and therefore their analysis is wrong.

If their analysis of Joshua is wrong, their analysis of the Pentateach is not to be trusted either.

# PART I.

## The Evidence Examined.

### (B). THE EVIDENCE OF THE LAWS,

### (a) compared with one another.

# XV.

## THE THREE CODES.

THE analysis of the Pentateuch into different "sources" is chiefly important, in so far as the history is concerned, because it affects the degree of credibility attaching to the narratives. In regard to the laws, a far deeper importance attaches to the analysis, since on this rests the whole of the critical theory of the Evolution of the Hebrew religion.

It is claimed that in the three principal sources,—JE, D, P,—are to be found three strata of legislation showing a process of growth and development. In JE, it is said, there is the simple code of morals and worship contained in the "Book of the Covenant," Exod: xx. 24–xxiii ;—in Deuteronomy there is a more complex stage ;—in the latter part of Exodus, in Leviticus and Numbers there is the final development in the highly elaborate ceremonial of PC (the Priestly Code).

It is also claimed that these different sets of laws not only differ in complexity, but contain discrepancies, when compared with one another, which show that they cannot have been (as has so long been believed) the work of one legislator, or the product of one age.

Lastly, there is the further claim that this progressive elaboration of the laws is reflected in three stages of actual practice observable in the history of the Israelites ;—that the simplicity of the JE laws is traceable in the practice of the earlier periods down to the time of Solomon ;—that the influence of Deuteronomy is only perceptible in the reign of Josiah ;—and that the full ceremonial of P is not found till after the Exile.

Evidently the two assertions,—(1) that the laws compared together show discrepancies, and a process of development ; and (2) that the successive stages of legislation are reflected in the history,—are of far-reaching importance. They are closely related and, if established, would be mutually corroborative. If there were three progressive stages of legislation, we should expect to find traces of the increasing complexity of the laws in the actual practice of the people. If there were three stages of practice, it becomes probable that the laws were not promulgated once for

all, but gradually developed. If development of laws and development of practice are both observable, and the stages of one correspond to the stages of the other, the argument becomes all but irresistible. In this alleged correspondence of two distinct lines of evidence lies the real strength and fascination of the Graf-Wellhausen theory at present dominant.

As, however, the lines of evidence are distinct, it will be as well to consider them separately, dealing first with the internal evidence of the laws themselves, and afterwards with the external evidence of the history as to the practice.

*The internal evidence of the laws when compared together.*

The present critical theory is that in the "Book of the Covenant" (JE) we have the earliest and simplest form of the laws at present extant. "**It is reasonable,**" says Prof. Driver (LOT. 152, 153), "**to suppose that the teaching of Moses on these subjects** "[ceremonial observances, religious and ethical duties] **is pre-** "**served, in its least modified form, in the Decalogue and the** "**'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. xx–xxiii).**"

About a century after the combination of J with E, Hilkiah discovered in the Temple the "Book of the Law" which, it is asserted, was (or contained) Deuteronomy, whose laws were partly founded on those in JE; partly on usages and traditions not found there, but ancient if not actually Mosaic; and partly introduced some new elements.

Later still, towards the end of the Exile, a priestly scribe (or a school of scribes) compiled a yet more elaborate code, partly again resting on an ancient traditional basis, partly introducing new features, and including an already existing code, H, the "Law of Holiness" (Lev: xvii–xxvi).

These are the three sets of laws in whose provisions inconsistencies and traces of development are said to be found.

Before examining the details of the evidence offered by the critics, some general points have to be considered.

To begin with, though the critics freely use the term "Code" it is doubtful whether the word can be rightly applied to any one of the sets of laws found in JE, D, and P.

The laws in the "Book of the Covenant" (excluding the introductory verse, Exod: xx. 22, and the "**hortatory epilogue,**" xxiii. 20–33), are comprised in 90 verses. Dr. Driver (BE. 202, 203) analyses these into three groups relating to

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) civil and criminal law, | xxi. 1–xxii. 17. | 53 verses. |
| (2) worship and religious observances, | xx. 23–26; xxii. 20; 28–31; xxiii. 10–19 | 19 ,, |
| (3) morality, especially humanitarian, | xxii. 18, 19; 21–27; xxiii. 1–9 | 18 ,, |

It will be seen that groups (2) and (3) are curiously intertwined.

The "Code" is anything but systematic, **"moral, religious, "and ceremonial injunctions being intermingled sometimes "singly, sometimes in groups, . . . without any apparent "system."** BE. 202.

Also, the **"enactments relating to civil and criminal law"** form considerably more than half the total, and nearly 3 times as much as either of the other classes taken singly. Yet of this, the greater part, Dr. McNeile writes (BEM. xlvi), **"It is noticeable that the civil laws in chs. xxi–xxii. 17, considered as a code, "are far from being a complete *corpus* such as would satisfy "even the elementary requirements of the Israelites in the "Wilderness, and during the days of the Judges."** He notes that the provisions regarding theft, debt, injury are **"signally "incomplete"**; the *lex talionis* is **"briefly summarized"**; the method of putting a condemned man to death is **"nowhere specified."**

The **"regulations relating to worship and religious observ- "ances"** are similarly imperfect. Sacrifices are mentioned but without details as to when or how they are to be offered, or of what they are to consist beyond a mere mention of "thy sheep and "thine oxen." Three pilgrimage feasts are enjoined, but nothing is said as to the place to be visited, or as to the manner of celebrating the feasts. Firstfruits are mentioned, but there is no indication as to quantity, or as to the disposal of them when offered.

The **"injunctions of a moral character"** are equally fragmentary and miscellaneous, and only a few subjects are dealt with.

So marked is all this that the critics are reduced to conjecturing that much of the "Code" has not been preserved by the compiler;—that **"some of his work has been lost in the course of trans- "mission"**;—and even that **"the body of Canaanite laws "with regard to landed property, houses, commerce and "agriculture, . . . would in most cases be adopted entire."** BEM. xlvi.

The laws in Deut: xii–xxvi occupy about 330 verses. Rather more than half of these are moral and legal injunctions, and less than half are concerned with religious duties, and very few of these with ceremonial. As in the JE laws, there is a strange intermingling of subjects, particularly as regards the moral and legal commands.

The laws in Leviticus and Numbers occupy more than 1,000 verses. Here the moral and legal commands are very few, scarcely more than one-tenth of the whole, while regulations of ceremonial make up nearly seven-tenths, and other religious observances the remainder. The greater part of the legislation (nearly 90 per cent.) being taken up with religious matters, there is little intermingling of subjects, but there is some in Lev: xix, xx. In Numbers, however, there is a very noticeable mingling of legislation and history.

Also, in the arrangement of the laws there is some want of system, as in the wide separation of the rules governing the sacrifices on the " set feasts " (Num: xxviii, xxix) from either the general rules as to sacrifice (Lev: i–vii), or the calendar of " set feasts " (Lev : xxiii).

Altogether, it cannot be asserted that any one of these three sets of laws is either complete enough or systematic enough to deserve to be called a " Code." It is, on the other hand, noteworthy that the ceremonial so conspicuous in P is but scantily noticed in D ; and the moral and legal injunctions which form more than half the laws in D* are but a very small fraction of the laws in P. In other words, these two sets of laws are to a great extent complementary ; what the one lacks, the other supplies.

On one particular law (as to Hebrew slaves) Dr. Driver remarks (BD. 185), **" the legislator of Lev. betrays as little conscious- " ness of the law of Ex. (or Dt.) as the legislator of Dt. (if this " be the later) betrays of that of Lev."**

If anything, this assertion would tell against the critical theory, for according to that the compiler of P must have been acquainted with the laws of both JE and D, and must have known that they had been long accepted as Mosaic, and authoritative. Would he not have betrayed some consciousness of them ? At least, when introducing a law which differed from theirs, he would surely have put in something to show that his new law was of superior authority. Whereas, if Deuteronomy was (as it claims to be) the utterance of the legislator who had promulgated the laws of Leviticus and Numbers (some of them fairly recently), it is quite conceivable that there would be much which he would not think it necessary to refer to, and in some instances the laws in Deuteronomy do profess to modify rules previously in force.

For, consider the character of the " Codes."

The " Book of the Covenant " professes to be the preliminary instructions given at Sinai before the erection of the Tabernacle, and before the Levitical and priestly orders were instituted. In these instructions anything like an elaborate code of ceremonial would be out of place, while ethical directions would be needed. That is exactly the character shown by this set of laws, and the brevity and simplicity of the whole section accord well with the period indicated.

The Levitical laws claim to have been delivered considerably later, (after the two periods of 40 days, and the time needed for the construction of the Tabernacle), when the Sanctuary had been completed and set up. That is just the period when regulations as to the manner of worship, the nature of the sacrifices, and the

* If the Decalogue and the expansion of it, which occupy so large a part of Deut: v–vii, were added, the proportion of moral injunctions would be greatly increased.

duties of the priests would be required. Much of this would only indirectly concern the people in general, being rather a manual for the guidance of the priests, and, so far as this is the case, the term " Priestly Code " is not wholly inappropriate. In such a set of regulations, civil and moral laws would necessarily be somewhat in the background, and that is what we find.

During the prolonged period of the Wanderings, it is only to be expected that occasions would arise when guidance as to the interpretation of the laws under exceptional circumstances would be needed. Several such instances are found in the book of Numbers, and with this agrees the alternation of history and legislation which is so out of place in a systematically devised code.

When we turn to Deuteronomy, the position is entirely different. The book purports to contain the final addresses of the people's leader to the people in general. Here it is just the civil and moral regulations, together with exhortations to be earnest and faithful in the discharge of religious duties, which would be needed. Instructions as to ceremonial would be out of place, except in so far as the approaching change in the people's circumstances might call for some modifications. Once more, that is precisely what we find.

The general character of the three sets of laws agrees well with the periods and circumstances in which they claim to have been given. But that agreement is not obvious ; it has to be looked for. Is it likely to have been brought about by the devisers of later Codes ?

What have the critics to offer us in place of this agreement ?

To account for the inadequate nature of the "Book of the Coveant,"they have to imagine that it is made up of mutilated fragments of a Code, parts of which have been omitted by a compiler, and parts lost in transmission. To account for the want of systematic arrangement, they have to suggest, here and there, dislocations of the text. They are even reduced to guessing that a considerable body of necessary laws was borrowed from the Canaanites !

A good deal of their theory has to be eked out by sheer conjecture.

To account for the character of Deuteronomy, they ask us to believe in an anonymous writer, stirred by the sight of the evils around him, composing a **" prophetic reformulation, and adapta- " tion to new needs, of an older legislation "** (LOT. 91), in the form of discourses attributed to Moses. Certainly this conjecture (for it is nothing more) might account for the general form of the whole book, but how does it account for the incompleteness and want of arrangement in the " Code " ? One would expect that a **" reformation . . . of an older legislation "** would pay some attention to the grouping together of subjects, and not mix up religious precepts, moral injunctions, and legal enactments. Are we to suppose that this writer purposely disarranged his subjects in order to simulate an inartificial discourse ?

What then of the P legislation ? Here, if anywhere, we should expect to find order and arrangement. We are asked to believe that this set of laws was the work of men who aimed at codifying existing institutions. Dr. Driver speaks of the **" systematic " plan "** of P (LOT. 135) ; —says that **" in the arrangement " of his material, system and circumstantiality are the " guiding principles "** (LOT. 127). Yet in this **" systematic "** Code, subjects are treated in quite irregular order ;—for instance, the insertion of Lev: xi–xv (list of clean and unclean animals, and the law of leprosy) between the death of Nadab and Abihu, and the law of the Day of Atonement (" after the death of the two sons " of Aaron," xvi. 1) ; the isolated rules about the second Passover, Num: ix. 9–14 ; and the anomalous position of the law of vows, Num: xxx. As for moral and legal injunctions, they are scarcely touched, save in so far as they are included in the earlier " Law of "Holiness," itself incomplete and imperfectly arranged (see LOT. 59). How does a **" systematic plan "** account for the alternations of legislation and history ?

It can hardly be said that the critical theory of the origin of the " Codes " agrees with the general character of the laws.

The inter-connection of the Codes is thus summarized by Dr. Driver, LOT 76 :—**" The different relation in which Dt. stands " to the other codes may be thus expressed. It is an *expan-* " *sion* of that in JE (Ex. xx–xxiii) ; it is, in several features, " *parallel* to that in H (Lev. xvii–xxvi) ; it contains *allusions* " to laws such as those codified in some parts of P, while " from those contained in other parts its provisions differ " widely."**

With the exception of the final clause, there is nothing inconsistent with the traditional view, which places D later than JE, H, and P. Even the last clause is not wholly inconsistent for Deuteronomy does not claim to be a mere repetition of previous laws, and in some instances avowedly modifies them :—" Ye shall not do " after all the things that we do here this day. . . . But when ye go " over Jordan . . . then " etc: (Deut: xii. 8–11). A distinction is explicitly drawn between what was allowed in the wilderness, and the new rules to be observed when the people were finally settled. So even if some of the provisions in Deuteronomy do **" differ widely "** from those in P, this in itself would not necessarily prove that they belong to a different age and author.

The *character* of the divergences might possibly be such as to show that the varying laws could not have come from the same mind, and, as this is alleged, our next task must be to examine some of the more important cases in which the laws are said to differ.

# XVI.

## THE PLACE OF SACRIFICE.

PROF. DRIVER gives an elaborate **"Synopsis of the Laws in "Deut."**—LOT. 73–75,—with references in parallel columns to JE and P, and marks with an asterisk **"the instances in which "the divergence is most marked."**

It will perhaps be sufficient to examine these.

There are just three, and only three cases in which this marked divergence is alleged to exist between JE and D, and as in each of these P is also said to be divergent, the three "Codes" may be compared in these. They are

(A) The place of sacrifice. Exod: xx. 24; Deut: xii. 1–28; Lev: xvii. 1–9.

(B) The year of release. Exod: xxiii. 10–11; Deut: xv. 1–11; Lev: xxv, 1–7.

(C) Hebrew slaves. Exod: xxi. 2–11; Deut: xv. 12–18; Lev: xxv. 39–46.

(A) *The place of sacrifice.*

Though this is the title used by Dr. Driver, the critical contention really extends much further, affecting the whole system of worship in three particulars:—(a) the place; (b) the altar; (c) the offerer.

(a) *The place.*

It is asserted that the laws of the "Book of the Covenant" permitted sacrifice in many places, and a **"plurality of altars"**; that in Deuteronomy this liberty was for the first time abrogated, and worship strictly limited to one Central Sanctuary; and that in P this idea of a centralized worship was thrown back, and represented as having existed from the time of Moses.

This contention turns almost entirely on the interpretation of Exod: xx. 24,—"In every place where I record my name," [or, "cause my name to be remembered"], "I will come unto thee, and "bless thee."

This is interpreted to mean that altars **"might be erected "wherever Jehovah gave occasion for His name to be com- "memorated"** (BE. 206); and, more explicitly, that "cause "my name to be remembered" means **"by a theophany, a "victory (xvii. 15), or other manifestation of My presence;**

**" those who offer sacrifice at places thus distinguished may " expect Jehovah's presence and blessing. A plurality of " altars is thus sanctioned: but they must be erected not " at places chosen arbitrarily, but at places which have been " marked in some way by Jehovah's favour and approval."** BE. 207.

The wording of the verse in question, if taken by itself, is somewhat indefinite. Standing as it does, however, between two regulations about the construction of altars, it is only reasonable to refer it to the erection of altars, and the offering of sacrifice. But the manner in which God would cause His Name to be remembered is left absolutely undefined. To assert that this means **" by a " theophany, a victory, or other manifestation of His pre- " sence "** is to read into the text a good deal that is not there. That is nothing more than the interpretation which commends itself to the critics. Yet the Name might conceivably be caused to be remembered in some manner altogether different from any of these, e.g. by the selection of some spot through a prophet, as was the threshing-floor of Araunah (2 Sam: xxiv. 18).

Nor do we read of altars being erected or sacrifice offered " in " every place " where a theophany occurred, or a victory was gained. When " the LORD came down in the cloud " to confer the spirit on the 70 elders (Num: xi. 25);—when " the LORD came down in a " pillar of cloud " to rebuke Miriam and Aaron (Num: xii. 5);—and when " the captain of the LORD's host " appeared to Joshua (Josh: v. 13–vi. 6), were not all these **" manifestations of His " presence "**? All these are found in JE, but there is no mention of altar or sacrifice. Moses indeed erected an altar after the victory over Amalek (Exod: xvii. 15) *before* the promise of the text was given, but when the Israelites conquered at Hormah (Num: xxi. 3); when they smote Sihon " with the edge of the sword " (Num: xxi. 24), and defeated Og at Edrei (Num: xxi. 35); when the five kings of the Amorites were utterly routed at Gibeon (Josh: x. 10), we hear of no altars or sacrifices. The theophany, or the victory (even one of great importance) was not considered, in itself, sufficient authority for erecting an altar.

Again, even if the promise of Exod: xx. 24 might be held to sanction altar and sacrifice at places thus distinguished at the time of the occurrence, it does not follow that these places would *continue* to be used as places of sacrifice. The altar erected by Gideon was still in existence when Jud: vi. 24,—" Unto this day it is yet in " Ophrah of the Abiezrites,"—was written, but it is not stated to have been in use. There is no reason to think that continued use was made of the altar at Bochim (Jud: ii. 5), or of the rock on which Manoah sacrificed. Is it in the least likely that the altar set up by Moses at Rephidim (Exod: xvii. 15) was ever used again? Yet if the altars erected at places distinguished by a theophany or a

victory were only used on the actual occasion, and not continued at regular places for sacrifice, this would not constitute a **" plurality " of altars "** in the sense demanded by the critical theory, which is that Exod: xx. 24 permitted a multiplicity of *co-existing* places for sacrifice in the normal and regular worship of the people.

Since, then, altars were not always erected " in every place " distinguished by a theophany or a victory; and since, in the instances where such altars were erected, there is no reason to believe that they were used for sacrifice except on the immediate occasion, the critical interpretation of " In every place where I " cause my name to be remembered " is hardly indisputable. Is any other interpretation possible?

It has been suggested that the law of Exod: xx. 24 sanctioned private individual offerings at " lay-altars," as distinct from the statutory sacrifices, individual or national, which could only be offered at the one Central Sanctuary; that these " lay-altars " and offerings, based on pre-Mosaic custom, were regulated (not abolished) by this passage, and are recognized in Deut: xvi. 21, 22 (the prohibition to plant an *Asherah* " beside the altar of the " LORD thy God, which thou shalt make thee "). **" The ancient " Hebrews,"** writes Mr. Wiener (EPC. 179), **" had a custom " whereby any layman could in certain circumstances " offer sacrifice. For this purpose he used a simple kind " of altar, consisting either of one or more stones or of " a mound of earth."**

No doubt we read of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob building altars, and these were very probably of stone (though no details are given), and this may be fair evidence that in patriarchal times the head of the family was also its priest, but we do not read of any but the head of the family offering sacrifice. We do not, for instance, read of any of Jacob's sons offering sacrifice, and that rite seems to have been altogether in abeyance during the whole stay in Egypt. There is, then, no evidence of a pre-Mosaic custom whereby **" any layman "** could offer sacrifice;—the wording of Deut: xvi. 21, 22 is not such as to establish the recognition of " lay altars "; —and (if they are not of late date) the provisions of Lev: xvii. 1–6 (sacrifices only to be offered at the " door of the tent of meeting "), and of Deut: xii. 13, 14 (offerings only " in the place which " the LORD shall choose ") are too wide to be restricted to "statutory sacrifices," while leaving a general liberty for " lay offerings."

If then this explanation of the scope of Exod: xx. 24 is also unsatisfactory, what else is there?

It is clear that the purpose of the Exodus was from the first stated to be that the Israelites might offer sacrifice. The demand to be made of Pharaoh was, " Let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey " into the wilderness that we may sacrifice to the LORD our God "

(Exod: iii. 18). This might not be in Egypt, for animals held sacred by the Egyptians would have to be sacrificed; "we shall "sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians" (Exod: viii. 26). Beyond this, the exact nature of the sacrifice was not known; "we know not with what we must serve the LORD until we come thither" (Exod: x. 26).

The purpose of the journey to Sinai, then, was to "serve God upon this mountain" (Exod: iii. 12) by sacrifice, but this was not to be regulated by former custom. It was to some extent in the nature of a new departure. On their arrival at the appointed place, they were to receive instructions as to the precise nature and method of the worship required. In exact conformity with this, after the proclamation of the Decalogue instructions as to altar and sacrifice are given (Exod: xx. 24–26), and the foundation principles of the Covenant, which the sacrifices are to ratify, enunciated (Exod: xxi–xxiii). Thereupon Moses builds an altar, burnt offerings and peace offerings are sacrificed, and altar and people consecrated by the sprinkling of the blood (Exod: xxiv. 1–9).

Now according to the narrative as we have it, there would be three differing periods for which direction would be needed;—(1) the stay at Sinai till a regular Sanctuary could be set up;—(2) the journeyings in the Wilderness;—(3) the final settlement in the Promised Land. For the first period, a single fixed altar would suffice, but the time was not far distant when the people would be moving from place to place. They are not to be left to suppose that sacrifice could only be rightly offered at the spot consecrated by the great Theophany. Therefore, even in these preliminary instructions, an indication is given that in leaving Sinai behind they will not be deprived of opportunities for offering acceptable sacrifice:—"in every place where I cause my name to "be remembered, I will come unto thee, and bless thee."

On this interpretation, the provisions of the three "codes" fall absolutely into line. First, in Exod: xx. 24–26 there is the provision of a place for sacrifice for immediate use at Sinai, but accompanied by a promise for the future when the people would be no longer stationary. Then, in Lev: xvii. 1–9 comes the provision for the journeyings, when the place of sacrifice would of necessity be changed from time to time, yet still should always be at a place "where I cause my name to be remembered," namely, at the door of the Tent of Meeting, overshadowed by the Cloud of the Presence. Finally, in Deut: xii. 1–26 there is the provision for the settled life in the Promised Land when a permanent Sanctuary would be possible, and this provision is expressly stated to be a modification of the Wilderness rule (Deut: xii. 8–11).

The centralization of worship, then, instead of being an innovation of Deuteronomy, would be recognized from the very first:—(1) the altar at Sinai; (2) the Tent of Meeting; (3) the Central

Sanctuary in their settled home. There is the one idea, modified by changing circumstances, but advancing by regular stages to the full application (when circumstances should permit) of the principle indicated at the beginning.

That some such principle was in view is suggested by one or two hints even in the "Book of the Covenant." The wilful murderer is to be taken even from "mine altar" (Exod: xxi. 14); the three great festivals are to be "pilgrimages" (Exod: xxiii. 14–17); the firstfruits are to be brought "into the house of the Lord thy God" (Exod: xxiii. 19).

Is there anything at all forced or unreasonable in this view? Is it not, at the very least, as reasonable as the view which represents that Exodus sanctioned a **"plurality of altars"**; that this liberty was enjoyed for something like 6 centuries till it was abrogated in Josiah's reign on the authority of an anonymous writer; and that in less than 2 centuries later the people were so ignorant of the past that they were ready to accept the fiction that this restriction had existed from the first?

(b) The *altar*.

It is alleged that the injunctions as to the construction of altars in Exod: xx. 24–26 (JE) conflict with those in Exod: xxvii. 1–8 (P), Deuteronomy giving no guidance on the subject except as to the altar on Ebal (Deut: xxvii. 2–8) which agrees with the provision in Exodus.

Exod: xx. 24, 25. "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me ". . . and if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build "it of hewn stones; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast "polluted it."

Exod: xxvii. 1–8. "Thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood ". . . and thou shalt overlay it with brass [or *bronze*] . . . hollow "with planks shalt thou make it."

**"It is difficult,"** says Dr. Driver (BE. 293), **"to reconcile satis- "factorily this plated 'altar' (v. 1) of acacia wood, borne "upon the shoulders of Levites from one encampment to "another (Num. iv. 13, vii. 9) with the altar of earth or "stone, reared where occasion might require, on which "burnt- and peace-offerings were to be sacrificed (Ex. "xx. 24 f.). As nothing is said about a top to the altar, "on which the victims might be placed, it is commonly "assumed that, when the Tabernacle became stationary, "the hollow case of the altar was filled up with earth. But "it is strange that, if intended, this was not expressed."**

Why should it be strange? No doubt it would be strange if an incomplete direction were given to one who had no previous instruction or knowledge. But if Moses had already constructed and used an altar of earth, would he not readily understand that this hollow frame was intended to encase a similar earthen structure?

Whereas, on the critical theory, these instructions were devised by one who was forming an "**ideal**" scheme, imagining "**a portable "altar on the lines of the massive bronze altar of Solomon**" (BE. 293), with which the people had been familiar for 500 years. That such a writer should insert a manifestly inadequate direction would be very strange indeed. Why, too, should the lines of a massive bronze altar suggest to him the idea of a mere hollow case without any top? Anyhow, he must have supposed that this would be filled with earth, or something of the kind, for, as Dr. Driver continues, "**if the fire was kindled on the ground, "within the altar, it is obvious that the wooden sides would "be quickly destroyed**" (BE. 239). Dr. McNeile, even more strongly, asserts that the altar was "**a hollow wooden structure "within which a fire burnt. If this fire was hot enough "to consume whole animals, it must soon have charred "to ashes the wooden structure**" (BEM. lxxx). This comment seems designed to show how absurdly impossible are the directions of P, but they are only impossible on the assumption that the fire was burnt within the structure, and that is nowhere stated.

Taken by themselves, the instructions in Exod: xxvii are clearly insufficient, and need supplementing by some kind of explanation. Read in the light of xx. 24, they are capable of a simple and sufficient explanation. Instead of the two passages being inconsistent and contradictory, the earlier supplies exactly what is needed to make the later intelligible.

It may be argued that the permission of an alternative material, stone instead of earth, in Exod: xx. 25 points to the erection of more altars than one, and therefore the law must be general, not referring to the Sinai altar alone.

If a general law were intended, one would expect it to be worded something like this;—

Altars shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings and thy peace offerings; of earth shalt thou make them, or of stone: yet if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones.

But the command runs quite differently. First there is the command, "An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me," which reads very much like a precise injunction for the erection of one altar. On this follows the promise, "In every place," etc: and then, as if by an after-thought, the alternative, "and if thou make "me an altar of stone." If the intervening clause "In every place "——" is, (as suggested above), a glancing forward to the time when the people would be journeying from place to place, then the alternative permitting the use of unhewn stone may well be a provision for places, such as would probably be found in the wilderness, where stones would be abundant and earth scarce. Read in this way, the arrangement of the clauses is rational and intelligible, whereas if

the alternatives were meant to be read together, the insertion of the promise breaks the sense.

Yet, is not the command to build the altar on Ebal of unhewn stones, Deut: xxvii. 5, 6, a clear proof that the law of Exod: xx. 25 was held to be still in force when that was written ?

According to the critical theory, this was written about the time of Manasseh when the bronze altar of Solomon had long been in existence. On that view, the passage could hardly have been more than the writer's interpretation of the fact that such a stone altar existed, or had been known to have existed, on Ebal. On critical lines, it might even be held that he was only translating into a concrete instance his idea of the meaning of Exod : xx. 25. Either way, how comes a writer, one of whose chief objects was to insist that sacrifice was only lawful at the Central Sanctuary, to attribute to Moses a command to erect an altar and offer sacrifices at Ebal ?

If however the command was really given by Moses, what then ? The main feature in Deut: xxvii. 1–8 is the " great stones " on which the law was to be inscribed (vv: 2–4, 8) ; the altar, an accessory. The whole ceremony prescribed was to be the solemn renewal and ratification, in the very centre of the Promised Land, of the Covenant entered into at Sinai, and therefore to be accompanied by offerings similar to those offered on Sinai, on an altar of the same class. Why then was it to be of stone, and not of earth like that at Sinai ? Because in this case the altar (as well as the stones) was intended to be a lasting monument. For that purpose it must be of stone, and, if of stone, of unhewn stones, according to Exod: xx. 25. But the minuteness with which the directions of that law are recapitulated suggests that this was a type of altar with which the people were not very familiar, which would be the case if the altar normally used in the wilderness was one of earth enclosed in the frame prescribed by Exod: xxvii. 1–8.

One detail in the construction of the bronze altar may be noticed.

Exod: xxvii. 5 says, " thou shalt put it " [the " grating of network " of brass " of v: 4] " under the ledge round the altar beneath, that " the net may reach halfway up the altar."

**" *The* ledge,"** Dr. Driver comments (BE. 292), **" which such " an altar would naturally have for the priests to stand " upon,"** and an illustration on the previous page shows the altar with a wide ledge all round it. This does not seem consistent with Exod: xx. 26, " Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine " altar."

No details as to this ledge are given (as Dr. Driver is careful to point out, BE. 426), and it is therefore altogether an assumption that it was wide enough for the priests to stand on it : it need not have been more than a narrow beading. The altar was 3 cubits in height, say 4½ feet, and, as the net was to reach halfway up, the

ledge would be only $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet below the top of the altar. If the priests stood on it, they would have been obliged to stoop most uncomfortably to arrange the sacrifice: if they stood on the ground, the level of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet would be quite convenient. It is only the unwarranted and improbable assumption that the priests stood on the ledge that makes this even seem to be inconsistent with the prohibition of Exod: xx. 26.

(c) *The offerer.*

According to the critics, the "Book of the Covenant" allowed any layman to sacrifice; Deuteronomy allowed the privilege to any Levite; Leviticus restricted it to the Aaronic priests. The last two assertions will be dealt with when the alleged "divergences" of D and P come under consideration (see pp: 187–189). Here it will only be necessary to consider the assertion that any layman might sacrifice.

It is alleged that the words "Thou shalt sacrifice" (Exod: xx. 24) **"are addressed not to the priests, but to Israel at large, "and imply that any Israelite may approach the altar."** BE. 206.

Of course, any Israelite might **"approach the altar,"** and indeed Lev: i. 1–5 required the offerer to do so, and to take the active part of laying his hand on the head of the victim, and then killing it. But this is not the critic's meaning, for he adds, **"the "right of sacrificing was not limited to the priestly class till "long afterwards"** (*ib:*).

Is the inference justified? Even granting that the words in question were addressed to the people at large, does it follow that they empowered any and every one to offer sacrifice? When we read of the wilful murderer, "thou shalt take him from mine altar "that he may die" (Exod: xxi. 14) does this mean that any Israelite might arrest the criminal? When it is said, "Thou shalt not suffer "a sorceress to live" (xxii. 18), does this mean that any Israelite might constitute himself the executioner? When it is said, "Thou shalt not arrest the judgement of thy poor in his cause" (xxiii. 6) are we to understand that any Israelite might administer justice? Surely it is obvious that these injunctions inculcate duties, binding indeed on the nation as a whole, but carried out by duly appointed officials. Why, then, may not the command "Thou shalt sacrifice" be interpreted in the same sense?

But we are told that there is an actual instance of laymen offering sacrifice at this very period:—**"In Ex. xxiv. 5 the sacrifices "at the most solemn crisis of Israel's early history were "offered by 'young men of the children of Israel.'"** BN. xv. Possibly the wording of the verse, "he sent young men of the "children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace "offerings of oxen unto the LORD," does not require that the young

men were the actual sacrificers,* but even if it does, we are not told who these young men were; they need not have been taken from any of the tribes at random. "Priests" are mentioned in xiv. 22, 24, which looks as though, even before the setting apart of the tribe of Levi, some had already been designated to the priestly office.

Lastly, it is alleged that in Exod: xx. 26 **"Steps are prohibited, "because the command is addressed to the Israelite in "general, who would sacrifice in his ordinary dress."** BE. 208.

No distinctive dress had at that period been enjoined for the priests. They too therefore would probably sacrifice in ordinary dress, and the prohibition would be as much needed for them as for laymen.

* It would satisfy the meaning if the young men were deputed, as the representatives of the nation, to conduct the victims to the altar, present them, and slay them. In any case, the Levites had not at this period been set apart for any sacrificial duties.

# XVII.

## YEAR OF RELEASE.—HEBREW SLAVES.

(B) *The year of release.*

"Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the "increase thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and "lie fallow" [marg: "release it and let it lie fallow"]; "that "the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beast "of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy "vineyard and thy oliveyard." Exod: xxiii. 10, 11.

"When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the "land keep a sabbath unto the LORD. Six years shalt thou sow thy "field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in "the fruits thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of "solemn rest for the land, a sabbath unto the LORD: thou shalt "neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth "of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy "undressed vine thou shalt not gather: it shall be a year of solemn "rest for the land. And the sabbath of the land shall be for food "for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for "thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourn with thee; "and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall "all the increase thereof be for food." Lev: xxv. 1–7.

Dr. Driver comments (BE. 240), **"In Lev. xxv. 1–7, 20–22 "(H) the fallow year, whatever may be the case in Ex., be- "comes, as has been just remarked a fixed year for the "whole country."** On the previous page he has remarked that the law in Exodus leaves it **"uncertain whether (as is generally "supposed) a year common to the whole land is intended, "or one varying with the different properties, and reckoned "in each from the year in which it first began to be culti- "vated."**

So far, then, there is no actual "divergence." Exodus is ambiguous; Leviticus is precise. In legal interpretation it is surely an axiom that a passage of doubtful meaning must be construed in accordance with a passage whose meaning is clear rather than that any inconsistency should be assumed.

Dr. Driver continues, **"the motive** [in Lev:] **is no longer**

**" exclusively a philanthropic one, but a *religious* one, viz. " that the land may 'keep a sabbath to Jehovah' . . . in " Ex. the institution is applied so as to minister to the " needs of the poorer classes ; in Lev. xxv. 1–7 the prominent " idea is the benefit which the land would derive from re- " maining periodically uncultivated."** BE. 240.

In reply (1) The very next verse to the Exodus law, Exod: xxiii. 12 enjoins the keeping of the Sabbath day. It is only reasonable to connect this with the fallow seventh year of the land in vv: 10, 11. The religious motive is not absent from the Exodus law though not so prominent as in Leviticus.

(2) The Exodus law is not only for " the poor of thy people," but also for " the beast of the field." In Leviticus, the owner is forbidden to reap for his own exclusive profit the untended fruits of the seventh year. They are to be left for food to be shared by his servants, the sojourning stranger, and the animals, domestic and wild. What else is this but an expansion of " the poor of thy " people " and " the beast of the field " ?

(3) The " solemn rest of the land " in Leviticus lays no more stress on **" the benefit which the land would derive "** than does the " release it and let it lie fallow " of Exodus. Lev: xxv. 20–22 does promise an unusually abundant yield, but for the sixth year, *before* the fallow year, not as a consequence of it.*

The passage in Leviticus is in every respect fuller and more detailed than that in Exodus. It may fairly be concluded that the later law defines and expands the former without any inconsistency.

In Deut: xv. 1, 2 we have, " At the end of every seven years thou " shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release : every " creditor shall release that which he hath lent unto his " neighbour : he shall not exact it of his neighbour and his brother ; " because the LORD's release hath been proclaimed."

The remainder of the passage, vv: 3–11, provides that debts due from a foreigner need not be released ; and that a loan to a poor brother must not be refused because the year of release is at hand. This last provision shows that the year of release was a fixed period, independent of the date at which the debt was contracted.

In passing, a seeming inconsistency in this very passage may be noticed. V: 4 (RV) says, " Howbeit there shall be no poor with thee ": v: 11 says, " The poor shall never cease out of the land." What a glaring contradiction ! Why have not the critics seized on this, and insisted that these verses must be due to different writers and different periods ? Probably because attention to the context shows that the promise in v: 4 is immediately qualified by v: 5, " if only thou diligently hearken unto the voice of the LORD thy

* Cf: the double provision of manna on the day *before* the Sabbath, Ex: xvi. 22.

"God, to observe to do all this commandment which I command thee "this day." That is to say, if the merciful provision for release from debt every seventh year were duly observed, poverty would never degenerate into pauperism, though there would always be poor people in the land (v: 11).

Returning to the main question, Dr. Driver remarks (BE. 240), **"In Dt. it"** [the fallow year of Exodus and Leviticus] **"receives "an entirely different application, and becomes a fixed "septennial 'year of release' applied for the relief of the "poor debtor, by the exaction of debts being prohibited "in it."**

The last clause is hardly adequate. The law does something more than prohibit the exaction of debts in the seventh year: it enjoins "release," i.e. complete remission. If the law only meant that repayment was to be *suspended* for a year, there would be little reason for refusing a loan to a poor brother because "the "year of release is at hand" (v: 9).

However, our business is with the alleged "divergence." What reason is there for supposing that the provision in Deuteronomy has anything whatever to do with that in Exodus and Leviticus? There are just two points of resemblance; (1) the word "release" (*Shamat*); (2) the fixed period of 7 years.

(1) In Exodus, the "release" refers to letting the land lie fallow; in Deuteronomy it refers to the remission of debt. Why must the latter be a transformation of the former, giving it **"an "entirely different application"**? Why may it not be a separate law, dealing with a different subject?

(2) The "release" of the land in Exodus and Leviticus was to last during the whole of the seventh year: the remission of debt in Deuteronomy was to be "at the end of every seven years."

Dr. Driver urges (BD. 174) that the strict meaning of this phrase is not to be pressed because in Jer: xxxiv. 14 "at the end of seven "years" refers to the command of Deut: xv. 12 that bondservants were to be set free "in the seventh year." He therefore argues that "at the end of every seven years" in Deut: xv. 1 means nothing more than "in the seventh year."

What would critics say to argument like this if urged by the defenders of the traditional belief? Would they not treat it with scorn as something like an evasion? Would they not urge that "at the end of" must mean "at the very end" and not "at "some time during"? Anyhow the argument is not conclusive. Deut: xv. 12 decrees the setting free of the bondservant "in the "seventh year," probably intending at its commencement. But it might be pleaded that, as this is not actually specified in the law, a setting free at some time during the seventh year would be sufficient compliance. Jeremiah therefore says "at the end of "seven years" because that was the furthest possible limit to the

wording of the law, and complains that even then it had not been obeyed. There is no reason why the words "at the end of" should not be given their full force both in Jer: xxxiv. 14 and in Deut: xv. 1.

As the word "release" is applied to a different subject, and as there is a different application of the 7 years period, it is only reasonable to conclude that the Deuteronomic law is not a perversion of the law in Exodus and Leviticus, but an altogether distinct provision.

It is possible, even probable, that the "year of release" from debt was intended to coincide with the year of "solemn rest for "the land." That would be peculiarly appropriate. The debtor would be relieved of the burden of debt at the very time when it became lawful to recommence cultivating his inheritance. This would probably account for the use of the same word "release."

On the critical theory, the law providing a seventh year rest for the land was recognized for centuries. In Manasseh's time, the law was given an entirely different application, having nothing to do with the land, and referring only to the remission of debt. In the Exile, the release of debt is ignored, and the Sabbath of the land reverted to, only with a different motive supplied. What sense is there in all this?

On the traditional view, the law of the Sabbath of the land was at first briefly laid down. A few months later, it was fully enunciated and more clearly defined. At the end of the Wanderings, a law dealing with a different matter, the release of debt, is given, but the period of relief is made, happily enough, to coincide with the "release" of the land.

Which view is the more probable?

(C) *Hebrew Slaves.*

Exod: xxi. 2–6 begins, "If thou buy an Hebrew servant [marg: "bondman], six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go "out free for nothing." The seventh year in this case would not necessarily coincide with the Sabbatic year, since the servitude might commence at any time.

The passage then goes on to deal with the case of a married bondman; and with the case of his voluntarily choosing to continue his servitude by the ceremony of ear-boring.

Vv: 7–11 deal with the case of the bondwoman, who is to be treated differently. She may be redeemed, but not sold. If espoused to the son, she is to be treated as a daughter and given marital rights, or else set free unconditionally.

Deut: xv. 12 provides, "If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an "Hebrew woman be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then "in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee." He is not to go empty, but to receive a liberal present (vv: 13–15). Vv: 16, 17[a] provide for his voluntary remaining in servitude by the

ceremony of ear-boring, and the passage closes with, "And also "unto thy maidservant shalt thou do likewise" ($17^b$).

In two particulars these regulations are said to "diverge."

(1) Exodus treats the male and female bondservants quite differently: Deuteronomy treats them alike, inserting "an Hebrewess" in v: 12, and in $17^b$ dismissing the case of the female slave as precisely similar to that of the male.

Now Dr. Driver notes (BE. 210) that Deuteronomy has "**no "counterpart**" to the verses (3, 4) in Exodus which deal with the case of a married bondman;—i.e. in an important particular the D regulations are incomplete. As it is admitted that the laws in JE "***form the foundation of the Deuteronomic legislation***" (LOT. 75), this omission shows that the passage in Deuteronomy is an abridgment of the passage in Exodus, and in such an abridgment the curt mention of the case of the female without entering into details is not unnatural. Indeed it is exactly what might be expected in a popular address such as D claims to be. The provisions of the older law, already well known, would be taken for granted. It would be sufficient for the speaker's purpose to mention the two principal conditions,—the setting free in the 7th year, and the alternative of voluntary continuance in servitude,—while adding the further injunction of liberality to the freedman. The special case of the married bondman is wholly omitted; that of the bondwoman barely glanced at.

(2) In Exodus, the ear-boring is "**public and official**"; in Deuteronomy it is "**purely domestic.**" BD. 184.

Exod: xxi. 6, "then his master shall bring him unto God [marg: "the judges], and shall bring him to the door, or unto the door-post; "and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl."

Deut: xv. 17, "then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through "his ear unto the door."

Here again the abridged and informal character of the statement in D is noticeable.

Dr. Driver admits that in Exod: xxi. 6 the door is that of "**his "master's house**" (BE. 211). It is therefore only the phrase "bring him unto God" that constitutes the ceremony "**public "and official.**" The phrase is of uncertain meaning, and various interpretations have been suggested. But granted that it may mean "unto the judges," or "unto the sanctuary," does it follow that, because the much briefer statement in Deuteronomy omits the mention of a public formality, therefore the ceremony must have been "**purely domestic**"? Deuteronomy does not mention the door-post. Is that also a "divergence"? Is it not certain that, the fuller statement of the earlier law being known, the short statement afterwards would at once be understood as an allusion to it, involving all that the law prescribed?

Both these objections illustrate well the misleading nature of the

term "Code." Deuteronomy is not a formal Code, to be interpreted with all the rigidity applied to the clauses of an Act of Parliament. It claims to be a series of popular addresses, and popular discourses are not generally worded with the precision of a legal document.

What then of the law in Leviticus (xxv. 39–46)? "If thy brother "be waxen poor with thee, and sell himself unto thee; thou shalt "not make him serve as a bondservant: as an hired servant, and "as a sojourner, he shall be with thee; he shall serve with thee "unto the year of jubile: then he shall go out from thee, he and his "children with him, and shall return unto his own family and unto "the possession of his fathers shall he return."

Then vv: 44–46 provide that from "the nations that are round "about," and from "the children of the strangers that do sojourn "among you," bondmen "for ever" may be purchased. Vv: 47–55 continue with a provision for the redemption by his relatives of a Hebrew who has sold himself to a stranger, the amount of the ransom being "according to the number of years" before the year of jubile. The jubile is therefore a fixed period, independent of the date of servitude.

Does this conflict with the JE and D law enjoining release at the end of 6 years of servitude?

Dr. Driver asserts (BE. 209) that these regulations are **"in some "respects differing remarkably from those of Ex., and "springing evidently out of a different and more advanced "stage of society."** It is certainly true, as Dr. Driver goes on to say, that the law in Exodus **"deals only with *Hebrew* slaves: "the case of *foreign* slaves is dealt with in Lev. xxv. 44–46,"** (which does not amount to more than that the Levitical law supplements the very brief rules in Exodus), but is it true that **"The "later legislation of Lev. xxv. 39–40 sought to limit slavery "to *foreigners*"** (BE. 209)?

The laws of Lev: xxv. 44–46 limit *lifelong* slavery ("bondmen "for ever") to those who were of foreign race, and v: 42 provides that Hebrews are not to be "sold as bondmen." Yet the preceding verses (39–41) allow of the purchase of the services of a poor Hebrew for a period which might last for well over 40 years, only he is not to "serve as a bondservant," but to be treated "as an hired servant." Also v: 42 enjoins, "Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour," and this is emphatically repeated in v: 46. This servitude of the Hebrew, then, differed from that of the alien in that he was to be treated with more consideration, and to be set free at the jubile. Still it was purchased servitude, and might in many cases be practically lifelong.

Further, Dr. Driver recognizes (BE. 209) that **"an Israelite "might fall into slavery from different causes: (1) he might "be sold by his parents . . . (2) he might be sold for theft**

**". . . or insolvency . . . (3) he might be obliged by poverty "to sell himself."** The law in Leviticus only affects the last class (if thy brother be waxen poor with thee, and "sell himself unto "thee"), and prescribes that such an one is not to serve with the service of a bondman (v: 39), or to be sold with the price of a bondman (v: 42, Heb:). This law treats with clemency a special class of servitude. When a man was compelled by poverty to sell himself, he was not to be considered a bondman at all. His term of service might last a great deal longer than the 6 years of the bondman, but the servitude would be of a milder character, and might last even a shorter time, since the jubile release would take effect no matter how few the years of servitude had been. He was in effect a hired servant for whose services a lump sum was paid in advance, instead of his receiving a periodical wage. The question of voluntary choosing to serve "for ever" is not even touched in Leviticus, a further indication, perhaps, that a different class of servitude is contemplated.

Dr. Driver comes to the conclusion that, on this subject, **"the "discrepancy between the laws of Ex., Dt., and the law of "Lev. can be satisfactorily explained only by the supposition "that the latter is a provision for the mitigation of the "servitude of Israelites, designed without reference to the "former, and originating at a time when experience had "shown (cf. Jer. xxxiv. 11, 14$^{b}$–16) that the limit of service "fixed by Ex. and Dt. could not be enforced."** BD. 185.

If the Leviticus law originated because experience had shown that the laws of Exod: and Deut: could not be enforced, it could not have been altogether without reference to them, but must have been a deliberate modification of them.

What then was the experience which showed that the earlier laws could not be enforced?

Zedekiah had made a covenant (Jer: xxxiv. 8) that all Hebrew bondservants were to be set free. The princes and all the people obeyed (v: 10), having solemnly entered into the covenant (vv: 18, 19). They afterwards broke their own covenant, as well as the law of Deuteronomy, by compelling those who had been set free to return to servitude (v: 11). In view of this experience, a new law is designed requiring them to set their Hebrew bondmen free at the jubile. This might permit them to retain their servants for a much longer period than the six years of the earlier law, but it might also require them to release their servants much sooner if the jubile happened to occur before the seventh year.

What possible chance could there be of this law being obeyed better than the former?

Again, what was the time? The experience recorded by Jeremiah was in the reign of Zedekiah, within a very few years of the destruction of Jerusalem. The law of Leviticus was designed

(according to the critics) during the Exile, and the designer slipped into the earlier laws of H, (which only provided that the Hebrew servant was to be "**treated humanely**"), passages "**extending "the benefits of the Jubile from land to *persons*** " (LOT. 57). These passages are said to be Lev: xxv. 40b–42, the release at the Jubile ;—44–46, permission to purchase aliens as slaves ;—48–52, 54, redemption of Hebrew slaves from aliens. This last passage, be it noted, takes it for granted that the alien can be required to accept the ransom calculated according to the years remaining before the jubile ; to treat his bondman humanely ; and to release him at the jubile if not redeemed previously. All this is to have been "**designed** " at a time when the Israelites were in exile, and the jubile of the land could not be kept ;—when they themselves were captives, hardly in a position to own bondmen, or to redeem Hebrews enslaved to foreigners. Lastly, these futile provisions, impossible to be carried out, were calmly attributed to the legislation in the Wilderness, though there must have been some still living who knew that a different law, attributed to Moses, had been in force till within a few years of the Exile.

What a tissue of inconsistencies ! Yet this is to be the only "**supposition** " by which "**the discrepancy** " can be "**satisfactorily explained.**" Is it quite as satisfactory as the view that the Leviticus law applied only to one particular class of servitude, and that therefore there is no "**discrepancy** " to explain ?

It is submitted, then, that as to the three matters in which all three " codes " are said to diverge, it is quite reasonable to hold that

in (A), " the place of sacrifice," the provisions of JE anticipate the movable sanctuary of P, and are not inconsistent with the Leviticus law ; while those in D are a deliberate modification of the earlier laws to suit the settled life in the Promised Land, yet still maintaining the principle already indicated ;—

in (B), " the year of release," the P law expands and defines that in JE ; that in D deals with a different subject ;—

in (C), " Hebrew slaves," the regulations in D are an informal abridgment of the already familiar law of JE ; those in P only apply to one particular class of servitude.

# XVIII.

## THE THREE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGES.

BESIDES the three instances (A, B, C) in which JE is concerned, there are five instances in which the asterisk shows that D and P are considered to diverge markedly. Of these, three are in a later passage (LOT. 82) taken to show that **"fundamental institu-"tions of P"** were unknown to D. It will be convenient to consider first the other two.

(D) *The three annual pilgrimages.* Deut: xvi. 1–17; Lev: xxiii; Num: xxviii, xxix.

Three times in the year all male Israelites were to appear "before "the LORD God" (Exod: xxiii. 7; Deut: xvi. 16), and for these a special word, *Chag*, denoting pilgrimage is used.

In Exod: xxiii. 14–16 these are specified as the Feasts (pilgrimages) of Unleavened Bread (Heb: *Mazzoth*); of Harvest ("the "firstfruits of thy labours"); and of Ingathering ("at the end of "the year when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field"). No details as to how these are to be observed are given, except that in the first of the three, unleavened bread is to be eaten for seven days, and (v: 18) leavened bread is not to be offered with the blood of the sacrifice, and "the fat of my feast" is not to remain till the morning.

In Exod: xxxiv. 18–22 there are enumerated the Pilgrimage-feasts of Unleavened Bread (seven days); of Weeks ("the first-"fruits of wheat harvest"); and of Ingathering ("at the year's "end"). In v: 25 the injunction against offering leavened bread is repeated, but here instead of "the fat of my feast" it is "the sacrifice of the feast (*Chag*) of the passover" which is not to remain till the morning.

In Exod: xiii. 16, unleavened bread is to be eaten seven days, and "in the seventh day shall be a feast (*Chag*) unto the LORD."

All these passages are ascribed to J.

In Deut: xvi. 1–8, the observance of the Passover, with seven days of unleavened bread, is enjoined, but the term Pilgrimage-feast (*Chag*) is not here employed. In vv: 9–12 the Pilgrimage-feast "of Weeks" is to be observed seven weeks "from the time "thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn." In

vv: 13–15, the Pilgrimage-feast of " Tabernacles " (or Booths) is to be observed " after that thou hast gathered in from thy threshing " floor and from thy winepress." For the last two feasts, special emphasis is laid on " Thou shalt rejoice," and all three must be observed at " the place which the LORD thy God shall choose," thus indicating the place to which the Pilgrimage is to be made. V: 16 contains the injunction that all males are to appear thrice in the year " before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall " choose," and specifies the occasions as the Pilgrimage-feasts of Unleavened Bread ; of Weeks ; and of Tabernacles.

In the main outlines, no " divergences " are alleged between the laws of JE and D, but as regards the Passover D is said to differ from JE in one detail, and from P in another.

(1) In Deut: xvi. 2, the sacrifice of the Passover is to be " of the " flock and of the herd," i.e. **" either a sheep, goat, or bullock "** (BE. 405) ; in J (Exod: xii. 21) only lambs or kids are prescribed.

If the P laws were not in existence, this would look like an innovation on the part of D ; but if the Levitical laws had already been given, the D phrase " of the flock and of the herd " would agree with the rule in Num: xxviii. 19 that the burnt offering on the first day of Unleavened Bread was to be " two young bullocks, " and one ram, and seven he-lambs." The critical theory *creates* a difference where on the traditional view none exists. There is no evidence that the Passover sacrifice (properly so called) ever consisted of anything but a lamb.

(2) Dr. Driver insists (BE. 91, 405) that Deut: xvi. 7 prescribes that the flesh of the Passover sacrifice is to be " boiled " (RV marg:), whereas Exod: xii. 9 (P) emphatically commands that it is not to be " sodden at all with water, but roast with fire."

The verb in Deut: xvi. 7 is the same as that rendered " sodden " in Exod : xii. 9, but the very fact that this passage has thought it necessary to add " with water " is enough to indicate that the word by itself does not necessarily mean " boil."

Dr. Baxter, replying to Wellhausen, has amply shown (SS. 318–320) that the word is used of ripening corn or grapes, of baking cakes, and of other modes of cooking. In particular, the Chronicler (who would certainly observe the P rule that the flesh was to be roasted) uses this very word of the preparation of the Passover—2 Chron xxxv. 13—where the addition " with fire " clearly shows that boiling was not intended.

There are then the P laws, said to " diverge " from those in D, to be considered.

In Lev: xxiii, (a calendar of the " set feasts " *—*Mo'edim*), after the command to keep the Sabbath (v: 3) comes the injunction

* As the Day of Atonement is included, the word " feasts " is not quite appropriate.

that the 14th day of the first month is "the LORD's passover," and on the 15th is the Pilgrimage-feast of Unleavened Bread lasting 7 days (vv: 4–8). Then follows the waving of the "sheaf "of the firstfruits of your harvest," which is to take place "on the "morrow after the sabbath" (9–14, H). From that "morrow after "the sabbath," seven sabbaths are to be counted till the 50th day, when "a new meal offering . . . two wave loaves . . . for first-"fruits," with accompanying sacrifices, are to be offered. (15–20, H). The period of seven sabbaths, and the word "firstfruits," sufficiently identify this with the second of the feasts in Exod: and Deut:, but the term Pilgrimage-feast is not used, nor is any name given to the feast. No month is specified. No part of this section is attributed to P, except v: 21 ordering a "holy convocation" for the "selfsame day."

After the regulations for the "blowing of trumpets," and for the Day of Atonement, comes the injunction to keep the Pilgrimage-feast of Tabernacles on the 15th day of the seventh month (vv: 34–36, P). Fuller instructions as to the observance are given in vv: 39–43 (partly P, partly H), including the explanation of the name *Succoth* as referring to the "booths" lived in during the Wanderings. This, as well as "ye shall rejoice before the LORD" is referred to H.

In Num: xxviii, xxix (a catalogue of sacrifices to be offered) after the sacrifices for each day, for the Sabbaths, and for the beginnings of the months, comes (xxviii. 16) a mention of the Passover on the 14th day of the first month, immediately followed by the list of the sacrifices for the 7 days of the Pilgrimage-feast of Unleavened Bread (vv: 17–25). Vv: 26–31 enumerate the sacrifices "in the day of the firstfruits, when ye offer a new meal offering "unto the LORD in your [*feast of*] weeks." This clearly corresponds to the festival of Lev: xxiii. 15–20, but again no precise date is mentioned, and the term Pilgrimage-feast does not occur. In xxix. 12–38 there is a long list of sacrifices to be offered during the festival beginning on the 15th day of the seventh month (as in Lev: xxiii. 34) to which no name is given, but the term Pilgrimage-feast is applied (v: 12).

In all this the "divergence" from D does not, at first sight, seem very marked.

It is not that P enumerates more than three festivals, for Dr. Driver notes that the word *Mo'ed* in Lev: xxiii is **"a wider term "than *Chag* 'pilgrimage' which denotes the three 'feasts' "observed as pilgrimages."** LOT. 54, note.

It is not that P (especially in Numbers) gives details about sacrifices, for **"Dt. may be described as a manual which, "without entering into technical details . . . would instruct "the Israelite in the ordinary duties of life"** (LOT. 77), in which, therefore, sacrificial details would be unnecessary.

Probably the following passage referring to H (LOT. 56) sets out what is considered to be the "divergence."

**"The common characteristic of the parts of the calendar "which belong to H is the relation in which the feasts stand "to the *land* and to *agriculture*: the 'morrow after the "'Sabbath' during *Mazzoth*, the Feast of Weeks, and the "Feast of Booths, all alike mark stages in the ripening of "the produce of the soil; the first cut sheaf, the completed "barley and wheat harvest (the loaf), the end of the vintage. "The feasts are significant in the same manner in JE and "Deut. (Ex. xxiii. 15, 16, xxxiv. 18, 22; Dt. xvi. 1, 9, 13): "in P this point of view has become obscured, and they are "treated rather as occasions, fixed arbitrarily, for religious "observances."**

The "divergence" accordingly is that JE, D, and H regard the feasts as agricultural, while P treats them as **"occasions, fixed "arbitrarily, for religious observances."** This largely depends on the distinction drawn between H and P, concerning which more will have to be said hereafter (see c: xx. p: 200). Here it will only be necessary to point out that, as regards Lev: xxiii, the distinction is chiefly made out by isolating v: 21 from its context and assigning it to P; by dividing v: 39 into three parts, of which the first and third are marked P, while the middle part and subsequent verses are marked H; and by detaching v: 44 as belonging to P.

Dr. McNeile is more explicit in his introductory notes on Num: xxviii, xxix (BN. 155, 156).

**"Three features distinguish this system in a marked "manner from the celebrations of festivals before the "exile: (a) the exact dates, (b) the fixed quantities of the "offerings, (c) the nature of the offerings. (a) Before the exile the festivals of Unleavened Cakes [This was ob-"served 'in the month Abib,'** footnote], **Weeks and Booths "were connected with the stages in the harvest, the "dates of which would necessarily vary in different "years, and in different parts of the country. (b) The "quantities of the offerings were proportional to the wealth "and willingness of the individual worshipper (Dt. xvi. 10, "17). (c) There were no sin-offerings, and the sacrifices in-"cluded 'peace-offerings' in which the worshippers had a "share, so that they could 'rejoice' at the festal meal (id. "vv. 11, 15)."**

Dr. McNeile speaks very positively about **"the celebrations "of festivals before the exile"** as though we had some record of the way in which they were actually kept. In reality he can only mean the manner in which he believes them to have been celebrated according to the regulations in JE, D, and those parts of Lev: xxiii assigned to H; for the sole record we have of the celebration of

such a festival is the account of the Feast of Tabernacles in Neh: viii. 13–18 *after* the Exile. Still the points he raises must be considered.

(a) The argument seems to be that before the Exile the three Feasts were connected with the harvest, and, as the harvest must vary in different years and in different parts of the country, therefore the Feasts could not have been kept on the same calendar dates in every year, nor could they be observed simultaneously throughout the country.

This assumes that the Feasts, before the Exile, were dependent on the actual state of the harvest, and referred to nothing else; that the date of the harvest might vary considerably in different years; and that the Feasts would be observed in each locality according to the state of the harvest in that particular neighbourhood.

Now the period of harvest in Palestine is not so variable as in England. The dates fixed for the Feasts in the P laws depend on the full moon of the vernal equinox, and this would sufficiently adapt them to the harvest period. Grain ripens in the Jordan valley sooner than in the highlands of Judæa, and this is actually allowed for by the provision that the **"first cut sheaf"** was to be waved so early as **"the morrow after the Sabbath during *Mazzoth*,"** when the Judæan grain would certainly not be ripe. The festivals were national, not local, in character, and were associated with the earliest commencement of harvest in any part of the land;—with "the firstfruits of thy labours," i.e. the setting in of the general grain harvest, (not **"the completed barley and wheat harvest"**); —and with the ingathering of fruits throughout the land. With these the dates given would fairly correspond. Moreover, there is reason (as we shall presently see, p. 182) for thinking that the feasts in JE and D were not connected *solely* with the land and agriculture, and that both in JE and D the first feast was fixed for "the month Abib," corresponding to the "first month" of P, and the second was calculated from this, so that fixed dates were not entirely absent from those laws.

(b) That **"the quantities of the offerings were propor-"tional to the wealth and willingness of the individual wor-"shipper,"** i.e. were variable before the Exile, in contrast to the fixed quantities of sacrifices prescribed in Numbers, is only vouched for by Deut: xvi. 10, 17. These are,—"Thou shalt keep the feast "of weeks unto the LORD thy God with a tribute of a freewill offering "of thine hand, which thou shalt give according as the LORD thy "God blesseth thee" (v: 10); and "Every man shall give as he is "able, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he "hath given thee" (v: 17). The former passage specifies a "freewill offering," and the latter clearly refers to a similar gift. What reason is there for identifying these free gifts with the sacrifices offered? Freewill offerings are expressly distinguished from sacri-

fices in Deut: xii. 6, "your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, "and your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and your "vows, and your freewill offerings"; and in Num: xxix. 39 where the sacrifices prescribed are to be offered "beside your vows and "your freewill offerings." Free gifts apart from, over and above, the sacrifices would of course be determined by the **"wealth and "willingness of the individual worshipper,"** but there is nothing to show that before the Exile the sacrifices were so determined.

(c) How is it known that at the Feasts before the Exile **"there "were no sin offerings"**? Because they are not mentioned in the regulations of Exodus and Deuteronomy? But then those regulations are equally silent about the burnt offerings and peace offerings. Exod: xxiii. 18 mentions "the blood of my sacrifice," but the word is a general one which may include various kinds of offerings (see SS. 368, 369). Exod: xxxiv. 25 specifies "the sacrifice "of the Passover," which also is the only one mentioned in Deut: xvi. 1–17. If absence of mention in the regulations is to be relied on then, as far as JE and D are concerned, the Feasts of Weeks and of Tabernacles would be left without any sacrifices at all. On the other hand, Num: xxviii, xxix. 1–38 do not mention peace offerings. Were there none? No, for v: 39 sums up by saying, "These ye "shall offer unto the LORD in your set feasts . . . for your burnt "offerings, and for your meal offerings, and for your drink offerings, "and for your peace offerings." Here the sin offering is not mentioned, though occurring frequently in the previous chapters. Is it not possible that, since the whole animal was consumed by fire, the sin offering is here regarded as a variety of the burnt offering, not needing separate mention? But if so, this might also account for the non-mention of sin offerings in other passages where burnt offerings are mentioned (e.g. Exod: xx. 24, Deut: xii. 6). In truth, the JE and D directions are of the scantiest, and clearly incomplete: any argument from their silence is peculiarly unsafe. In Deuteronomy, avowedly addressed to the laity, the sacrifices are taken for granted, and stress is laid on the freewill offerings: in Numbers, for the guidance of the priests, the details of the sacrifices are given, and the vows and freewill offerings barely alluded to.

Again, as to the rejoicing, Deut: xvi. 11 bids the Israelite "rejoice "before the LORD thy God" in the Feast of Weeks, and for the Feast of Tabernacles, vv: 14, 15 say, "Thou shalt rejoice in thy "feast. . . . Thou shalt be altogether joyful." But why must this rejoicing be limited to the **"festal meal"** of the peace offerings? Might there not be other festal meals? Could there be no rejoicing except in connection with a meal? Was this rejoicing in any way peculiar to the festivals before the Exile? At any rate, in the account of the Feast of Tabernacles in Neh: viii we read "there was "very great gladness" (v: 17), which looks uncommonly like the

" rejoice " of Deut: xvi, especially as the same Hebrew word is used. Also v: 12 tells us, " all the people went their way to eat, and to " drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth " (again the same word), which does not differ greatly from a **" festal meal."** It was not a sacrificial meal, as is shown by the " Eat the fat and " drink the sweet " of v: 10, but that only makes it more clear that rejoicing was not confined to a share in the peace offerings.

It is not clear that the **" system "** of Num: xxviii, xxix differed so very markedly from that which prevailed before the Exile.

Yet another " discrepancy " between Deuteronomy and Leviticus is alleged with regard to the Feast of Tabernacles.

**" According to the law in Deuteronomy the feast was to " be kept for seven days (Deut. xvi. 13). According to Lev. " xxiii. 33–36, an eighth day was to be kept, besides the " seven days of the feast."** IP. 152.

Having regard to the professed nature of Deuteronomy as popular discourse, the omission of the mention of the 8th day need not, in itself, be of great significance. But it is further alleged that there is evidence of this 8th day being really an invention of a later age. This is said to be found in the two accounts (1 Kings viii ; 2 Chron: vii) of the festival at the Dedication of the Temple combined with the Feast of Tabernacles. 1 Kings viii. 66, " On the eighth day he " [the king] sent the people away, and they blessed the king, and " went unto their tents."—2 Chron: vii. 9, 10, " On the eighth day " they held a solemn assembly . . . and on the three and twentieth " day of the seventh month he sent the people away unto their " tents."

**" Here are two different accounts of the manner in which " the feast was kept ; (1) that in 1 Kings viii, where according " to the Deuteronomic rule, the feast was kept for seven " days (from the fifteenth to the twenty-first inclusive) and " the people were dismissed on the eighth day (the twenty- " second) ; (2) that in 2 Chron. vii. 9 where, according to the " law of Leviticus, the feast was kept seven days, with a " solemn assembly on the eighth day, and the people were " dismissed on the three and twentieth day. The inference " seems warranted that the appointment of the eighth day " of tabernacles was made after the author of Kings had " composed his narrative. The later writer assumes that " the feast was kept according to the ritual of his own day. " That ritual was *not* the ritual of the Temple in the time of " the kingdom."** IP. 153.

This involves the supposition that the Chrioncler, in order to make the history fit with the ritual as he knew it, untruly asserted that the people kept the eighth day which they did not keep. Moreover he must have done this knowingly and wilfully, for the greater part of his account coincides verbally with that in 1 Kings,

so that he must have known what was there stated, and made the alteration deliberately. Yet he left the account in Kings untouched to bear witness against him, when the insertion of two or three words would have made it agree!

What is the law in Leviticus? xxiii. 36, "On the eighth day "shall be an holy convocation unto you; and ye shall offer an "offering made by fire unto the LORD: it is a solemn assembly: "ye shall do no servile work":—v: 39, "On the first day shall be a "solemn rest, and on the eighth day shall be a solemn rest."

Yet this same section repeatedly gives the duration of the festival as seven days:—v: 34, "the feast of tabernacles for seven days"; —v: 36, "Seven days ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto "the LORD;" and (from H) v: 39, "Ye shall keep the feast of the "LORD seven days";—v: 40, "ye shall rejoice before the LORD "your God seven days";—v: 41, "Ye shall keep it a feast unto the "LORD seven days";—v: 42, "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days." In Numbers also it is ordered (xxix. 35), "On the eighth day ye "shall have a solemn assembly: ye shall do no servile work," but a marked distinction is made between this and the preceding days. During the seven days, the offering was to consist of bullocks (beginning with 13 and diminishing to 7), 2 rams, and 14 lambs: on the eighth day it was only 1 bullock, 1 ram, and 7 lambs.

Is it not fair to conclude from all this that, though the eighth day was to be observed, it was not counted as part of the actual festival? Seven days the Pilgrimage-feast lasted; seven days the people rejoiced; seven days they dwelt in booths. None of all this belongs to the eighth day, though it was "an holy convoca-"tion—a solemn assembly—a solemn rest." Thus when it says in 1 Kings viii, "On the eighth day he sent them away," this need not mean a final dispersal. It simply marks the end of the seven days' rejoicing and dwelling in booths, when the people "went unto "their tents." There the historian stops short, but that does not imply that the assembly on the 8th day was unknown and unobserved.

The history of Elkanah is also brought forward as bearing on the observance of the three Festivals.

**"The pilgrimage is described as a *yearly* one (1 Sam. "i. 3, 7, 21; ii. 19 'the yearly sacrifice'), and the whole "account implies that Elkanah, in thus presenting himself "*once* a year before the Lord in Shiloh, is fulfilling the "obligation imposed upon him by the existing law. Either "the injunction of Exod. xxiii. 17 and xxxiv. 23 was not "known to him, or on the two other occasions he appeared "before the Lord at a local sanctuary."** IP. 151.

The dilemma is ingenious. Whether the "Book of the Covenant" was unknown in Eli's time, or whether local sanctuaries existed and were frequented, either way one critical theory or another

would be supported. But the dilemma might be turned about. If the "Book of the Covenant" was unknown, why did Elkanah make a pilgrimage at all? If attendance at a local sanctuary sufficed for two festivals, why go to Shiloh for the third?

The argument really turns on the assumption that Elkanah went "***once* a year,**" and once a year only. Even if that were the case it would not amount to very much. In the utter disorganization of the period, even a pious Israelite might have thought himself justified in observing only one of the festivals: nor is there anything in the narrative to suggest that Elkanah was discharging the whole of his religious obligations. But the assumption is not well founded. The "yearly sacrifice" in 1 Sam: i. 21, ii. 19 is literally "the sacrifice "of the days";—"year by year" in i. 7 simply means "annually," without any suggestion of "not more than once in a year";—"from year to year" in i. 3, ii. 19 is literally "from the days to the "days," which does not *require* the meaning of "once a year," though possibly it may have that meaning where the context requires it (e.g. Exod: xiii. 10, of the passover).

In a note on the same page (151) Mr. Chapman bases a further argument on the law of the Three Festivals:—"**The injunction "to appear three times a year before the Lord was practi-"cable, only if the journey involved was short. As long as "the local sanctuaries remained this was the case; and as "the injunction of JE is repeated in Deuteronomy, it would "seem that the reformers in Josiah's time regarded the "area of Judah as sufficiently limited to allow its inhabitants "to visit Jerusalem three times a year.**" To this a subsidiary note adds, "**Here is further indirect evidence as to the *real* "date of Deuteronomy. Would a law imposing three visits "in the year to Jerusalem be practicable for the children "of Israel when they occupied their whole territory? Was "it then enacted *before* they entered the land, to be binding "from the time of Solomon onwards?**"

The argument here is that 3 visits a year could only be paid if the journey was short; it would be short while local sanctuaries existed; Deuteronomy aims at abolishing these sanctuaries, and centralizing all worship at Jerusalem; therefore Deuteronomy could only have been drawn up when the area was so limited that Jerusalem was within easy reach of every one concerned.

The "**reformers**" must have been somewhat blind if they attributed to Moses a law which was only "**practicable**" when applied to a small fraction of the land and people.

A good deal depends, however, on what is meant by "**short.**" A month's journey would certainly be out of the question, since the interval from Passover to Pentecost was only 7 weeks. But is there any reason to suppose that the journey to Jerusalem from the most distant part of the "**whole territory,**" (especially for

men only, and those travelling light) could not have been made between Sabbath and Sabbath? When it is a question of the numbers of the Israelites, critics are rather inclined to insist on the smallness of Palestine: here there seems some tendency to exaggerate the size. A week to go, and a week to come back may seem a good deal of time to spend on travelling, yet even so all three festivals would only take up a little over 8 weeks in the year, and this would be a maximum affecting only a small part of the nation. Why should not that be "**practicable**"?

Again, if nothing more than visits to a local sanctuary were intended, why were they limited to three in the year? Such local attendances might easily have been made once a month, or even oftener. The smallness of the number surely suggests the possibility of a considerable journey. Is not this also implied in the term "pilgrimage"? Certainly the Arabic equivalent for *Chag* (used for the journey to Mecca) means something more than a visit to a neighbouring shrine.

Some critics have gone so far as to hold that the three Feasts are not of Israelite origin at all. "**In Canaan the immigrating "Israelites found among the agricultural Canaanites the "custom of consecrating to the *ba'al* of the district every "spring at the beginning of harvest, the firstfruits of the "corn, and of celebrating a *ḥag* in this connection. This "the Hebrews adopted in the form of *Maẓẓoth*.**" BE. 412.

Of course if the Pilgrimage-feast of Unleavened Bread was thus derived, the dependent Feast of Harvest would be similarly derived, and in all probability the Feast of Ingathering as well. Possibly Dr. Driver alludes to some such idea when, with reference to Exod: xxiii. 14–17, he writes, "**the festivals are already recognized "institutions; and the Israelite is merely commanded to "observe them**" (BE. 241). If so, he must hold that this part of the "Book of the Covenant" is post-Mosaic, dating after the entry into Canaan.

Is it, however, the fact that in JE the festivals are "**already "recognized institutions**"? That might be said of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, for instructions concerning this are found in an earlier part of J (Exod: xiii. 3–7). As to the other two, Exod: xxiii. 16 merely says, "and the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of "thy labours, which thou sowest in the field: and the feast of in-"gathering, at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy "labours out of the field"; nor is xxxiv more explicit. All that is laid down is that there are to be pilgrimage-feasts at harvest and at ingathering, but the manner is left undetermined.

But this does not necessarily require that the festivals were already well known, and therefore the manner of keeping them need not be stated. It is at least possible that this was only the laying down of

a general principle, for whose carrying out fuller instructions would be given later on. The Israelites must have known that in the land to which they were journeying there would be seasons of harvest and ingathering. It would be enough at first to enjoin them to keep these with a pilgrimage-feast, like that of Unleavened Bread for which they had already received instructions: details could be supplied afterwards. This would agree well with the period at which these commands are said to have been given, and with the outline character of the whole set of laws. It would also agree with the fact that full details of the manner of observance are said to have been given a few months later, in Lev: xxiii. Here again the three " codes " fall into line :—JE sketches the outline ; P supplies the details ; D takes these for granted, adding the indication as to the place to which the pilgrimage was to be made, an indication not needed till they were on the point of entering the land.

For the other view, no kind of evidence is offered that there ever was any pilgrimage custom at the beginning of harvest **" among " the agricultural Canaanites."** Its existence is simply guessed at. And it is, to say the least of it, somewhat daring to suggest that the very laws which repeatedly warn the Israelites against imitating the practices of the Canaanites, were at the same time inculcating, as a primary religious duty, the keeping of three festivals which had been borrowed from those practices.

Is there, then, better ground for the more moderate contention that the three festivals **" marked originally stages in the " agricultural operations of the year "** ; and **" in later times " a historical significance was attached to them, and they " were regarded as commemorative of events connected " with the Exodus "** (BE. 241) ; while in P they came to be looked on as **" occasions, fixed arbitrarily, for religious " observances "** (LOT. 56) ?

(1) *The Feast of Unleavened Bread.*

In the parts assigned to JE, there are three passages about this festival,—Exod: xiii. 3–10 ; xxiii. 15 ; xxxiv. 18,—and, as the text stands, in each of these the feast is treated as a memorial of the Exodus.

xiii. 3, " Remember this day, in which ye came out of Egypt, " out of the house of bondage ; for by strength of hand the LORD " brought you out from this place : there shall no leavened bread " be eaten " :—v: 8, " thou shalt tell thy son in that day saying, " It is because of that which the LORD did for me when I came " forth out of Egypt." (J).

On the sole ground that these verses (3–10) **" approximate " in style and tone to Deuteronomy,"** it is considered probable that they are a **" parenetic expansion, by the compiler of JE,**

**"of a simpler original in J,"** (BE. 106), and from that simpler original the analysis is of course careful to exclude the passages just quoted.*

xxiii. 15[b], "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I "commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month of Abib "(for in it thou camest out of Egypt)."—$R^{JE}$.

The passage in general is assigned to E, but this part is said to have been **"most probably introduced here by a later hand "from xxxiv. 18[b],"** because it breaks **"the grammatical "connection between v. 15[a] and v. 16."** BE. 242.

As in Hebrew there are no signs to mark a parenthesis, the reason given is hardly valid. In Deut: iii. 19 the words "I know that "ye have much cattle" break the grammatical connection even more abruptly. They are not therefore treated as interpolated.

xxxiv. 18. "Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread" (J), "as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month "Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt" ($R^{JE}$).

Here we have the passage from which xxiii. 15[b] is said to have been borrowed, and again it is assigned to the compiler, but this time no reason at all is given.

The parts, then, which the critics consider the earliest (JE) do associate the Feast with the **"events connected with the "Exodus,"** and give it a **"historical significance":** but as the historical significance is thought to belong to later times, the critics have, for very slight reason or no reason at all, asserted that these historical allusions do not belong to the original document, but are additions of a later age. It is a most excellent way of proving a case:—1st, assert there is no trace of a certain matter in a certain document; 2nd, cut out of the document three distinct passages, mentioning the matter; and, 3rd, triumphantly exhibit the mutilated document as proof positive of the original assertion.

As regards D, in Deut: xvi. 1–8, **"the Passover (vv. 1–3[a], 4[b]–7) is treated in close conjunction with *Mazzoth*, and "almost regarded as the opening ceremony of the Feast "of *Mazzoth*.† . . . It is to be observed in the month of "Abib, as a memorial of the deliverance from Egypt by "night."** BE. 405.

Even this recognizes that in D the Feast of Unleavened Bread is closely connected with the Passover, the **"memorial of the "deliverance from Egypt,"** but it does not notice that vv: 3[b], 4[a], 8, which prescribe the eating of unleavened bread for seven days (i.e. the keeping of *Mazzoth*), are really closely connected with all

* Even so the historical signification is not altogether removed from J, for v: 4 says "This day ye go forth in the month Abib," and v: 10, "Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in its season from year to year."

† This may also be said of Lev: xxiii. 5, 6 and Num: xxviii. 16, 17.

the rest, and $3^b$ actually includes "that thou mayest remember "the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt."

There is good reason, then, for concluding that both in JE and in D the Feast of Unleavened Bread is associated with the **"his-"torical significance"** of a memorial of the Exodus, and that in a particular month.

In the parts attributed to P, Exodus: xii. 14–20 both gives the **"historical significance"** (v: 17, "in this selfsame day have I "brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt"), and specifies the first month "on the fourteenth day of the month."

In Lev: xxiii. 4–8 and Num: xxviii. 16–18 no **"historical "significance"** whatever is even alluded to in connection with this feast, but the day of the month is given.

(2) *The Feast of Harvest.*

In none of the books is any **"historical significance"** attached to this festival: that **"is first met with in the post-Bibl. "literature."** BE. 241.

In Lev: xxiii. 15–17 it is just as closely connected with the harvest as in JE or D; indeed almost more closely as being dependent on the time of waving "the sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest." This is all attributed to H, and P has here nothing about the festival but a single verse ordering a holy convocation "on the selfsame day."

Of "arbitrary fixing" there is only the numbering of seven sabbaths in H where D gives seven weeks. In this instance Mr. Chapman is mistaken in asserting that in P **"the time at which "each of the feasts is to be observed is fixed by the day of "the month."** IP. 147.

In Num: xxviii there is only this mention, v: 26, "Also in the day "of the firstfruits, when ye offer a new meal offering unto the LORD "in your [*feast of*] weeks, ye shall have an holy convocation." Here also the connection with harvest is marked.

(3) *The Feast of Ingathering.*

JE only says "at the end of the year" [i.e. of the civil year, in autumn] "when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field" (Exod: xxiii. 16). D has "after thou hast gathered in from thy threshing floor, and from thy winepress" (Deut: xvi. 13).

Lev: xxiii. 34 (as in Num: xxix. 12) fixes the festival to begin "on the fifteenth day of this seventh month," * and in v: 39 the date is repeated, but this is only separated by the analysis from "when ye have gathered in the fruits of the land" (H). H has also (in v: 41) "ye shall keep it in the seventh month," but specifies no day.

The only **"historical significance,"** (that which connects the

* Jeroboam's festival "in the eighth month on the fifteenth day of the "month" (1 Kings xii. 32, 33) looks very much as if the feast on the 15th day of the 7th month was then already well known and the writer of Kings is supposed to be influenced by Deuteronomy, not by P.

name "Booths" with the dwellings in the wilderness), is found in H (Lev: xxiii. 42, 43), and not in P. Without this explanation, the title "Feast of Booths" in Deut: xvi. 13–16 would be unintelligible.

Of fixing **"arbitrarily,"** there are but the two instances of naming the day of the month on which the Feasts of Unleavened Bread, and of Booths, were to begin. Why should this be considered arbitrary? In both cases, it is the 15th of the month that is chosen, i.e. the time of the full moon. If the festival was to be at all national, some fixed period would have to be assigned, and what better time could be chosen for a pilgrimage?

As to **"religious observances,"** the critics allow at least peace offerings, as well as a pilgrimage, to the celebrations before the Exile. The observances which are peculiar to Leviticus and Numbers are just those which would be needed in directions to the priests, and would be out of place in Exodus or Deuteronomy.

Apart then from the conjectures of analytical criticism, the evidence stands thus:—

As to the *Feast of Unleavened Bread.*

Exodus and Deuteronomy do not connect it with land and agriculture: Leviticus does.

Exodus and Deuteronomy do attach historical significance: Leviticus and Numbers do not.

Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers give a fixed date.

As to the *Feast of Weeks.*

All alike connect it with harvest: none attach any historical significance.

The only dating is found in Deuteronomy as well as in Leviticus.

As to the *Feast of Tabernacles.*

Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy connect it with the ingathering of fruits: Numbers gives the same date as Leviticus.

Historical significance is found in Leviticus, and alluded to in Deuteronomy: not found in Exodus or Numbers.

An exact date is given in Leviticus and Numbers: a general period in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

Even if the critical separation of H and P is accepted, and the JE passages connecting *Mazzoth* with Exodus disallowed, the case would still stand:—

*Mazzoth.* Connected with harvest in H; not in JE, D, or P.
Historical in D and P (in Exodus); not in JE, H, or P (in Leviticus and Numbers).
Exactly dated in P; not in JE, D, or H.

*Weeks.* Connected with harvest in all (in P, Num: xxviii. 26).
Historical in none.
Dated in H and D; not in JE or P.

*Booths*. Connected with fruit harvest in JE, D, and H : in P the 7th month agrees with the season indicated.
Historical in H and D ; not in JE or P.
Exactly dated in P ; partly dated in H ; not in JE or D.

How does all this bear out the critical theory ?

(E) *Cleanliness in the camp*. Num: v. 1–4 ; Deut : xxiii. 9–14.
The briefest examination of the passages shows that

(1) the camps are different :—
that in Num: is the camp in the wilderness ;
that in Deut: a military camp, "when thou goest forth in "camp against thine enemies."

(2) the kinds of "cleanliness" are different :—
Num: refers to exclusion of lepers and ceremonially unclean ;
Deut : to sanitary measures.

The two passages deal with quite different subjects, and it would be a wonder if they did not "diverge."

It must be a weak case which needs the support of "evidence" like this.

# XIX.

## PRIESTS AND LEVITES.—FIRSTLINGS AND TITHES.

(F) *Rights and revenues of the tribe of Levi.* Deut: xviii. 1–8; Lev: vii. 32–34; Num: xviii. 1–20.

The status of the Levites is the crucial part of the case as to "divergences" between D and P.

**"In the laws of P in Leviticus and Numbers a sharp "distinction is drawn between the priests and the common "Levites: in Dt. it is implied (xviii. 1[a]) that *all* members "of the tribe of Levi are qualified to exercise priestly func- "tions; and regulations are laid down (xviii. 6–8) to meet "the case of any member coming from the country to the "central sanctuary and claiming to officiate there as a "priest."**

*Footnote.*—**"The terms used in v. 7 to describe the Levites' service "are those used elsewhere regularly of *priestly* duties. *Sharath* "*b'Shem, to minister in the name,* as xviii. 5 (of the priest: cf. xvii. 12, "xxi. 5): *'Amad liphney, to stand before*—i.e. to wait on (see e.g. "1 Ki. x. 8)—*Jehovah,* as Ez. xliv. 15 Jud. xx. 28, c.f. Dt. xvii. 12, "xviii. 5. (The Levites 'stand before'—i.e. wait upon—the *con-* "*gregation*, Nu. xvi. 9, Ex. xliv. 11[b]. In 2 Ch. xxix. 11 *priests* are "present: see v. 4)."** LOT. 82, 83.

(a) According to RV, v: 1[a] is "The priests the Levites, *even* all "the tribe of Levi shall have no portion nor inheritance with Israel." This may be read as though "the priests the Levites" were so co-ordinated with "all the tribes of Levi" as to imply that "the "priests" = "all the tribe." The Hebrew is less definite. A literal translation would run, "There shall not be to the priests the "Levites the whole tribe of Levi portion and inheritance with "Israel." It would be possible to read this as meaning "the priests "[and] the Levites [that is to say] the whole tribe of Levi" (cf: Neh: x. 34, RV, "the priests, the Levites, and all the people"). But in view of the use of the phrase in other parts of the book, it is reasonable to take "the priests the Levites" together as designating one class.

Hence it is sometimes argued that in Deuteronomy "priests"

and "Levites" are synonymous terms: **"In that book the "expression 'the priests the Levites' occurs with some "frequency, showing that the writer considered priests "and Levites to be identical"** (BN. xv). The inference is hazardous. The writer might well use the expression if he believed that all priests were Levites, without in the least implying that all Levites were priests. Also, the phrase is found in Ezek: xliv. 15 (the very passage which is supposed to have originated the distinction between priests and Levites), and in 2 Chron: xxx. 27. These writers certainly did not consider **"priests and Levites "to be identical."**

A more serious argument is that "the priests the Levites" stands in apposition to "all the tribe of Levi," and that therefore the one expression is equivalent to the other. Dr. Driver (BD. 214) cites no less than 13 instances of "apposition" in this book in order to establish this contention.

It is, however, only fair to require that all the instances referred should be really similar to the one in debate, which is therefore placed at the commencement for comparison.

| *Preceding clause.* | *Clause in apposition.* |
|---|---|
| xviii. 1, the priests the Levites. | all [Heb: *col*] the tribe of Levi. |
| (1) ii. 37, to the land of the children of Ammon thou camest not near; | all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever the LORD our God forbad us. |
| (2) iii. 13, The rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, the Kingdom of Og . . . | all the region of Argob, even all Bashan.* |
| (3) v. 8, Thou shalt not make thee a graven image, | any [*col*] form that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. |
| (4) xx. 14, the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, | all the spoil thereof. |

On one side or other of these four instances several items are given, clearly meant to be exhaustive, and the other clause sums up the whole. These are not properly relevant to xviii. 1 if "the "priests the Levites" is taken as a single item.

| | |
|---|---|
| (5) iii. 18, Ye shall pass over armed before your brethren . . . | all the men of valour. |

* The marginal rendering, by which "all Bashan" belongs to a separate clause, is preferable.

Here the 2nd clause *limits* the undefined expression of clause 1, instead of summing up.

| | |
|---|---|
| (6) iv. 19, The sun and the moon and the stars, | all the host of heaven. |
| (7) xxix. 10, your heads, your tribes, your elders, and your officers, | all the men of Israel. |

These two instances are ambiguous. In (6) it is not certain that "the host of heaven" may not include more than sun, moon, and stars; also it may be intended to forbid a *collective* worship as distinct from that of separate luminaries. In (7) the word rendered "tribes" is that rendered "sceptre" in Num: xxiv. 17. Its position here, between "heads" and "elders," suggests that it may mean "leaders" rather than whole tribes, in which case "all the men" would include more than the other clause.

| | |
|---|---|
| (8) iii. 4, 5, we took all his cities at that time . . . | threescore cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. All these were cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside the unwalled towns, a great many. |
| (9) xv. 21, if it have any [*lit*: a] blemish, *as if it be* lame or blind, | any [*col*] blemish whatsoever. |
| (10) xvii. 1, an ox or a sheep, wherein is a blemish, | or any [*col*] evil-favouredness. |
| (11) xvi. 21, Thou shalt not plant thee an *Asherah*, | of any kind of tree [*lit:* . . . an *Asherah*, every tree]. |
| (12) xxiii. 19, usury of money, usury of victuals, | usury of anything [*col*] that is lent upon usury. |
| (13) xxv. 16, all that do such things [false weights and measures], | *even* all that do unrighteously. |

In each of these 6 instances, one of these clauses clearly includes more than the other. From the very instances cited by Dr. Driver it would be reasonable to conclude that, in the usage of Deuteronomy, the clause "all the tribe of Levi" may include more than "the priests the Levites."

The passage, then, is at least patient of the meaning given by AV and RVm,—"the priests the Levites, *and* all the tribe of Levi." It does not *require* that "the priests the Levites" are co-extensive with the whole tribe. It does not necessarily imply that **"all "members of the tribe of Levi are qualified to exercise "priestly functions,"** but simply asserts (what is equally recog-

nized by P, Num: xviii. 24) that the whole tribe of Levi, including the priests, has no portion or inheritance with Israel.

(b). Vv: 6–8, "And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out "of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire "of his soul unto the place which the LORD shall choose; then he "shall minister in the name of the LORD his God, as all his brethren "the Levites do, which stand there before the LORD. They shall "have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of "his patrimony."

This is said to contain regulations laid down **"to meet the case "of any member coming from the country to the central "sanctuary, and claiming to officiate there as priest."**

It is not certain that "a Levite" (lit: "*the* Levite") means *any* Levite, but the question really turns on the force of the phrases "minister in the Name," and "stand before the LORD." The passages cited by Dr. Driver amply establish that these are used of priestly functions. But the question is, Are they so exclusively used of priestly duties that they cannot be applied to duties which, under the laws of P, would fall to the lot of **"the common Levites"**?

The two phrases occur together in Deut: x. 8, "the LORD separated "the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the LORD, to "stand before the LORD to minister unto him, and to bless in his "name." According to P (Num: iii. 31) the bearing of the Ark was a Levitical office, while to "bless in the Name" was a priestly privilege (Num: vi. 23). The intervening phrase may belong to either, or may cover duties common to both.

The evidence of 2 Chron: xxix is more definite. In v: 4 Hezekiah gathers the priests and Levites together, addresses them as "ye Levites" (v: 5), and closes (v: 11) with, "My sons, be not "now negligent: for the LORD hath chosen you to stand before him, "to minister unto him, and that ye should be his ministers, and "burn incense." Here, if the phrases in question are limited to priestly functions, no ordinary Levitical duties are mentioned at all, since the burning of incense belonged to the priests. Is it likely that the Chronicler, a priestly writer imbued with the spirit of P, would represent Hezekiah as addressing a mixed assembly of priests and Levites, and speaking as if they were all charged with duties entrusted to the priesthood alone?

The full form "minister in the name of the LORD" occurs only in this passage, Deut: xviii. 5, 8. In the passages referred to for comparison, it is "to minister there before the LORD" (xvii. 12), and "to minister unto him, and to bless in his name" (xxi. 5).

In 1 Sam: ii. 11, it is said of Samuel "the child did minister "unto the LORD before Eli the priest," and in Num: viii. 25, 26, "aged Levites are to "minister with their brethren in the tent of "meeting, to keep the charge."

To "stand before the LORD" is used of litigants, Deut: xix. 17, "both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand "before the LORD" (where the meaning "wait upon" is clearly excluded) :—and Elijah says "As the LORD, the God of Israel, "liveth, before whom I stand" (1 Kings xvii. 1). The phrase can hardly be limited to priestly functions alone.

It is true that in Num: xvi. 9 and Ezek: xliv. 11 the Levites are said to "stand before the congregation," but the full text shows that it is only a part of their office.

Num: xvi. 9, "Seemeth it but a small thing unto you that the "God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation, to bring "you near to himself, to do the service of the tabernacle of the "LORD, and to stand before the congregation to minister unto "them."

Ezek: xliv. 11. "Yet they shall be ministers in my sanctuary, "having oversight at the gates of the house, and ministering in "the house; they shall slay the burnt offering, and the sacrifice "for the people, and they shall stand before them to minister "unto them."

Both passages recognize a Godward, as well as a manward, aspect of the Levitical office: both place the standing "before the congre-"gation" in a secondary and subordinate place. It is not impossible, then, that the phrases "minister in the Name," and "stand before the LORD" in Deut: xviii. 7 are only meant to emphasize this Godward and more important aspect of the Levite's office. That Levite who "comes with all the desire of his soul" is to be admitted to the full privileges of that office in its highest aspect.

To sum up this part of the subject:—

(1) Deut: xviii. 1[a] does not necessarily mean that "the priests "the Levites" were "the whole tribe of Levi."

(2) In Deut: xviii. 6 "the Levite" does not necessarily mean **"any member"** of the tribe.

(3) It is not established that the terms used in xviii can only refer to priestly functions.

(4) These few verses are a very slender foundation for the huge inference that in Deuteronomy **"all members of the tribe of "Levi are qualified to exercise priestly functions."**

Some critics, however, go so far as to suggest that there never was a tribe of Levi.

**"It is possible to go back to a still earlier stage, in which "the Levites were not a tribe, but a caste or profession "consisting of men from any tribe who were skilled in "priestly duties."** BN. xv.

**"A 'Levite' then was a term which connoted not ancestry "but profession: it was equivalent to 'clergyman.'** BEM. lxvi.

What ground is there for this startling assertion ?

**" In Jud. xvii. 7–13 a Levite of the family of *Judah* is " welcomed by Micah as the priest of his shrine in prefer- " ence to his son whom he had previously consecrated to " that office."** BN. xv.

Jud: xvii. 7–9 runs, " There was a young man out of Bethlehem- " judah, of the family of Judah, who was a Levite, and he sojourned " there. And the man departed out of the city, out of Bethlehem- " judah to sojourn where he could find *a place* : and he came to the " hill country of Ephraim to the house of Micah, as he journeyed. " And Micah said unto him, When comest thou ? and he said unto " him, I am a Levite of Bethlehem-judah, and I go to sojourn " where I may find *a place*."

If the young man was " of the family of Judah," it is a little strange that he only " sojourned " in Bethlehem, nor is it clear why he should leave his own tribal region to travel northwards as far as " the hill country of Ephraim." Now there is in this passage an evident stress laid on the thrice repeated " Bethlehem-judah." Why then may not " of the family of Judah " refer to the immediately preceding " Bethlehem-judah," and not to the young man ? There was another Bethlehem in the north (Josh: xix. 15), and the town of that name in the south was not yet famous enough to be mentioned without qualification. It is therefore not only called " Bethlehem-judah," but further identified as " of " (or belonging to) " the " family of Judah." If so, then there is simply no ground for asserting that the Levite was **" of the family of Judah,"** and Dr. McNeile's solitary instance vanishes. Can the critics produce any other single instance of a " Levite " who belonged to some other tribe ?

Dr. McNeile lays stress on the frequent mention of Levites in Ezra and Nehemiah as contrasted with the scanty mention of them in 1, 2 Kings and Jeremiah (see BN. xiv.) He claims that in these books Levites **" are not so much as mentioned "** with three exceptions,* for which he proceeds to account. Why does he not mention that in post-Exilic writings other than Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles the mention of Levites is just as infrequent ? It really comes to this that, apart from books evidently dealing with Levitical matters (Leviticus, Numbers, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles), the Levites are scarcely mentioned at all. As regards the earlier histories, it simply means that they are written from a point of view which does not call for such mention : it would be as reasonable to complain of the absence of ecclesiastical details from a professedly military history. As regards Jeremiah, the Levites are mentioned

* There are also 3 other notices of Levites in the earlier histories, but these are attributed to later sources by the critics. Josh: xiv. 3, 4 is attributed to P ; 1 Sam: vi. 15 is said to be an interpolation ; and 2 Sam: xv. 24 to be corrupt (see IP. 276).

three times in one passage (xxxii. 18, 21, 22); the later part of Isaiah (considered post-Exilic by the critics) mentions them only once (lxvi. 21). Also, Deuteronomy (it is said) **" dates from the " same period as Jeremiah "** (BN. xv), and it is precisely in Deuteronomy that Levites are most frequently mentioned outside the Levitical books. Moreover, in Deuteronomy the priests are twice called " sons of Levi " (xxi. 5, xxxi. 9), and the *tribe* of Levi is twice mentioned (x. 8, xviii. 1; besides Josh: xiii. 14, 33, ascribed to $D_2$), and in the JE narrative there is at least the account of the " sons of Levi " (Exod: xxxii. 26, 28) rallying at the call of Moses. All this does not look like the pre-Exilic writers considering that the term " Levite " connoted **"not ancestry, but profession."**

But there is the expression " Aaron thy brother the Levite " in Exod: iv. 11 (J) on which Dr. Driver comments, **" As Moses, " equally with Aaron, belonged to the tribe of Levi (ii. 1), " the term, as applied distinctively to the latter, must denote, " not ancestry, but profession "** (BE. 29). Must it? Aaron was Moses' senior, and if (as is not impossible) his cousins Libni and Shimei, sons of Gershom, were no longer alive, he would probably be the official head of the family, which might sufficiently account for the distinctive title " the Levite." At any rate, this brief and doubtful reference and the equally brief and doubtful reference to the Levite " of Bethlehem-judah, of the family of Judah " (Jud: xvii. 7) form a very insecure basis for the amazing conclusion, **" There must have been a period in the history of ' the Levites' " when the term was (McNeile) ' the official title of one who " ' had received the training of a priest, regardless of the " ' tribe of which he was a member by birth ' "** (BE. 29).

**" Further,"** says Dr. McNeile (BEM. lxvii), **" if the *benê* " *Lewi*, as a tribe, never had a real existence, it is easier to " explain an otherwise extraordinary fact—that they alone " are recorded to have received no tribal territory in the " land of Canaan."**

The very authorities, D as well as P, which record this **" ex- " traordinary fact "** at the same time give a reason for it, viz: that it was because the " tribe of Levi " had been separated for the service of the Sanctuary (Deut: x. 8, 9; cf. Josh: xiii. 14, 33). Why is their testimony to the fact unquestioningly accepted, while their testimony to the reason for it is ignored?

*Maintenance of the priests and Levites.*

**" In P particular provision is made for the maintenance " of both priests and Levites, and in Num. xxxv (cf Josh. " xxi) 48 cities are appointed for their residence. In Dt. " under both heads the provisions are very different. Dt. " xviii. 3 is in conflict with Lev. vii. 32–34; Dt. xviii. 6 " is inconsistent with the institution of Levitical cities pre- " scribed in Nu. xxxv: it implies that the Levite has no**

**"settled residence, but is a 'sojourner' in one or other "of the cities ('gates,' see p. 99) of Israel."** LOT. 83.

Here two verses from the short passage already under consideration (Deut: xviii. 1–8) are said to conflict with the provisions of P regarding the Levites as to (1) their food; (2) their residence.

(1) *Their food.*

Deut: xviii. 3. "This shall be the priest's due from the people, "from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep, that "they shall give unto the priest the shoulder [*Zero'a*] and the two "cheeks and the maw."

Lev: vii. 32–34. "And the right thigh [*Shok*; marg: 'shoulder] "shall ye give unto the priest for an heave offering out of the "sacrifices of your peace offerings. He among the sons of Aaron, "that offereth the blood of the peace offerings, and the fat, shall "have the right thigh for a portion. For the wave breast and the "heave thigh have I taken of the children of Israel out of the "sacrifices of the peace offerings, and have given them to Aaron "the priest and unto his sons as a due for ever from the children of "Israel."

It is not certain that the "thigh" of Leviticus differs from the "shoulder" of Deut:, and the LXX translates both by βραχίων. The precise meaning of "the two cheeks and the maw" is not clear, the word "maw" being unusual and of doubtful significance. The word "sacrifice" in Deut: may include more than the "peace "offerings" of Leviticus. Where there is so much room for uncertainty, the "conflict" is hardly established definitely, and in any case the Deuteronomy rule professes to be given for a different set of circumstances.

(2) *Their residence.*

Num: xxxv provides that, in addition to the 6 cities of refuge, 42 cities are to be allotted to the Levites, with their suburbs "for "their cattle, and for their substance, and for all their beasts" (v: 3).

It is clear that the cities were to be scattered about the country, for the provision (v: 8) is "from the many ye shall take many; "and from the few ye shall take few: every one according to his "inheritance which he inheriteth shall give of his cities unto the "Levites";—i.e. the Levitical cities were to be allotted in proportion to the number of cities in the tribal territory.

When then it is said in Deut: xviii. 6, "If a Levite come from "any of thy gates [lit: 'from one of thy gates'] out of all Israel "where he sojourneth," it need not necessarily mean more than that the Levite has chosen to migrate from one of the Levitical cities to the Central Sanctuary. But if it is urged that "any of "thy gates out of all Israel" must include cities that were not Levitical, then (a) it does not follow that, because 48 cities were allotted to the Levites, they were therefore precluded from "sojourning" in others; (b) it is not certain that the 48 cities

were sufficient to accommodate the whole tribe, which (according to Num: iii. 39) numbered 22,000 males.

It is surely pressing the phrase "where he sojourneth" rather far to say that **"it implies that the Levite has no settled "residence,* but is a 'sojourner' in one or other of the "cities of Israel."** In Jud: xix. 1 it is said, "there was a certain "Levite sojourning on the farther side of the hill country of Eph-"raim"; yet he was not devoid of a settled residence, for v: 29 says "when he was come into his house." At any rate, if Deut: xviii. 6 be taken to mean that some Levites had no settled residence, it certainly does not require that *all* Levites had none. Moreover v: 8 runs, "They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which "cometh of the sale of his patrimony." The migrating Levite was not only to be admitted to an equality of service (v: 7), but he was to have his full share of the sacrifices or tithes over and above what he had from "the sale of his patrimony," which implies that he had possessed property of some sort, and sold it in order to go to the Central Sanctuary. **"The terms of the "verse,"** says Prof. Driver (LOT. 83), **"are indeed entirely "compatible with the institution of the Levitical cities, "supposing it to have been imperfectly put in force; but "they fall strangely from one who, *ex hypothesi* had only "6 months previously assigned to the Levites permanent "dwelling places."** This assumes that the **"permanent "dwelling places"** were sufficient for all the Levites; that under no circumstances could a Levite sojourn elsewhere; and that "sojourn" could not be used of a Levite's residence in one of the Levitical cities. May not the word "sojourn" rather suggest that, wherever the Levite might ordinarily reside, his true home was "the place which the LORD shall choose"?

**"The same representation,"** Prof. Driver continues (ib:), **"recurs in other parts of Dt: the Levites are frequently "alluded to as scattered about the land, and are earnestly "commended to the Israelites' charity (xii. 12, 18, 19, xiv. 27, "29, xvi. 11, 14, xxvi. 11, 12, 13)."** If the 48 cities were in various parts of the country, and if moreover there were Levites living in other cities (the Levite of Jud: xvii. 7 "sojourned in Bethlehem though it was not a Levitical city), the Levites would be sufficiently **"scattered about"** to justify the phrase "the Levite that is "within thy gates," which is all that the passages referred to say about the matter. As to the Levite being **"earnestly com-"mended to the Israelite's charity,"** in half the passages he is associated with the Israelite's own family in the rejoicings at festivals. It is only in the passages relating to tithes (xiv. 29, xxvi. 11–

* Dr. Driver insists (BD. 218) that the verb *Goor* can only mean "tem-"porary residence." In view of the use of the noun,—*Ger*—for the **"resi-"dent foreigner"** (BE. 95) this seems doubtful.

13), in which the family would have no share, that the Levite is exclusively associated with the stranger and the fatherless. Are the families also commended to charity? It is true that in three of the passages the Levite is commended to the Israelite's generosity, (the word "**charity**" rather begs the question), because "he "hath no portion or inheritance with you," but that simply agrees with the representation in P (Num: xviii. 20, 24).

If a Christian preacher urges the laity to support the clergy, that does not imply that the clergy are totally unprovided for, but at most that sufficient provision is not made for all of them.

(G) *Firstlings of ox and sheep.* Deut: xv. 19–23 (cf: xii. 6, 17 f, xiv. 23); Num: xviii. 17 f.

(H) *Tithes.* Deut: xiv. 22–29; Lev: xxvii. 30–33; Num: xviii. 21–32.

**"Further Dt. xii. 6, 17 f, xv. 19 f, conflict with Nu. xviii. 18. "In Nu. the firstlings of oxen and sheep are assigned ex- "pressly and absolutely to the *priest*; in Dt. they are to be "eaten by *the owner himself* at the central sanctuary."**

With this may be taken the closely allied subject of the tithes:—

**"Lastly, the law of tithes in Dt. is in conflict with that of P "on the same subject. In Nu. xviii. 21–24, the tithes—viz. "both animal and vegetable alike (Lev. xxvii. 30–32)—are "definitely assigned to the Levites, who in their turn pay "a tenth to the priests (Nu. xviii. 26–28): in Dt. there "appears to be no injunction respecting the tithes of animal "produce; but the reservation of a tithe of vegetable pro- "duce (xii. 17 f, xiv. 22 f) is enjoined, which is to be con- "sumed by the offerer, like the firstlings, at a sacrificial "feast, in which the Levite shares only in company with "others as the recipient of a charitable benevolence. A "large proportion, therefore, of what is assigned in Nu. "to the Levites remains implicitly the property of the lay "Israelite in Dt."** LOT. 83.

In Deut: xii there are three passages (vv: 6, 7; 11, 12; 17, 18) affecting tithes and firstlings. They are evidently closely connected, and in none of them do tithes and firstlings stand alone. In vv: 6, 7, both are associated with burnt offerings, sacrifices, heave offering, vows, and freewill offerings;—in vv: 11, 12, tithes (not firstlings) are associated with burnt offerings, heave offering, and choice vows;—in vv: 17, 18 both are associated with vows, freewill offerings, and heave offering. All three passages lay special emphasis on the duty of bringing all offerings to "the place "which the LORD your God shall choose," and on "ye shall rejoice." It is not so with the eating. Vv: 6, 7, say "Ye shall eat," without specifying what;—vv: 11, 12 do not mention eating at all;—vv: 17, 18 say "Ye shall eat them." Unless, therefore, it is contended

that the whole of the various offerings (including the burnt offerings) were to be eaten by the offerer, it is not unreasonable to conclude that "ye shall eat them" in v: 18 means the same as "Ye shall "eat" in v: 7, viz: such things as are prescribed to be eaten.

These passages, then, afford no clear evidence as to the consumption of tithes and firstlings.

What then of cc: xiv, xv?

xiv. 22, 23, "Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, "that which cometh forth of thy field year by year. And thou "shalt eat before the LORD thy God, in the place which he shall "choose to cause his name to dwell there, the tithe of thy corn, "of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the firstlings of thy herd and "of thy flock."

xv. 19, 20, "All the firstling males that are born of thy herd "and of thy flock, thou shalt sanctify unto the LORD thy God: "thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thine ox, nor shear "the firstling of thy flock. Thou shalt eat it before the LORD thy "God year by year in the place which the LORD thy God shall "choose, thou and thy household."

It will be noticed that, if construed strictly, these passages assign the whole of the tithe and firstlings to the owner and his household, the Levite being not even mentioned, whereas in xii. 17, 18 a share in both is expressly assigned to the Levite. Are then these injunctions inconsistent? Do the provisions of cc: xiv, xv belong to yet another code in which the Levite is altogether ignored?

Nor is this all. For whereas in xii. 17, 18 a share of the tithe is allowed to the Levite, and in xiv. 23 the owner is to eat it, without mention of the Levite, in xxvi. 12–14 it is all to be given away, and the *owner* has no share.

"When thou hast made an end of tithing all the tithe of thine "increase," (there is no limitation to vegetable produce here), "in the third year, which is the year of tithing, then thou shalt "give it unto the Levite, to the stranger, to the fatherless, and to "the widow, that they may eat within thy gates and be filled; "and thou shalt say before the LORD thy God, I have put away "the hallowed things out of mine house, and have given them unto "the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the "widow."

Is it not evident that these varying provisions cannot be the formal rules of a precise code, to be interpreted to the letter? They are popular instructions, addressed to the people in general, referring to a matter already well known and familiar, in which established usage would provide a solution of the seeming inconsistencies.

When, too, it is observed that all firstlings were to be sanctified "unto the LORD thy God," and no use to be made of them (xv. 19);

and that the tithes (or a considerable portion of them) were to be given to the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, as "hallowed things" (xxvi. 13), we cannot but pronounce the phrase **"remains implicitly the property of the lay Israelite"** somewhat misleading. The main principle is that the tithes and firstlings were consecrated, and that agrees with the teaching in P (Lev: xxvii. 30).

Still, the provisions in Deut: xii, xiv, xv, xxvi, taken together, do give to the owner, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, a share in the firstlings and tithes which in Numbers are entirely assigned to the priests and Levites. Does this prove that the two sets of regulations cannot have come from the same legislator?

"**It is held then,**" says Prof. Driver (LOT. 83, 84), "**that these "differences of detail between the laws of Dt. and those "of P are greater than could arise were the legislator the "same in both, and that they can only be explained by the "supposition that the two systems of law represent the "usage of two distinct periods of the nation's life.**"

The two sets of regulations do indeed refer to "**the usage of "two distinct periods of the nation's life,**" for one set professes to have been given to suit the conditions of life in the Wilderness; the other to suit the altered conditions in the Promised Land. And it is important to notice that the rules about firstlings and tithes in Deut: xii. occur in close connection with the passage (Deut: xii. 8, 9) which professes to give for the Promised Land a rule *different* from that which prevailed in the Wilderness.

Now, in the Wilderness tithes of vegetable produce would be out of the question. The only possible tithes would be of the flocks and herds, and that on a comparatively limited quantity. The conquest of Canaan would largely increase this source of wealth, besides the accession of the whole of the tithes on corn, wine, oil, and fruit. Might not the legislator foresee (even as regards mere human foresight) that all of this would not be needed for the support of the Levites? In the Wilderness the whole of the cattle tithe was needed, and that is what we find assigned to them in Num: xviii. 21–32, which accounts for the statement that the "heave offering" of the tithe should be reckoned "as though it were the corn of the threshing floor, and as the fullness of "the winepress" (vv: 27, 30). But out of the abundance of "the land which floweth with milk and honey," it would be sufficient to allot to the Levites a share, (may not that be the "heave offering" associated with tithes in Deut: xii. 6, 11, 17), part of the remainder to be eaten by the owner "**at a sacrificial "feast,**" and part to be given to the stranger, fatherless, and widow.

This would be in accordance with the command of Lev: xxvii. 30–33 that *all* the tithe was to be "holy unto the Lord," and it is

to be noted that in this passage, dealing with tithes of *both* field and cattle, nothing whatever is said about assigning them to the Levites. Also, this view would account for the emphasis on vegetable produce in Deut: and for the injunction to "put away the hallowed things" in Deut: xxvi. 13. In Leviticus the general principle is laid down; in Numbers the whole of the scanty cattle tithe, and the firstlings, are given to the Levites; in Deuteronomy, dealing with the large tithes of all sorts, the Levite is given his share, but the remainder is not left **"the property of the lay Israelite,"** being "sanctified "unto the LORD" for sacrificial feasting and for distribution to the poor.

On this view, instead of the provisions of P being a narrowing of those in D, the regulations of D are a relaxation of the more stringent regulations needed in the scarcity of the wilderness, and that in the direction of generous mercy.

Otherwise, consider what the priestly author is supposed to have done. On the critical theory, the Levites had been entitled to perform all priestly offices, and their right to do so had been accepted as Divine law at least from the time of Josiah. The laity, too, had been entitled to a considerable share in the tithes and firstlings. In or after the Exile, a priestly writer considers that a **"sharp "distinction"** is to be drawn between the priests and the Levites, and that the whole of the tithes and firstlings should be reserved for the Levites. Accordingly he inserts provisions to this effect in his account of the Law, But where? *Before* the Deuteronomic provisions, accepted as Moses' final legislation, so that the rules he wishes to enforce would actually appear to be repealed by those he wishes to supersede! Is this credible?

On the traditional view, the Levites by the laws of Deuteronomy would have lost no part of their privileges, and would have exchanged the whole of a small revenue for an ample share in a large one. The laity (at least the poorer part) would have gained a portion of the Levitical revenues, and lost nothing. All this, too, would have been enacted by Moses who was (they had good reason to believe) invested with Divine authority.

On the critical view, by the P code the Levites gained in revenue, but lost all their priestly privileges. The laity lost a considerable revenue, and gained nothing. This on the authority of a code claiming to be Mosaic, but inconsistent with that which had been accepted as Mosaic for nearly two centuries; and containing laws said to be given at an earlier period than, and therefore abrogated by, the laws of D.

Yet the Levites had to give way, and the laity accepted the change with enthusiasm.

*Credat—Criticus.*

# XX.

## RELATIONS OF P AND H.

It is asserted that in Lev: xvii–xxvi we have "**a group of chapters "which stand by themselves in P. While in general form "and scope appertaining to P, they differ from the main "body of P by the presence of a *foreign element*, which "manifests itself partly in the style and phraseology, partly "in the motives which have become prominent.**" LOT. 47.

This group is known as H, the "Law of Holiness."

To this general statement, it will be enough at present to oppose one consideration. According to the critics, a considerable part of cc: xxiii–xxv is due to P, besides traces of P in other chapters. Take, for instance, c: xxv analysed thus :—

1, $2^a$, P ; $2^b$–$9^a$, H ; $9^b$, P ; $10^a$, H ; $10^b$–12, P ; 13–15, H ; 16, P ; 17–22, H ; 23, P ; 24, 25, H ; 26–34, P ; 35–$40^a$, H ; $40^b$–42, P ; 43, H ; 44–46, P ; 47, H ; 48–52, P ; 53, H ; 54, P ; 55, H.

Here we have a long section, dealing with (at most) two subjects, in which the characteristics alleged to mark H and P alternate with great frequency. Now this may mean (as the critics assert) that H has been "**interwoven with elements derived from P**" (LOT. 48), but, looked at simply as evidence, it may just as well mean that both sets of characteristics belong to one writer, in which case the whole argument from difference of style, phraseology, and motive falls to the ground.

Moreover, the so-called H characteristics appear elsewhere in P. In three widely separated P passages,—Exod: xxxi. 13, $14^a$ ; Lev: xi. 43–45 ; Num: xv. 37–41,—these characteristics are found. Hence the critics deduce that these also are excerpts from H embedded in P, but they might just as well be put forward as evidence that P uses the H characteristics.

We pass on to more specific arguments for separating H from P.

"**That these chapters of Leviticus are rightly treated as "containing an independent body of laws appears not merely "from the distinctive character thus belonging to them, "but, further, from the somewhat miscellaneous nature "of their contents (as compared with Lev. i–xvi. 27), from the "recurrence in them of subjects that have been dealt with "before, not only in Ex. xx–xxiii, but also in P (comp. xvii.**

**" 10–14 and vii. 26 f; xix. 6–8 and vii. 15–18; xx. 25 and c: " xi), and from the fact that they open with instructions " respecting the place of sacrifice, and close with a parenetic " exhortation exactly in the manner of the two other Penta- " teuchal Codes, the ' Book of the Covenant ' (Ex. xx. 24–26; " xxiii. 20 ff) and the code in Deuteronomy (Dt. xii and " xxviii)."** LOT. 48.

Here, then, are four grounds for regarding these ten chapters as **" containing an independent body of laws,"** viz: (a) distinctive character; (b) miscellaneous contents; (c) recurrence of subjects already dealt with; (d) character of commencement and ending.

(a) *Distinctive character.*

**" The principle which determines most conspicuously " the character of the entire section is that of *holiness*—partly " ceremonial, partly moral,—as a quality distinguishing " Israel, demanded of Israel by Jehovah (xix. 2; xx. 7, 8, " 26; xxi. 6–8, 15, 23; xxii. 9, 16, 32), and regulating the " Israelite's life."** LOT. 48.

It will be noticed that the references here given are from four consecutive chapters (xix–xxii) out of ten, less than half of the section. Cc: xvii, xviii, xxiii–xxvi have no such **" distinctive " character "**; and this is especially remarkable in c: xxvi. 3–45, the **" hortatory conclusion "** which is said to express **" the " ideas and principles peculiar to the Law of Holiness "** (LOT. 58). It can hardly be said, therefore, that the **" distinctive " character "** of the **" entire section "** is established.

(b) *Miscellaneous contents.*

Apparently the argument is—Cc: i–xvi are not miscellaneous, but systematic; cc: xvii–xxvi are somewhat miscellaneous, therefore the latter contain an **" independent body of laws."**

Actually, cc: xvii–xxvi are not, with the exception of c: xix, so very miscellaneous. C: xvii deals with the sacrificing and eating of animals; xviii, unlawful marriages and unchastity; Molech worship: xx, penalties for offences specified in xviii; xxi, xxii, regulations touching priests and offerings (under 5 main heads); xxiii, calendar of sacred seasons; xxiv, the lamps in the Tabernacle, and the shewbread; laws on blasphemy and personal injury; xxv, the Sabbatic Year and the Jubile; xxvi (mainly) hortatory conclusion. These summaries (abridged from Prof. Driver, see LOT. 50–58) do not convey the idea of much want of system. But even if they were more miscellaneous, is it altogether unheard of that a systematic code should have a miscellaneous appendix added to it? Do not some Acts of Parliament exhibit similar phenomena?

Also Exod: xxi, xxii in JE and Deut: xxii–xxiv are as miscellaneous as Lev: xix, yet they are not therefore considered independent bodies of law.

(c) *Recurrence of subjects already dealt with.*

Prof. Driver notes (LOT. 59, and footnote) that in H itself "**there are several repetitions,**" [note] "**xix. 3, 20–xxvi. 2; "xxi. 4–xxvi. 1; xix. 9–xxiii. 22; xix. 31–xx. 6.**" Yet he sees in this, not an indication of an independent body of laws, but only one of the evidences that this "**collection of laws is not pre-"served in its original integrity**" (p: 58). Further, in the above list of repetitions no notice is taken of the remarkable similarity between c: xviii and c: xx concerning which Prof. Driver remarks (LOT. 53), "**the two lists have many features in "common; and they may well have been drawn up by the "same scribe.**" So the recurrence of a few subjects dealt with in P, (and one of these a single verse, xx. 25, merely alluding to the contents of a whole chapter, xi), is to prove that H is an independent body of laws, while the strong similarity between cc: xviii, xx is only to show that "**they may well have been drawn up "by the same scribe.**"

(d) *Character of commencement and ending.*

It is asserted that H is like the codes in JE and D in opening with "**instructions respecting the place of sacrifice,**" and closing with a "**parenetic exhortation**"; and therefore must be "**an "independent body of laws.**"

But it is not accurate to say that the "codes" in JE and D begin with those instructions. Both "codes" begin (after the Decalogue which is the true commencement of each) with a prohibition of idolatry;—Exod: xx. 22, 23; Deut: xii. 2, 3.

On the other hand, the instructions concerning the place of sacrifice at the commencement of Lev: xvii follow naturally on cc: i–xvi, which contain so much about sacrifices, and particularly on c: xvi, which prescribes the solemnities of the Day of Atonement. Instead of being a mark of the commencement of a different set of laws, this might fairly be regarded as a continuation of the preceding section. Also the critics themselves assert that "**this "collection of laws is not preserved in its original integrity**" (LOT. 58), and therefore it is by no means certain that c: xvii is a commencement of any kind.

The "**parenetic exhortation**" of c: xxvi does resemble those in Exod: xxiii. 20–33, Deut: xxviii, but at the most this would only prove that it forms the close of some body of laws, not that it is independent of cc: i–xvi.

It may be reasonably argued that the "**editorial title,**" xvii. 1,—"And the LORD spake unto Moses saying,"—which recurs in all the other chapters of the group except xxvi, is a real link with cc: i–xvi, where it commences about half the chapters, besides occurring several times in the middle of chapters. The critics indeed assert that its presence in this group is due to the priestly compiler $R^P$, but this is mere guess work. *If* the critical theory that H was originally a separate document be correct, then it might be

surmised that this (and a good many other P characteristics) was inserted by the compiler. Even then it would only be a surmise, as there is nothing whatever to show that this phrase (and the others) was not part of the original document. In the absence of any evidence to show that these are later insertions, the P characteristics throughout the book tend to show that it is all by one author, in which case the "**parenetic exhortation**" is the close, not of the small group of ten chapters, but of the whole twenty-six.

The resemblance of the three exhortations, Exod: xxiii. 20–33, Lev: xxvi, Deut: xxviii, might fairly be adduced as evidence that they are all due to the same author ; while the fact that they show a distinct but regular progression, (that in Exodus being the shortest and simplest, while that in Deuteronomy is the longest and most elaborate), suggests that they are placed in the true order.

In a footnote on p: 58 of LOT it is further alleged that when H "**is compared carefully with P, differences of standpoint** "**disclose themselves.**" The instances given in support of this are four :—

(1) "**H seems not to recognize the distinction of 'Holy'** "**and 'Most holy.'**"

Simply because the critics have cut out of H, and assigned to P, xxi. 22[b] and xxiv. 9 which do recognize the distinction.

(2) "**It mentions *'Olah*** [burnt offering] **and *Zebach*** [sacrifice] "**but not *Chata'ath*** [sin offering] **nor *Asham*** [trespass offering]."

Here again *Chata'ath* does occur in xxiii. 19, but is alleged to be part of an interpolation.

But if neither of these words are found in H, what of that ? If H were anything like a complete manual of sacrifice, the omission of the sin and trespass offerings would be significant : whereas H deals very little with sacrifice and (once more) "**is not preserved** "**in its original integrity.**" The argument from silence becomes most precarious when there are only fragments to argue from.

(3)* "**the hierarchical system, especially in what concerns** "**the distinctive pre-eminence of the high priest, is not** "**so fully developed as in P.**"

xxi. 10–15, as it stands, does refer to the high priest, but is alleged to have been interpolated by $R^P$. Apart from this passage, the instructions concerning priests (xxi. 1–xxii. 16) are general, and do not call for any notice of the distinction. Also, if the writer of these chapters was the writer of cc: viii and xvi he would have no need to repeat himself.

(4) "**It** [H] **forbids** (**what P allows**) **the slaughter of**

* This instance is the 4th given by Dr. Driver, but is here taken out of order as only needing shorter treatment

**"domestic animals for food, without a sacrifice at the "central sanctuary."**

In commenting on Lev: xvii. 1–7 (H) Prof. Driver says, **"The "law is not strictly consistent with P (Lev. vii. 22–27) the "slaughtering of animals for food is freely permitted, the "only restriction being that their fat and blood are not to be "eaten."** LOT. 51.

Lev: vii. 22–27, "And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, "Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Ye shall eat no fat "of ox, or sheep, or goat. And the fat of that which dieth of itself, "and the fat of that which is torn of beasts, may be used for any "other service: but ye shall in no wise eat of it. For whosoever "eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer an offering made by "fire unto the LORD, even the soul that eateth it shall be cut off "from his people. And ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether "it be of fowl, or of beast, in any of your dwellings. Whosoever "it be that eateth any blood, that soul shall be cut off from his "people."

Here is a very stringent prohibition against eating (1) the fat of ox, sheep, or goat, even of those dying a natural death, or killed by wild beasts; (2) the blood of any animal whatsoever. Slaughtering for food is not mentioned. It is not prohibited, but it can hardly be said to be **"freely permitted."** Certainly no direct permission to slaughter for food without a sacrifice is given. Is it taken for granted? Does the prohibition to eat fat or blood, without any other restriction being mentioned, imply that the people were at liberty to kill and eat as they pleased, provide *only* that they did not touch the fat or the blood?

If the passage stood quite alone, that would be rather a large inference from silence. But it does not stand alone: it is preceded and followed by directions concerning the peace offerings, in which the offerer had a share of the flesh. Those directions contain instructions as to sprinkling the blood, burning the fat, and eating the flesh. It is only reasonable to read the intervening passage as referring to the sacrificial context, especially as the only animals mentioned are sacrificial animals, and there is a pointed reference to sacrifice in v: 25 ("of which men offer an offering made by "fire unto the LORD"). The whole reference would then be to animals killed for sacrifice, not slaughtered for food.

The prohibition to eat the fat of animals dying a natural death, or torn by wild beasts is limited to the sacrificial animals, but the prohibition to eat blood is extended to all kinds of animals including birds. This suggests that there might be animals and birds whose fat, not being used for sacrifice, might be eaten, but the blood in no case.

Lev: xvii. 1–7, ". . . This is the thing which the LORD hath "commanded, saying, What man soever there be of the house of

"Israel that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat, in the camp, or that "killeth it without the camp, and hath not brought it unto the "door of the tent of meeting to offer it as an oblation unto the "LORD before the tabernacle of the LORD: blood shall be imputed "unto that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be "cut off from among his people: to the end that the children of "Israel may bring their sacrifices, which they sacrifice in the open "field, even that they may bring them unto the LORD, unto the "door of the tent of meeting, unto the priest, and sacrifice them "for sacrifices of peace offerings unto the LORD. And the priest "shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar of the LORD at the door "of the tent of meeting, and burn the fat for a sweet savour unto "the LORD. And they shall no more sacrifice their sacrifices unto "the he-goats [marg: *satyrs*] after whom they go a-whoring."

Vv: 8, 9 extend these injunctions to the "stranger";—vv: 10–12 repeat the prohibition to eat blood, which is extended (13, 14) to the blood of "any beast or fowl that may be eaten," taken in hunting; vv: 15, 16 enjoin that those who eat of animals dying a natural death, or torn by wild beasts, shall be "unclean till the "even."

Here there is a stringent prohibition against killing ox, lamb, or goat, inside the camp or outside, except at the door of the Tent of Meeting, and as a sacrifice unto the LORD. It is expressly stated that this is to prevent the Israelites from offering sacrifices in the "open field," and to "satyrs." Here again the passage is throughout dealing with sacrifice, and the slaughtering for food is not mentioned.

The question then arises, Were the sacrificial animals (ox, sheep, and goat) ever killed simply for food in the wilderness? Were they ever killed except in sacrifice? Nowhere is there a hint that they were killed for food: on the contrary there is great probability that they were not so used. During the Wanderings, the Israelites would have every inducement to keep their flocks and herds as far as possible intact. Their complaint, "Who shall give us flesh to "eat? . . . we have nought save this manna to look to," (Num: xi. 4, 6) points to a deprivation of animal food: Moses' objection, "Thou hast said, I will give them flesh, that they may eat a whole "month. Shall flocks and herds be slain for them, to suffice "them?" points to the insufficiency of the cattle as a food supply for even a short period (Num: xi. 21, 22). There is good reason for believing that these animals were reserved for sacrifice alone.

Lev: xvii recognizes that sometimes they had been sacrificed in the "open field" and to "satyrs," and forbids the practice; c: vii forbids the eating of their fat, whether sacrificed, dying a natural death, or torn by wild beasts. Neither passage says anything about slaughtering for food. Is it quite fair to import

into these passages what is not even alluded to, and thus make out that one forbids what the other allows?

Further light is thrown on the subject by Deuteronomy, xii. 15, 16 (and it is to be remembered that again this is the chapter giving rules that differ from those of the Wilderness, vv: 8–11),—"Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh within all thy "gates, after all the desire of thy soul, according to the blessing "of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee: the unclean "and the clean may eat thereof, as of the gazelle, and as of the "hart. Only ye shall not eat of the blood; thou shalt pour it "out upon the earth as water."

The word "notwithstanding" refers to the preceding injunction that burnt offerings must only be offered "in the place which the "LORD shall choose." Here, then, the killing of animals for food is permitted anywhere, unconnected with sacrifice, and the flesh, unlike that of a sacrifice, may be eaten by "unclean" as well as "clean"; and freely, "as of the gazelle, and as of the hart," (i.e. the wild animals taken "in hunting" of Lev: xvii. 13, 14), but with the same prohibition against the blood, which (not being in these cases offered on the altar) is to be poured on the ground.

If then the sacrificial animals were not slaughtered for food in the Wilderness all becomes plain.

In the Wilderness the animal food of the Israelites would be restricted to

(1) their share of the flesh (but not the fat) of animals offered in sacrifice, eaten by the ceremonially clean alone;—

(2) the flesh (but not the fat) of sacrificial animals dying a natural death, or torn by wild beasts. The latter would be a contravention of Exod: xxii. 31 and Lev: xi. 40, and either entailed a penalty of a day's uncleanness "till the even";—*

(3) the flesh and fat of birds and animals taken in hunting, such as the gazelle and the hart.

In the Promised Land, where there would be no need for jealously preserving their cattle, they were permitted to kill the sacrificial animals for food as freely as the wild animals of the desert.

Whereas, on the critical theory, D first permits freely the "**slaughtering for food**"; H forbids it; P, later on, freely permits it again; and, as if all this inconsistency were not enough, $R^P$ puts all three together as parts of one and the same Law. What a simpleton!

It is submitted that none of the reasons given for separating H from P are of any real weight. But if H and P are not distinct, then parallels with H are in fact parallels with P, and the argument

* Since Lev: vii. 24 seems to contemplate that the flesh of these animals might be eaten by some, does not this rather imply that the people had not free liberty of "**slaughtering for food**"?

that D is "**parallel to H,**" but not to P becomes of no value. Also, when the 10 chapters of H are set aside, nearly the whole of the remaining P legislation is concerned with priestly duties which would not call for notice in discourses addressed to the laity. Therefore the silence of D about a great part of the P laws has no significance, except that it is just what might be expected if Deuteronomy is what it professes to be.

# XXI.

## EZEKIEL AND P.

One piece of evidence remains to be considered, and one on which the critics lay considerable stress.

"**P appears at least in some of its elements, to be later "than *Ezekiel*. The arguments are supplied chiefly by c. "xl–xlviii, where Ez. prescribes the constitution of the "restored community, and in particular regulates with some "minuteness the details of the Temple worship. The most "important is xliv. 6–16. Here the Israelites are rebuked "for having admitted foreigners, uncircumcised aliens, into "the inner Court of the Temple to assist the priest when "officiating at the altar (vv. 6–8); and it is laid down that "no such foreigners are to perform these services for the "future (v. 9)—**

"10. But the Levites that went far from me, when Israel went "astray, which went astray from me after their idols; they shall "bear their iniquity. 11. And they shall be ministers in my sanc-"tuary, having oversight at the gates of the house, and ministering "in the house; they shall slay the burnt offering and the sacrifice "for the people, and they shall stand before them [**see p. 83, "*note***] to minister unto them. . . . 13. And they shall not come "near unto me to execute the office of priest unto me, nor to come "near unto any of my holy things, unto the things that are most "holy: but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations "which they have committed. 14. Yet will I make them keepers "of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all "that shall be done therein. 15. But the priests the Levites, the "sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the "children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to "minister unto me; and they shall stand before me [***see ib.***] "to offer unto me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord Jehovah: "16. They shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near "to my table, to minister unto me, and they shall keep my charge. "(v. **10–16: cf. xlviii. 11**).

"**From this passage it seems to follow incontrovertibly "that the Levites generally had heretofore (in direct conflict "with the provisions of P) *enjoyed priestly rights* (v. 13):**

**"for the future, however, such as had participated in the "idolatrous worship of the high places are to be deprived "of these rights, and condemned to perform the menial "offices which had hitherto been performed by foreigners "(v. 10 f, 14); only those Levites who had been faithful in "their loyalty to Jehovah, viz: the sons of Zadok, are hence-"forth to retain priestly privileges (v. 15 f). Had the Levites "not enjoyed such rights, the prohibition in v. 13 would be "superfluous. . . . If Ez. then, treats the Levites generally "as qualified to act as priests, and degrades them to a menial "rank, without so much as a hint that this degradation was "but the restoration of a *status quo* fixed by immemorial "Mosaic custom, could he have been acquainted with the "legislation of P ?"** LOT. 139, 140.

In this extract there are several phrases open to objection as not fairly representing the evidence.

(a) **"c. xl–xlviii where Ez. prescribes the constitution of "the restored community."**

The whole section is of the nature of a vision:—**"Ezek. is "brought in a vision to Jerusalem, where he sees the Temple "rebuilt. He describes at length its structure and arrange-"ments; and lays down directions respecting its services "and ministers, and the distribution of the reoccupied "territory."** LOT. 292.

The commencement of the section is, "In the visions of God "brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me down upon a "very high mountain, whereon was as it were the frame of a city "on the south" (c: xl. 2). There is no mention of Jerusalem throughout. There is a minute description of "the house" with very precise measurements. There is also a good deal about "the prince"; about a new division of the land among the tribes; and about a river of healing waters to issue from the "threshold "of the house." It is not too much to say that none of all this corresponds in the remotest degree with what actually took place at the return from the Exile. Even of the short passage about the Levites (xliv. 6–16, eleven verses out of 260) it cannot be said that it agrees with what actually occurred:—**"As it proved, "however, the event did not altogether accord with Ez's "declaration; the descendants of Ithamar succeeded in "maintaining their right to officiate as priests, by the side "of the sons of Zadok"** (LOT. 155). If it really was Ezekiel's intention to lay down directions to be followed by the returned Exiles, it can only be said that those directions were very completely disregarded.

Can this vision, never yet realized, be rightly described as prescribing **"the constitution of the restored community"**?

(b) **"the Israelites are rebuked for having admitted**

**"foreigners, uncircumcised aliens, into the inner Court of "the Temple to assist the priest when officiating at the "altar (v. 6–8)."**

Vv: 6–8, "And thou shalt say to the rebellious, even to the house "of Israel, Thus saith the Lord GOD: O ye house of Israel, let "it suffice you of all your abominations, in that ye have brought "in aliens, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, to "be in my sanctuary, to profane it, even my house, when ye offer "my bread, the fat and the blood, and they have broken my "covenant, *to add* unto all your abominations. And ye have "not kept the charge of mine holy things: but ye have set keepers "of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves."

The accusation is that the Israelites had brought in aliens into the sanctuary (*Mikdash*, not necessarily **"the inner Court of "the Temple"**) while the sacrifices were being offered; and also that the Israelites had not kept the charge of the holy things, but had substituted keepers of their own choosing. These arbitrarily chosen keepers probably are the "aliens" just referred to, but nothing whatever is said of their assisting **"the priest when "officiating at the altar."** It is the admission of aliens into the sanctuary at all that is denounced as the crowning abomination and accordingly the prohibition that follows (v: 9) is "Thus saith "the Lord GOD, No alien, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised "in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any alien that is among "the children of Israel." To be thus denounced as an abomination, the admission of aliens into the sanctuary must have been the breach of a well known sacred law, and that law is only found in the P Code, Num: xviii. 4, 5.

(c) **"It is laid down that no such foreigners are to perform "these services for the future (v. 9)."**

As shown above, v: 9 prohibits the entry of aliens into the sanctuary, and says nothing whatever about **"these services."**

(d) **"such as had participated in the idolatrous worship "of the high places."**

There is no mention whatever of the **"high places,"** and the charge brought against the Levites is a perfectly general one of idolatry. V: 12 (which Dr. Driver has not included in his quotation) says, "Because they [the Levites] ministered unto them [the "people] before their idols, and become a stumbling-block of "iniquity unto the house of Israel; therefore have I lifted up mine "hand against them, saith the Lord GOD, and they shall bear the "iniquity." And we know from Ezekiel that in his time (as in Josiah's time) there was much actual idolatry in Jerusalem, even in the Temple precincts.

(e) **"condemned to perform the menial offices which "had hitherto been performed by foreigners."**

It has already been shown that it is not positively stated that

*any* offices were performed by foreigners. It is therefore going beyond the evidence to assert that the idolatrous Levites were condemned to perform offices **"hitherto performed by foreigners."** Nor were the services imposed on them merely **"menial."** They included the slaying of "the burnt offering and the sacrifice "for the people," as well as "the charge of the house, for all the "service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein."

There is nothing to show that all this **"had hitherto been "performed by foreigners."**

In all these five sentences more has been read into the text than is at all warranted, but the crucial point of all is the assertion, **"From this passage it seems to follow incontrovertibly "that the Levites generally had heretofore . . . *enjoyed* "*priestly rights*."**

Here everything turns on the question, Who are meant by "the "Levites" in v: 10.

Ezekiel draws a marked distinction between "the Levites" and "the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok," on the ground that the former "went far from me, when Israel went astray," whereas the latter "kept the charge of my sanctuary." The same distinction is found in xlviii. 11, "the priests that are sanctified "of the sons of Zadok, which have kept my charge; which went not "astray when the children of Israel went astray, as the Levites "went astray."

What was the going astray is clear from the rest of xliv. 10, "when Israel went astray, which went astray from me, after "their idols"; and from v: 12 which charges the Levites with ministering "before their idols."

"The Levites," then, had fallen into idolatry: the sons of Zadok had not.

The critics take it for granted that "the Levites" must mean **"the Levites generally,"** i.e. the whole tribe except the sons of Zadok; and on this assumption their entire argument depends. But it would be quite fair to argue that, since Ezekiel is clearly conveying a sentence of deprivation of priestly rights, his term "the Levites" need not necessarily include the whole tribe, but only those Levites who had previously enjoyed those rights;—that the specification of priestly privileges restricts the general term "the Levites," instead of the general term extending the priestly privilege to the whole tribe. On this view, it would not be the whole tribe of Levi that had fallen into idolatry, but only those who had already enjoyed priestly rights, i.e. the priestly families with the exception of the Zadokites. It is surely more reasonable to believe that one section of the tribe, and not the whole tribe, is charged with idolatry. Also, if "the Levites" must mean *all* the Levites, then Israel ("when Israel went astray")

must mean the whole people. Are we to believe that there were absolutely none faithful in all the nation but the one family of Zadok ?

Moreover, the critical theory would require us to believe that Ezekiel was degrading nearly the whole of a tribe from priestly privileges to performing the **" menial offices which had hitherto " been performed by foreigners "** : the other view is that he was only sentencing part of the priestly family to perform services hitherto performed by Levites. Which view is the more reasonable ?

If it be asked, Why should Ezekiel, if the culprits were really priests, call them only " the Levites " ? the answer is not far to seek : he had good reason for so doing. By their idolatry these men had forfeited their priestly rights, and he was conveying the sentence of their degradation from the priestly to the Levitical status. That sentence, pronounced by the supreme Judge, was already effective, and the messenger could no longer give to the degraded men the title which had been taken from them : he could only use the tribal name which was still theirs. They were no longer priests, but only " the Levites."

The critical theory requires that the **" menial offices "** of the sanctuary had up to this time been performed by foreigners ;—that Ezekiel was prescribing **" the constitution of the restored " community "** ;—that the whole of the tribe of Levi, except one family, had fallen into idolatry ;—that therefore Ezekiel degraded all these from being priests to perform those **" menial " offices "** ; and that only in this way began the distinction between priests and Levites, afterwards ascribed by P to Mosaic legislation.

How far all this is justified by the evidence must be left to the reader to decide.

# XXII.

## THE DECALOGUE.

It may have been noticed that in the consideration of the three "Codes" the Decalogue was not included. As the text stands, both in Exodus and Deuteronomy, it would naturally seem to be part of the laws, if not their actual basis and foundation. The critics are of a different opinion. They not only exclude the Ten Commandments from the "Book of the Covenant," but they seriously discuss the question of their probable age, and are divided as to their antiquity.

Dr. Driver discusses the question at length in a special appendix (BE. 413–417), and is inclined to consider the Decalogue "**in "its original form**" derived from Moses:—"**If these con- "clusions are sound, there will be no substantial difficulty "in referring most of the Commandments to the Mosaic "age**" (BE. 415). He certainly considers them ancient: "**the "Ten Commandments, which E incorporates, of course "existed already in a written form**" (LOT. 122). He even goes so far as to say that at least the substance was "**engraven "on the tables in the Ark**" (LOT. 33); though on this point he seems to have modified his opinion, for in his later work (BE. 192) he only ventures to say, "**At the time when E wrote, it was "believed traditionally to have been inscribed by Jehovah "on two tables of stone.**"

Dr. McNeile comes to a different conclusion:—"**Moses may "have taught some of the lessons enshrined in the decalogue, "but it is difficult to believe that he promulgated the Ten "Words**" (BEM. lxi);—"**The literary evidence suggests "that in its original form, without the expansions, it came "into being as a distinct code between E and the rise of the "Deuteronomic school, i.e. roughly speaking, between 750 "and 650 BC.**" (BEM. lxii).

Both writers speak of an "**original form**"; what was that? "**It is an old and probable conjecture (Ewald, *Hist.* ii. 159, "Di. *al.*) that the Commandments were originally all ex- "pressed in the same terse and simple form in which the "first, and the sixth to the ninth still appear, and that the**

**"explanatory comments appended in certain cases were "only added subsequently."** BE. 192.

This conjecture is partly founded on literary grounds, partly on the difference between Exod: xx and the parallel passage in Deut: v. 6–21, which **"purports (vv: 5, 22) to be a verbal quotation"** (BE. 192). As a good deal depends on the last assertion, that may be examined first.

Deut: v. 4, 5, "The LORD spake with you face to face . . . "saying,"—

22, "These words the LORD spake unto all your "assembly."

Do these verses mean that the intervening passage is a **"verbal "quotation"**? Dr. Driver notices that the insertion of "as "the LORD thy God commanded thee" in the Fourth and Fifth Commandments is **"not strictly appropriate in what purports "to be a *report* of the words spoken"** (LOT 34). Would it not be more accurate to say that these insertions show that this does *not* purport to be a *verbatim* report? By no possibility could they be part of the original utterance.

Dr. Driver mentions the **"most noticeable differences"** (BE. 192; LOT. 33), but not all the variations from the text in Exodus, which number 16 in all. Six of these consist of the omission or insertion of the letter *Vav* (="and"; omitted in Commts. ii, iv, x; inserted in the same three);—in three cases, words of nearly the same meaning have been substituted,—"ob-"serve" for "remember," Commt. iv; "idle" for "false" (not noticed in EVV), ix; "desire" for "covet," x;—besides the two insertions of "as the LORD thy God commanded thee" in iv and v, there are three short additions,—"thine ox nor thine ass nor any of," iv; "and that it may be well with thee," v; "his field," x;—in one instance, clauses have been transposed,—"wife" and "house," x;—and in one instance, the last part of iv, an altogether different clause has been substituted.

With the exception of the last, all these variations are just what might be expected in what Deuteronomy professes to be,—a spoken discourse, in which the speaker quotes from memory without attempting to be verbally precise.

The last part of Commt. iv, however, is different. In Exodus, the reason for keeping the Sabbath is, "for in six days the LORD "made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and "rested the seventh day; wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath "day, and hallowed it." The Divine example is cited for resting: the Divine sanction is claimed for consecrating the day.

In Deut: the sequel to the command is, "that thy manservant "and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt "remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and the "LORD thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand, and

" by a stretched out arm : therefore the LORD thy God commanded " thee to keep the sabbath day." This is not a reason for keeping the sabbath day themselves, but for extending the benefit to their bondservants. Also, the word " remember," displaced by " ob- " serve " at the commencement, is re-introduced, and " the LORD " thy God commanded thee " (which cannot belong to the original utterance) is emphatically repeated.

Now in many parts of Deuteronomy the people are reminded of the deliverance from Egypt ;—also consideration for the servant and the stranger is often enjoined. If, then, Deut: be really the report of an address in which the speaker is recapitulating the Commandments substantially but not verbally, is it not possible that here he digresses ? that he does not complete the quotation of Commt. iv, but glances off from the injunction to let the servant and the stranger rest in order to introduce the thought so often in his mind, the special reason the people had for treating their servants humanely ? That would be quite in keeping with the methods of an orator, and in keeping with the frequent digressions in Deuteronomy.

There is more to be said about the conclusion of Commt. iv in Exodus :—**" It presupposes Gen. i, and agrees largely in " expression with Ex. xxxi. 17$^{b}$, Gen. ii. 3$^{a}$ (both P). As it is " scarcely likely that the author of Dt. would have omitted " the verse, had it formed part of the Decalogue as he knew " it, it is probable that it was introduced into the text of Ex. " subsequently, on the basis of the passages of P just cited."** BE. 192.

As the " explanatory comments " are said to have **" strong " literary affinities "** with J, with the compiler of JE, and with D, (BE. 192), the critics present us with no less than *five* distinct literary styles in the short compass of 17 verses !

How was this curious patchwork arrived at ? Taking Dr. Driver's view (as being the more moderate) the process would be this ;—The commands in their **" original form "** were **" terse and " simple,"** e.g. the ivth was only " Remember the sabbath day to " keep it holy " (see LOT. 34). Most of them may be referred to the Mosaic age, and were extant in a written form before the time of E, who incorporated them in his history, somewhere about 750 B.C. Then between 570 and 650 the compiler of JE, or R$^{D}$, or both, (**" these parts are due, partly . . . to the compiler of JE, " and partly to a writer influenced by Dt."** BE. 192) added a **" prefatory sentence "** (" which brought thee out of the land of " Egypt, out of the house of bondage," v: 2), and explanatory comments to Commts. ii, iii, iv, v, and x. Somewhere about the later date, the **" author of Dt."** took over the Decalogue, so expanded, **" in what purports to be a verbal quotation,"** but, curiously enough, in so doing made sundry alterations, omitting or inserting

a conjunction, altering three words, and in one case transposing clauses: also, he inserted five short phrases (two of them such as could not be part of the original utterance), and added a fairly lengthy comment of his own to the already expanded Fourth Commandment. Finally, a century or two later, $R^P$ adds a verse to the Exodus version of Commt. iv without perceiving that he is giving an altogether **"different motive . . . for the observance"** (BE. 197) from that assigned by the already received account in D.

Apart from the alleged differences in style, the whole of this view depends on (1) the conjecture that the commands were originally **"terse and simple"**; (2) the assumption that the passage in D **"purports to be a verbal quotation"**; and (3) the tacit assumption that Deuteronomy was written, not spoken (**"the "author of Dt. is not likely to have omitted the verse had "it formed part of the Decalogue at the time when he wrote."** LOT. 35).

On the traditional view the **"strong literary affinites"** of Exod: xx. 1–17 with other parts of the Pentateuch are due to the whole being the work of an author skilful enough to vary his style on occasion;—the verbal alterations in Deuteronomy are due to their being part of an address in which the speaker was content with substantial accuracy, and did not aim at **"verbal quotation"**;—the short insertions (especially those emphasizing the command) are of the kind which such a speaker would naturally make;—the altered conclusion of Commt. iv is due to his intentionally introducing a topic which he had much at heart. Is this view so very unreasonable, or inconsistent with the evidence?

But, the critics urge, how can the Second Commandment, prohibiting images, be Mosaic, seeing that images were used till a much later period? **"Images were widely used by worshippers "of Jehovah till the days of the prophets."** BE. 194: **"It "is no doubt true that, especially in the N. Kingdom, images "of Yahweh were in very common use."** BE. 416: **"The "evidence, therefore, suggests that Yahweh was universally "worshipped in Israel with images till about the time of "Jeroboam II."** BEM. lxi.

The evidence adduced for these statements relate to four things:—

(1) *Pesilim:* (2) *Ephod:* (3) *Teraphim:* and (4) Jeroboam's **"golden bulls."**

(1) *Pesilim,* (graven images, the word used in the Second Commandment).

For the use of these, Dr. McNeile (BEM. lxi) refers to three passages: (a) Jud: iii. 19; (b) xviii. 30 f (cf: xvii. 13); (c) 2 Kgs: xxi. 7.

(a) Jud: iii. 19, "he himself [Ehud] turned back from the quarries "[*pesilim*; marg: *graven images*] that were by Gilgal."

**"The *pesilim* of Gilgal (Jud. iii. 19; cf. RVm) were probably (Moore) 'rude stone images.'"** BE. 415.

Even if these were images (which is not certain) they might well be of Canaanite origin; the Israelites are not said to have made any use of them; they are in no way connected with the worship of JEHOVAH.

(b) Jud: xviii. 30, 31, "And the children of Dan set up for "themselves the graven image: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, "the son of Moses,* he and his sons were priests to the tribe of "the Danites until the day of captivity of the land. So they set "them up Micah's graven image which he made, all the time that "the house of God was in Shiloh."

xvii. 13. "Then said Micah, Now know I that the LORD will "do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest."

**"Micah makes an image out of silver dedicated to Yahweh "by his mother; and the Danites afterwards set it up at "Dan, where it was served by a line of priests whose ancestry "was traced to Moses."** BE. 415.

Granting that this graven image was connected with the worship of JEHOVAH by Micah (xvii. 13), his mother (xvii. 3), the Levite (xviii. 6), and the Danites, does this show that their conduct was considered nothing unusual or blameworthy?

**"The original narrative is not intended to convey any "censure of Micah's action, but simply to give an account "of the origin of the cult of the Yahweh image at Dan."** BE. 415.

Just so. The incident is told as a matter of history: so are a good many other unpleasant incidents in the Old Testament. The drunkenness of Noah, the deceit of Jacob, the incest of Judah are narrated without censure. Were they considered undeserving of blame? This very narrative passes no censure on Micah's theft from his mother, or on the Danites' high-handed carrying off of Micah's property. Was the Eighth Commandment also unknown, and theft considered no crime? Is not the whole narrative an illustration of the indictment of xvii. 6, "every man did that which was right in his own eyes"? Does not the closing verse (xviii. 31) convey a hint of disapproval in contrasting the image worship at Dan with the "house of God" at Shiloh?

It is, at least, consistent with the evidence to regard this history of Micah's graven image as the narration of an abnormal incident which the historian does not stay to censure because it is so manifestly unjustifiable.

* If this Jonathan, grandson of Moses, is the Levite priest of vv: 3, 4, 15, 27, and therefore of c: xvii, what becomes of the assertion that the Levite was "of the family of Judah," and the inference that Levites might be men of any tribe (see p: 192)?

(c) 2 Kings xxi. 7, "he set the graven image of Asherah in the "house of which the LORD said . . ."

Who did? Manasseh, of whom this very chapter (vv: 3–6) says that he "reared up altars for Baal . . . made an *Asherah* . . . "made his son to pass through the fire . . . practised augury "and used enchantments . . . wrought much evil in the sight of "the LORD." Also, how can what Manasseh did be evidence of "what was the practice **"till the days of the prophets"** or **"till about the time of Jeroboam II"**?

(2) *Ephod.*

**"Whether, as is often thought, the 'ephod' mentioned in "Judges, Sam., and Hos. iii. 4 was an image is uncertain "(see p. 312 f.) but it reads very much as if an image were "meant by it in Jud. viii. 27."** BE. 415.

On pp: 312, 313, Dr. Driver has an excursus **"*On the Ephod*,"** in which he comes to the conclusion, **"On the whole, however, "it seems probable that in (b)"** [References to 1 Sam: ii. 28; xiv. 3, 18, *lxx*; xxi. 9; xxii. 18; xxiii. 6, 9; xxx. 7] **"and (d)"** [References to Jud: xvii. 5; xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20; Hos: iii. 4] **"the "ephod was a more decorated garment than the 'linen "'ephod' (a)** [Reference to that] worn by Samuel and David], **"worn at this time by the priest in his ordering ministra-"tions, and was one specially put on by him, as a mark of "respect, when consulting the oracle."** BE. 313. Dr. Driver mentions **"the cognate *aphuddah*, which clearly means the "gold *casing* of an image in Is. xxx. 22,"** but his conclusion is not affected by it.

There remains, therefore, the one passage Jud: viii. 27, "And "Gideon made an ephod thereof, and put it in his city, even in "Ophrah: and all Israel went a whoring after it there: and it "became a snare unto Gideon, and to his house." The previous verse mentions a large amount of gold,—earrings, crescents, and pendants,—but it also mentions "purple raiment." Quite possibly, then, the ephod here also may mean a highly **"decorated gar-"ment,"** used for oracular purposes, but in this case connected with idolatry.

The evidence, then, is that the Ephod in some cases is undoubtedly a garment; in most other cases probably means a **"decorated "garment"**; and that there is one doubtful instance in which it may mean an image, but if so (from the language employed) not in the worship of JEHOVAH, but idolatrously.

(3) *Teraphim.*

These certainly seem to have been images, but (except in the very doubtful instance of Micah) there is nothing to connect them with the worship of JEHOVAH. In 1 Sam: xix. 13 it is said, "Michal "took the teraphim, and laid it in the bed"; and in v: 16, "behold, "the teraphim was in the bed." Whereon Dr. Driver says, **"David**

**" was a devoted worshipper of Yahweh ; yet he possessed " one of the oracular images called ' teraphim ' "** (BE. 415). What is there to show that he **" possessed "** it ?

It was in David's house, but he may have known no more about it than Jacob did of those that Rachel stole (Gen: xxxi. 32). Certainly it is not here in any way connected with the worship of JEHOVAH.

(4) *The* ***" golden bulls "*** *of Jeroboam.*

**" Jeroboam, also, would certainly not have set up the " golden bulls, symbolizing Jehovah, at Bethel and Dan, if " they had not been in harmony with practices and beliefs " very widely accepted among the people."** BE. 415.

That Jeroboam's action was probably based on what he thought would be acceptable to the people is likely enough, but does that necessarily imply that there were already existing practices and beliefs with which it was in harmony ?

Even on critical lines it is at least possible that the narrative of Exod: xxxii is one of the ancient traditions embodied in the JE document. In that, Aaron is said to have fashioned a golden " calf," and the utterance about that was " These be thy Gods, O Israel, " which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." If this tradition was known and current among the people, that would be quite sufficient to account for both the form of Jeroboam's images, and the words (almost verbally identical with those in Exodus) attributed to him. In this way Jeroboam's action can be accounted for without conjecturing practices and beliefs for the existence of which there is no real evidence.

Micah's " graven image," Michael's " teraphim," and Jeroboam's " bulls " are the only instances of the use of images during the period in question. They are not evidence that images were **" widely used by the worshippers of Jehovah,"** and still less that **" Yahweh was universally worshipped in Israel with " images till the time of Jeroboam II."**

It is only fair to add that Dr. Driver, while holding that images were **" in very common use,"** gives good reasons for doubting that **" they were in *universal* use,"** and for holding that **" the " prohibition may have been Mosaic, though it was not " acted upon by the bulk of the people."** BE. 416.

If, then, there is no valid reason for considering the Decalogue post-Mosaic, why is it not included in the " Book of the Covenant " ? **" The Decalogue is not in any part of Ex. made the basis of " a covenant "** (BE. 374). This is actually part of a comment on Exod: xxxiv. 28, " He wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments [Heb: *words*]," which expressly identifies the " words of the covenant " with the " ten words." No, say the critics, **" this is a representation characteristic " of Dt."** (BE. 374). They assert that the designation " the

"Covenant" applied to the Decalogue is **"esp., and probably "first, in Dt. and Deuteronomic writers"** (BE. 193). Therefore, and for no other reason, they call the phrase "the ten words" in Exod: xxxiv. 28 **"a later addition,"** and mark it a "Gloss" (BE. 374). In the same way, when the Ark, in which the Tables of the Decalogue were believed to have been deposited, is called "the ark of the covenant of the LORD" in Num: x. 33, xiv. 44 (both JE), they assert that "the covenant of" has been inserted by **"a redactor or scribe familiar with the Deut. expression"** (BE. 193). Having thus disposed of three inconvenient bits of evidence, they invariably limit the "Book of the Covenant" to the section Exod: xx. 22–xxiii (excluding the Decalogue) and boldly assert **"no covenant is concluded on the basis of the Decalogue "in Ex."** (BE. 193, note).

Now in Exod: xxiv. 7 we read of "the book of the covenant." If this book contained the Decalogue, then there was a covenant concluded on the basis of the Decalogue, quite apart from the evidence of c: xxxiv. 28.

Is there any reason to suppose that the Decalogue was not contained therein?

In Exod: xix. 5 there is the promise, "if ye will obey my voice "indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure "unto me." This is the first indication of a Covenant to be made with the people. Then follows the descent on Sinai, and the utterance of the Decalogue. **"The people alarmed by the "terrible accompaniments of the theophany, express a "desire that in future Moses may speak to them instead of "God"** (BE. 201). Accordingly the series of injunctions in xx. 22–xxiii is given to Moses alone, and then (xxiv. 3) "Moses "came and told the people all the words of the LORD."

Did not these include the "Ten Words"? No,—**"The Deca-"logue, which the people had heard themselves, cannot be "included in the terms used"** (BE. 252). Why not? Even if the people had heard the Decalogue themselves, why should not Moses repeat these fundamental laws? Supposing, however, that Moses did not repeat the Decalogue because the people had already heard it, can it be excluded from the people's reply; "And all the "people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which "the LORD hath spoken will we do"? Surely, "all the words" must include those which they themselves had heard spoken. Again, in v: 4 we are told, "And Moses wrote all the words of the "LORD." If he did not repeat the Decalogue to the people because they had already heard it, that would be no possible reason for omitting it when he "wrote all the words of the LORD." But then this writing was precisely "the book of the covenant" of v: 7, which was, as Dr. Driver himself affirms, **"The 'book' or scroll "just written (v: 4)"** (BE. 253). This, however, he is careful to

qualify by immediately adding, "**containing the laws of xx. "22–xxiii. 33,**" thus excluding the Decalogue without giving any reason why it should not be included in "all the words" which Moses wrote.

He is not content with this limitation, for he continues, "**If, "however, the view expressed on v. 3, 12 is correct, the "'book' will not have included the 'judgements,' xxi. "2–xxii. 17**" (BE. 253). According to this, "the book of the "covenant" which Moses wrote did not even contain all "**the "laws of xx. 22–xxiii. 33,**" (though the critics invariably include the whole in their "Book of the Covenant"), but only "the words" contained in xx. 22–26, xxii. 18–xxiii. 33. On what grounds is this asserted?

Of the "Book of the Covenant" it is said, "**The laws contained "in it are spoken of in xxiv. 3 as consisting of two elements, "the *words* (or commands) and the *judgements*: the "*judgements* (see on xxi. 1) are the provisions relating to "civil and criminal law, prescribing what is to be done "when particular cases arise, and comprised in xxi. 2— "xxii. 17; the *words* are positive injunctions of moral, "religious, and ceremonial law, introduced mostly by "*Thou shalt* or *shalt not*, and comprised in xx. 23–26, xxii. "18–xxiii. 19.**" BE. 202.

C: xxi begins "Now these are the judgements," so there is reason for thinking that the "judgements" begin at this point, but what authority is there for ending them at xxii. 17? There is no break in the text: it is not said "these are the words." The form of the command may change at this point, but that what follows consist of "words" as distinguished from "judgements" is vouched for by the dictum of the critics alone. Yet on this arbitrary division depends the accuracy of the definitions of "judge- "ments" and "words" quoted above. If, for instance, xxii. 18, "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live,' is not a "word" but a "judgement," (and there is nothing in the text to determine this), then the critical distinction disappears at once. Dr. Driver does indeed lay it down that the word *Mishpat*, judgement, is in its original sense, "**a term belonging to civil and criminal law,**" but immediately adds, "**it is sometimes extended so as to "include moral and religious injunctions**" (BE. 209, note). The commands after xxii. 17 are therefore not excluded from being possible "judgements" because they deal with morals and religion.

Supposing, however, that the critical definitions were indubitable, why should the Ten Commandments be excluded from the "words"? They too are "**positive injunctions of moral and religious "law**": they too are "**introduced mostly by *Thou shalt* "or *shalt not***": they are actually called "these words," Exod: xx. 1. If the "words" in xx. 23–26 which precede the "judge-

" ments " are included in the " book of the covenant," why should not the " Ten Words " which precede them be also included ?

Further, on what grounds are the " judgements " excluded from " the book of the covenant " ?

On Exod: xxiv. 3 (the very verse cited to prove that " the book " of the covenant " consisted of **" two elements, the *words* " (or commands) and the *judgements* "**) Dr. Driver comments, **" The fact, however, that only the ' words ' are referred " to in clause b suggests that ' and the judgements ' in cl. a " may be an addition of the redactor who placed the ' judge- " ' ments ' of xxi. 2-xxii. 17 in their present position "** (BE. 252). This amounts to arguing that because the people in their reply only mention " all the words," therefore it is not likely that Moses had told them " all the words of the LORD, and all the " judgements " ;—as though the " judgements " could not possibly be included in " all the words which the LORD hath spoken " !

Apart from this, however, we have here a curious specimen of critical reasoning. First Exod. xxiv. 3 is cited to show that the " Book of the Covenant " consists of two elements, the " words " and the " judgements." Then we are told that in this same verse the words " and all the judgements " may not belong to the text at all, but may be **" an addition of the redactor."** On the strength of this, we are asked to believe that **" the ' book ' will " not have included the ' judgements,' "** and therefore consisted of only one element, the " words." Then we have the whole (including the " judgements ") constantly quoted as the " Book of " the Covenant," and one of the " judgements " (that on Hebrew slaves, xxi. 2–11) actually put forward as a proof that the legislation of " the Book of the Covenant " differs from that of D and P !

The fact is the whole proceeding is arbitrary. The division between Exod: xxii. 17 and 18 is arbitrary :—the definitions of " words " and " judgements " are arbitrary :—the excision of " and all the judgements " from Exod: xxiv. 3 is arbitrary :—the excision of " the ten words " from xxxiv. 28 is arbitrary :—and the most arbitrary of all is the exclusion of " all these words " which God spake (xx. 1) from " all the words which the LORD hath " spoken," which the people agreed to obey, which Moses wrote, which formed " the book of the covenant."

There is good reason for believing that the " Book of the Coven- " ant " did include the Decalogue. Without it, the laws of Exod: xx. 22–xxiii. 33 would be singularly incomplete. Deuteronomy expressly identifies it with the covenant, (iv. 13, " He declared " unto you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even " the ten commandments "). Exod: xxxiv. 28 does the same. "All " the words of the LORD " must include the most striking and fundamental of all. Those " words of the LORD " were the basis of the Covenant entered into at Sinai and ratified by the sacrificial blood, and the Decalogue was not absent from them.

# PART I.

## The Evidence Examined.

### (B) THE EVIDENCE OF THE LAWS,

### (b) compared with the History.

# XXIII.

## THE EVIDENCE OF THE HISTORY.

THE critics claim that the history of the Israelites from the entry into Canaan onwards exhibits three stages of actual practice which correspond to what they consider to be the three stages of legislation, and that in the very order which they hold to be the true one. They affirm that the practices prevailing down to the time of Josiah were in conformity with the requirements of the JE laws ;—that to this followed a stage corresponding to the legislation of D ; while the full system of P only came in after the Return from the Captivity.

The history to which they appeal, however, is not simply to the history as we now have it, but to that history subject to some considerable modifications and reservations.

I. They assert that much of the evidence we possess is biassed :—the Books of Kings are **"strongly influenced by Deut."** (art : "Bible, OT," Enc: Britt: 11th ed : vol: iii, 852) ;—the Books of Chronicles are as strongly in favour of the Priestly view.

If, then, we find statements in the Books of Kings which tend to show that the laws of Deuteronomy were in force previous to the reign of Josiah, these are at once put down to the Deuteronomic colouring due to the prejudice of the historian. **"Deuteronomy "is the standard by which the compiler judges both men and "actions ; and the history, from the beginning of Solomon's "reign, is presented, not in a purely 'objective' form (as "e.g. in 2 Sa. ix–xx) but from the point of view of the Deuter-"onomic code"** (LOT. 199). Thus the Northern Kingdom is said to be unfavourably represented because **"the writer viewed "Jeroboam as the author of a schism, and the founder of a "worship which contravened the first principle of the Deu-"teronomic code, the law of the Central Sanctuary."** LOT. 199, 200.

This contention would go far towards undermining the critics' own position. For it is of vital importance to their theory that the reform of Josiah was based on Deuteronomic principles, and for that they have to rely on the account in 2 Kings. But if the

account of the proceedings of Jeroboam is so strongly coloured by Deuteronomic prejudice, how can we be sure that the account of Josiah's reform is not similarly coloured? Why should not the Deuteronomic character of the reform, on which the critics so strongly insist, be due solely to the biassed representation of the historian? Here the evidence is accepted implicitly: there it is discredited and disregarded. In effect the critics claim that where the evidence suits their contention, it is to be trusted: where it is clearly against them, it is unreliable.

If in a trial at law counsel were thus to impugn the credibility of his own witnesses, how would the judge act? In all probability he would say, If these witnesses are as unreliable as you contend, either we must dismiss the whole of their testimony, or else only admit such part of it as may be corroborated by independent witnesses. Could the critics accept either alternative as regards the Books of Kings?

It is very much the line they themselves take as regards the Chronicler. Where he represents that "**the ritual of the Priests' "Code is duly observed,**" it is because "**the past, in a word, "was *idealized*, and its history, where necessary, rewritten "accordingly.**" LOT. 533. For the most part, therefore, the evidence of the Chronicler is almost contemptuously dismissed as unworthy of credence.

II. Besides the allegation of prejudice against the writers, it is further asserted that their evidence has been tampered with in after ages:—"**The old narrative of JE, which carried on "the history up to the time of settlement in the land, has, "to use a modern term, been 'edited' by a writer imbued "with the spirit of Deut. . . . The history of the people "in the land, as contained in the books of Judges, Samuel, "and Kings, has also been edited in the same spirit.**" IP. 184.

Interpolation also is frequently alleged, as for instance 1 Sam: ii. 22, vi. 15; 2 Sam: xv. 24; 1 Kings viii. 3.

So, too, in Joshua a large part of the book is said to belong to P, and not to the original records.

To an appreciable extent, the appeal is not to the history simply, but to the history as modified by critical conclusions.

III. Over and above passages which may be disposed of in these ways, there are allusions in the history to various matters mentioned in what are considered to be laws of a later period. These are disposed of by being referred to "**pre-existent usage.**" Thus Dr. Driver affirms (LOT. 91), "**On the whole, the laws of "Dt. are unquestionably derived from *pre-existent usage*":** and further down on the same page, "**the bulk of the laws con- "tained in Dt. is undoubtedly far more ancient than the "time of the author himself.**" So also with regard to P he says

(LOT. 143), "**In its main stock the legislation of P was thus "not (as the critical view of it is sometimes represented "by its opponents as teaching) 'manufactured' by the "priests during the Exile : it is based upon *pre-existing* "*Temple usage*, and exhibits the form which that finally "assumed.**"

But surely this weakens considerably the argument from the supposed correspondence of the history with the three stages of legislation. If the "**bulk of the laws**" in D were ancient, and "**unquestionably derived from *pre-existent usage*,**" and the "**main stock**" of P legislation based upon "***pre-existing* "*Temple usage*,**" the three stages of practice cannot have been so clearly marked after all. A good deal of the pre-Josiah practice must have agreed with what is laid down in Deuteronomy, and a good deal of the pre-Exilic practice with what is laid down in P.

However the critical argument goes on, "**From this point of "view, the allusions to priestly usage in the pre-exilic "literature may be consistently explained. They attest "the existence of certain institutions: they do not attest "the existence of the particular document (P) in which the "regulations touching those institutions are now codified.**" LOT. 143.

Immediately on this follows a fairly long list of pre-Exilic allusions to "**priestly usage or terminology,**" drawn from prophetic as well as historical writings, including "savour of satisfaction," "unclean food," "Nazirites," "fire sacrifices," "the lamp of God," "guilt offering," "shewbread," "tithes and freewill offerings," "Urim and Thummim," the "Ephod," and some P words or phrases.

On evidence like this the ordinary conclusion would be,—Here are a number of usages attested as ancient; here is a book, claiming to be ancient, prescribing these very usages, and using phraseology found in other books admitted to be ancient; the inference is that the usages were derived from the book, which therefore must have preceded them. Not at all, say the critics, these allusions in the literature "**shew that some of the expressions in P are "very old, and that some of the institutions for which P "supplies regulations can be traced back to very early "times; they do *not* shew that the regulations in P are of "the same antiquity as the institutions themselves.**" IP. 189.

The allusions may not *prove* the antiquity of the regulations, but surely they raise some presumption in favour of it. The critical explanation, that the usages existed first and afterwards rules were framed to regulate them, is no doubt possible, but at least it leaves unexplained how those usages came to exist at all. It can hardly be pronounced more probable than the simpler

inference that the usages originated with the book which professes to account for their origin.

Still the critics have something further to allege :—" **whenever " a description is found in the history, there is generally " some deviation from P's special rules ; the impression " is produced that the custom or ceremony was observed " more simply than is required by the prescriptions of " P."** IP. 189. In other words, though the same *names* as those in P are found in the earlier history, yet the *things* were not identical, and therefore the allusions are not really to P at all.

On the previous pages (IP. 186–188) Mr. Chapman gives instances to show this, which call for examination.

(1) The " *lamp of God,*" 1 Sam: iii. 3, **" the use of a lamp was " an ancient custom known to the writer of 1 Samuel, but " the reference to it does not prove that the developed ritual " of P, which required seven lamps to burn during the " whole night, was in force "** (p: 187). Here the suggestion is that " a lamp " is not the same thing as " seven lamps " ; and that the expression " was not yet gone out " indicates a difference from lamps required to burn **" during the whole night."** But (a) the " seven lamps " were united in one " candlestick," and the very word " lamp " (*Ner*, as in 1 Sam: iii. 3) is used in the instructions concerning this, Exod: xxvii. 20, 21. The " lamp " of God " sufficiently covers this :—(b) The instructions just referred to are rendered in the RV, " to cause a lamp to burn con- " tinually [marg: to set up a lamp continually] . . . Aaron and " his sons shall order it from evening to morning before the LORD." Dr. Driver (who will not be suspected of minimizing the force of these injunctions) renders the former clause, **" to *fix on* a lamp " continually . . . i.e. not *continuously*** (xxv. 30, Heb.), **" but *regularly* as a standing practice "** (BE. 296), and on the next page comments, **"*from evening to morning*] the lamps " were to be removed every morning to be trimmed (xxx. 7), " and to be lighted and replaced every evening to burn during " the night (xxx. 8, 2 Ch. xiii. 11)."** This does not require that the lamps were kept burning **" during the whole night."**

(2) The *Nazirites*. **" Nazirites in the early history are " dedicated from birth and yield a life-long service ; the " regulations in P provide for those who take upon them- " selves a vow for a definite period, and prescribe certain " ceremonies to be observed, and sacrifices to be offered " at the end of that period, when the Nazirite has fulfilled " his obligation, and assumes the position of an ordinary " Israelite. The provisions of P are obviously inapplicable " to the earlier Nazirites ; Samson and the Nazirite of Num. " vi have little in common beyond the name ; the mention**

**" of Nazirite in the early history and in Amos ii. 11 f proves " nothing as to the date of P."** IP. 187.

Dr. McNeile (BN. 32, 33) gives three regulations as binding on the Nazirite of Num: vi:—(a) **" Abstinence from intoxicating " liquors and from any produce of the vine, liquid or solid "**; (b) **" the hair to be left uncut "**; (c) **" Avoidance of pollution " from contact with a dead body, even with that of the nearest " relative."**

What was the case of Samson? (a) His mother is commanded (Jud: xiii. 7), " drink no wine nor strong drink, and eat not any " unclean thing: for the child shall be a Nazirite unto God from " the womb unto the day of his death"; and in v: 14 Manoah is further told, " she may not eat of anything of the vine." Even the child's antenatal existence was to conform to the Nazirite law of Num: vi. 3, 4. (b) The injunction of Jud: xiii. 5 is " no razor " shall come upon his head," and in xvi. 7 Samson assures Delilah, " There hath not come a razor upon mine head; for I have been a Nazirite unto God from my mother's womb." (c) Dr. McNeile remarks (BN. 33), **" It is to be noticed that Samson did not " scruple to come into frequent contact with the dead,"** and infers that this was a regulation added in later days. Samson certainly is represented as killing very many of his enemies, but that did not necessarily entail ceremonial pollution. In *one* instance it is said " he took their spoil" (Jud: xiv. 19), and that probably involved an infringement of the Nazirite obligation, but we know that Samson was not scrupulous in other matters, and this does not necessarily mean that the obligation was unknown. At any rate two of the three Nazirite obligations seem to have been scrupulously observed in Samson's case. How can it be said that he and the Nazirite of Num: vi **" have little in common beyond " the name"**?

But Samson's vow was lifelong, and the Nazirite vow in Num: vi was temporary.

The regulations in Numbers are for a period limited but undefined in length. There is nothing to exclude the possibility of a lifelong vow, in which case, of course, the ceremonies prescribed for the termination of the vow would be out of the question. Anyhow, Samson's case was exceptional. The whole circumstances of his birth and life are represented as something altogether extraordinary. Why then should his be taken as a specimen of the ordinary Nazirite vow of that period? Yet from this solitary,* evidently exceptional, instance Mr. Chapman quietly assumes that *all* Nazirites **" in the early history were dedicated from birth."** There is absolutely no evidence that Nazirites for a limited period

* Samuel (who is also mentioned by Mr. Chapman) is not called a Nazirite, and there is no evidence that he abstained from wine, an essential note of a Nazirite (see Amos ii. 12).

were unknown in the earlier ages, and, on the other hand, if they were known, there is no reason for their being mentioned in the history. Further, if Num: vi was really the product of a later age, there is no explanation of the origin of the phrase " a Nazirite unto God " in Jud: xiii ; whereas if temporary vows of this kind, as sanctioned in Num: vi, were already known and recognized, the mention of an exceptional, lifelong vow would be readily explicable.

(3) The *Shewbread* ; 1 Sam: xxi. 1–6. **" The narrative in " Samuel does not furnish any *proof* that Ahimelech is ac- " quainted with this ordinance restricting the use of the " holy bread to the priests : his words, as recorded in 1 " Sam. xxi. 4, are consistent with the supposition that in his " day the shewbread might be eaten by laymen, providing " that they were ritually clean."** IP. 188.

Nor does the narrative furnish proof that he was *not* acquainted with this ordinance. His words (1 Sam: xxi. 4), " There is no " common bread under mine hand, but there is holy bread," indicate something of scruple, which he was willing to waive under circumstances of emergency. That is certainly the view that is taken in the New Testament.

(4) The " *guilt offering.*" **" The Philistines send back a " ' guilt offering ' (*'asham*) with the ark (Sam. vi. 3, 4, 8, 17). " The same Heb. word is used for one kind of sacrifice pre- " scribed in Lev. i.–vii (see p. 150). The Philistine offering " consists of golden images."** IP. 188.

Is it to be supposed for a moment that Philistines would conform to Levitical law ? What possible proof is this of **" deviation " from P's special rules "** on the part of Israelites ? Whereas, if *'asham* was the recognized term for an offering in expiation of guilt, it might very well be applied by an Israelite historian to the Philistine offering, though that was not of the same nature as that required from an Israelite.

To these may be added (5) *Hannah's offering.*

**" Elkanah's action, considered with reference to the " second of these passages** [Num: xv. 8–10], **is not strictly " ' according to the law.' He and his wife Hannah bring " ' a bullock ' (1 Sam. i. 24 . . . ) ' and one ephah of meal, " ' and a bottle of wine.' The bullock is one of the animals " specified in Num. xv. 8–10, but it is there (ver. 9) prescribed " that ' a meal offering of three tenth parts of an ephah of " ' fine flour mingled with half an hin of oil ' should be " brought as a accompaniment of the animal sacrifice ; " this could not have been furnished out of the ' ephah of " ' meal '(*ḳemaḥ*), for the law required ' fine flour ' (*soleth*), " and no mention is made of the oil in Samuel."** IP. 192, 193.

It may with reasonable probability be argued that *ḳemaḥ* and

*soleth* are not necessarily opposed to one another; that *kemah* is a generic word for "flour," and may include the particular variety *soleth* (so Fuerst's Lex: s. v. "In *kemah soleth* Gen: xviii. "6, *ś* is in apposition, for the purpose of characterizing *ḱ* more "exactly," and the use of the cognate words in Arabic would bear this out). If then Hannah's offering was that in fulfilment of a vow, the quantity of "meal" and wine would more than suffice, and the only "**deviation**" would be that in the Samuel account the oil is not mentioned. That is hardly sufficient to show that the offering was not "according to the law" of Num: xv. 8–10.

Can it be fairly said that these instances justify the assertion, "**whenever a description is found in the history, there is "generally some deviation from P's special rules**"? If not, why may not the allusions in the history be accepted as fair evidence that the institutions as prescribed by P were known in the earlier period?

"**The answer is, If there were no *independent* reasons "for regarding P as late, these allusions might be accepted "as sufficient: but there *are* such reasons; they have been "laid before the reader in the preceding pages. More "than a mere allusion is not to be expected in a historical "account; but then these allusions are not sufficient to "overweigh the strong *independent* grounds for referring "P to a later date, especially when, as has been pointed "out in the text, some deviation from P's rules is expressed "or implied.**" IP. 189, note.

Here is a candid admission that, in themselves and apart from alleged deviations, the allusions in the history might be accepted as "**sufficient evidence for the existence of P when they were "written**" (IP. *ib*:): they are only barred out because P is adjudged to be of late date for "***independent* reasons.**" When, however, the question at issue is, How far does the historical evidence *confirm* the conclusion that P is of late origin? the independent reasons which are to outweigh the evidence of the allusions must be drawn from the history. Otherwise the argument would amount to this:—On grounds not historical (e.g. literary, or inconsistency of laws) P is referred to a late date; therefore the allusions in the history cannot be to P; therefore the history knows nothing of P; therefore the history confirms the conclusion arrived at on other grounds. The independent conclusion is first used to modify the evidence, and then the modified evidence is used to support the conclusion by which it has been modified: clearly a circular argument. Unless therefore "**the strong *independent* grounds "for referring P to a later date**" are *historical*, the allusions in the history ought to be allowed their full weight as part of the historical evidence.

It is evident that these three assertions,—I. That much of the evidence is unreliable because prejudiced; II. That the evidence has been interpolated, and otherwise tampered with; III. That the allusions in the history are not to P, but to some pre-existent usage,—really take various critical conclusions for granted. When the critics claim that the history confirms the conclusions they have arrived at on other grounds, they do not mean the whole history as it stands, but only that part of the history which remains when what they object to is eliminated. In effect this is tantamount to an admission that much of the evidence as it stands is against their theory, and therefore must be got rid of, or explained away. The claim to set aside so much of the available evidence is a large one. Still it will be worth while to examine the evidence which the critics do admit and rely on, to see whether even that justifies their conclusions.

Only in all fairness the onus of proof ought to rest on them. On their own showing, much of the evidence is *prima facie* against them. As they claim to discredit this on one ground or another, it is for them to show that what remains not merely permits but absolutely requires the view they advocate. It is not enough for them to show that the practice of a certain age was in harmony with a certain phase of legislation: they must prove to demonstration that the practice of that age was inconsistent with the existence of any legislation alleged to be of later date.

It has also to be borne in mind that, according to the traditional view, there were three strata (not "codes") of laws,—in the order JE, P, D,—and that there were three corresponding stages of practice:—

(1) The inchoate period between the giving of the Decalogue and the setting up of the Tabernacle, when as yet the Ark had not been installed, nor the priests consecrated, and only a provisional "Tent of Meeting" was in use;—

(2) the period of the Wanderings;—

(3) the final settlement in the Promised Land.

Further, it is part of the traditional account that, at least in periods (2) and (3) there was a good deal of wilful violation of the laws: therefore to show that in some instances the practice was not in conformity with the laws would not prove that the laws were not in existence.

# XXIV.

## THE HISTORY AND JE.

**"The legislation of JE is in harmony with, and, in fact, "sanctions, the practice of the period of the Judges and "early Kings."** LOT. 138.

The context shows that it is only **"the ritual legislation of "JE"** that is here referred to. Certainly much of the general legislation of JE was not at all in harmony with, nor in any degree sanctioned a good deal of the actual practice of the period mentioned (e.g. the serving "Baal and the Ashtaroth," Jud: ii. 13). According to the traditional view, the legislation of JE was intended to regulate the practice of that period (and others), but the practice was often in direct violation of the laws.

Further, the question is, Was the practice of that period regulated by what the critics consider the *distinctive* legislation of JE, as opposed to the legislation of D and P? Also, since the critics contend that D was not published till the reign of Josiah, the evidence offered ought to cover the whole period from the entry into Canaan until 621 BC. What evidence is offered?

**"With the principle here** [Exod: xx. 24] **laid down the "practice of Josh.—1 Ki. vi conforms: in these books sacri-"fices are frequently described as offered in different parts "of the land, without any indication (and this is the impor-"tant fact) on the part of either the actor or the narrator "that a law such as that of Dt. is being infringed."** LOT. 85.

**"With the plurality of altars thus sanctioned agrees ". . . the usage of the Israelites generally between the ages "of Moses and Solomon."** BD. 137.

**"The legislation of JE is in harmony with, and, in fact, "sanctions, the practice of the period of the Judges and "early Kings, with its relative freedom, for instance, as "to the place of sacrifice (p. 85), and the persons author-"ized to offer it; during which moreover, a simple ritual "appears to have prevailed, and the Ark was guarded, "till it was transferred by Solomon to the Temple, by a "small band of attendants, in a modest structure, quite "in accordance with the representation of JE."** LOT. 138.

Now the chief points in which the legislation of JE is said to

differ from that of D and P are three ; the place of worship (including the offerer of sacrifice) ;—the Year of Release ;—and the law as to Hebrew slaves. Only one of these is touched on.

Again, from 1190 BC, the date of the entry into Canaan (since the Exodus is dated 1230, BE viii), to 960, the date of Solomon's Temple (BG. xxvii) is a period of 230 years ; whereas from 960 to 621 (the publication of D) is 339 years, so the period covered is less than half what it should be.

Thus the evidence does not cover the whole of the ground, either as to subject matter or time. Such as it is, however, it bears on three points :—I. The place of sacrifice ;—II. The persons offering sacrifice ;—III. The character of the ritual, and of the Sanctuary.

I. *The place of sacrifice.*

**" After the exclusion of all uncertain or exceptional cases, " such as Jud. ii. 5, vi. 21–24, where the theophany may be " held to have justified the erection of an altar, there remain " as instances of either altars or local sanctuaries Josh. " xxiv. 1[b], 26[b], 1 Sam. vii. 9 f, 17, ix. 12–14, x. 3, 5, 8, (xiii. " 9 f), xi. 15, xiv. 35, xx. 6, 2 Sa. xv. 12, 32."** LOT. 85.

To these passages have been since added 2 Sam: xv. 7 f ; 1 Kings iii. 4, xviii. 30, xix. 10, 14. BE. 208.

If to these be further added Josh: viii. 31, xxii. 10–29 ; Jud: ii. 5, vi. 20–26, xi. 31–39, xiii. 16–23, xx. 26, xxi. 4 ; 1 Sam: i. 3, ii. 13–17, vi. 14, xvi. 2, 5, xxi. 1–6 ; 2 Sam: vi. 13, 17, 18, xxiv. 25, it is believed that all the passages from Josh: to 1 Kings vi bearing on the place of worship will have been included.

Of these, only 1 Kings xviii. 30, xix. 10, 14 refer to the time after the building of the Temple, and both passages concern the Northern Kingdom. 1 Kings xviii. 30 shows that there was an " altar of the " LORD " on Carmel that had been thrown down, and Elijah's complaint that the children of Israel had " thrown down thine altars " in xix. 10, 14 shows that there had been a number of these. But we know that up to the time of Solomon, and even after that, " the " people sacrificed in the high places," of which Carmel would be one. The existence of " altars of the LORD," especially in the Northern Kingdom, is sufficiently accounted for by the worship in high places which will have to be considered later on (see pp: 246–248).

The evidence for the period before the erection of the Temple will be most conveniently dealt with in groups of allied passages.

(a) *Places not necessarily connected with sacrifice.*

Josh: xxii. 10–29. The altar of Ed, for witness not sacrifice.

* xxiv. 1, 26. Shechem, where the people " presented themselves " before God," and where " the sanctuary of the LORD " was. } No mention of sacrifice.

* 1 Sam: x. 3. "going up to God to Bethel." No mention of sacrifice.
5. "the hill of God" (? Gibeah). No mention of sacrifice.
xxi. 6. Sanctuary at Nob. Priests and Shewbread mentioned.
* 2 Sam: xv. 32. "the top *of the ascent* where God was worshipped" (or "where men used to worship God." BE. 208).

(b) *Sacrifices justified by exceptional circumstances.*
Josh: viii. 31. Altar and sacrifices at Ebal. Commanded, Deut: xxvii. 5–7.
Jud: ii. 5. Sacrifice at Bochim. Appearance of the "angel "of the LORD."
vi. 24–26. Gideon's sacrifice and altar at Ophrah. Directly commanded.
xiii. 16–23. Manoah's burnt and meal offering. Presence of the angel of the LORD.
2 Sam: xxiv. 25. Altar and sacrifices on Araunah's threshing floor. Directly commanded.

(c) *Sacrifices in the presence of the Ark.*
Jud: xx. 26, xxi. 4. At Bethel (or "the house of God," AV) in the Benjamite war. Ark present, xx. 27.
1 Sam: i. 3; ii. 13–17. At Shiloh.
vi. 14. At Beth-shemesh. Return of the Ark.
2 Sam: vi. 13. At Obed-edom's house. Bringing up the Ark.
17, 18. On Zion. ,, ,, ,,

(*d*) *Connected with Samuel.*
* 1 Sam: vii. 9, 10. At Mizpeh.
* 17. At Ramah.
* ix. 12–14. At "the high place" (unnamed).
* x. 8. promise to sacrifice at Gilgal.
* xi. 15. Peace offerings at Gilgal.
xvi. 2, 5. At Bethlehem. Directly commanded.

(e) *Irregular instances.*
Jud: xi. 31, 39. Jephthah's vow.
* 1 Sam: xiii. 9, 10. Saul's sacrifice at Gilgal;—condemned, v: 13.
* xiv. 35. Saul's "first" † altar.
* 2 Sam: xv. 7, 8, 12. Absalom's vow and sacrifices at Hebron.

Considering the character of the actors, these four instances may quite possibly be wilful infringements of the law.

In one instance (*1 Sam: xx. 6, 29, Davids "yearly sacrifice" at Bethlehem) it is not at all certain that a religious sacrifice is meant.

* Passages cited by Dr. Driver.

† The critics lay stress on the word "first" as implying that more were built afterwards. The Hebrew is perhaps not quite so definite, but even if Saul built several, that would not prove that any of them were regular.

*Zebach* is also used of killing for food, and a *zebach* "for all the "family" rather suggests a family feast.

There remains the evidence in 1 Kings iii.

Dr. Driver only mentions v: 4, but the two preceding verses are also important.

* 1 Kings iii. 2–4. "Only the people sacrificed in the high "places because there was no house built for the name of the LORD "until those days. And Solomon loved the LORD, walking in "the statutes of David his father: only he sacrificed and burnt "incense in the high places. And the king went to Gibeon to "sacrifice there; for that was the great high place: a thousand "burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that Altar." †

Here we have evidence that, before the Temple was built, the people had adopted a custom of sacrificing at the "high places," and that Solomon did the same. Yet the word "only" in vv: 2, 3 indicates that the narrator did not consider this to be altogether right.

The evidence, then, may be summed up thus:—In the period under consideration:—

There were some places considered "sanctuaries" (at least two of them—Shechem and Bethel—connected with the patriarchal history), where however it is not stated that sacrifice was offered.

There are a few instances of sacrifices offered under exceptional circumstances, justified by a theophany or an express command.

There are 5 instances of sacrifices offered in the presence of the Ark.

There are 6 instances of sacrifice, offered at various places, connected with Samuel.

There are 4 instances of sacrifice probably wholly irregular.

Finally, there is the practice of the people in general, and Solomon in particular, of sacrificing in "high places," before the Temple was built, and recorded with implied disapproval.

It is submitted that this evidence is wholly insufficient to establish the sweeping assertion, **"numerous local sanctuaries "existed, and sacrifice at them was habitually offered."** BE. 208.

Stress is laid on **"the important fact"** that there is no indication **"on the part of either the actor or the narrator that "a law such as that of Dt. is being infringed."** LOT. 85.

This would apply with especial force to the instances connected with Samuel, but those all belong to an exceptional time. After its return by the Philistines, and until its removal by David, the Ark seems to have remained at Kirjath neglected, perhaps regarded as having been desecrated by falling into the hands of the heathen:

* Passages cited by Dr. Driver.

† What possible reason could there be for this marked pre-eminence of Gibeon if it was not that given by the Chronicler (2 Chron: i. 3–6), viz: the presence of the Tabernacle and the Brasen Altar?

During that period, which includes the whole of Saul's reign, there would therefore be no one place set apart for sacrifice. It was during this period and the time when the Ark was actually in the hands of the Philistines that all the sacrifices connected with Samuel and Saul took place.

But there is a still more important consideration. Had the law of Deuteronomy yet come into force?

It is clearly stated in Deut: that the law of the Central Sanctuary was not to come into operation immediately on entering the Promised Land :—" When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the " LORD your God causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you rest " from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety; " then it shall come to pass that the place which the LORD your " God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, thither shall ye " bring all that I command you." Deut: xii. 10, 11.

That condition of assured peace and safety certainly did not exist in the days of Joshua, the Judges, Samuel, or Saul. The victories of David first made it possible, and it is precisely then that we find the first suggestion of building a Temple :—" It came " to pass, when the king dwelt in his house, and the LORD had given " him rest from all his enemies round about, that the king said " unto Nathan the prophet, See now, I dwell in an house of cedar, " but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains" (2 Sam: vii. 1, 2).

The requirement that profound peace was the necessary condition for establishing the Central Sanctuary gives the more point to the name Solomon, and to the exclusion of David from building the Temple because he was " a man of war" (1 Chron: xxviii. 3). In the first period of really settled security and peace after the entry into Canaan, a permanent Central Sanctuary was erected. Before that, it is expressly stated that God had said to David, " Since " the day that I brought forth my people Israel out of Egypt, I " chose no city out of all the tribes of Israel to build an house, " that my name might be there" (1 Kings viii. 16). According to the Deuteronomy law, the Central Sanctuary was to be " the " place which the LORD your God shall choose to cause his name to " dwell there." Until that choice was made, the Central Sanctuary could not come into being, and the law would not come into force.

But does not Jeremiah speak of " my place which was in Shiloh, " where I caused my name to dwell at the first" (Jer: vii. 12)? Was not that already a Central Sanctuary long before the building of the Temple.

That objection can hardly be urged by the critics who hold that anything like exclusive centralization of worship was unknown till the publication of D. Those who hold that Shiloh was a Central Sanctuary can only do so because they believe that the Tabernacle was there. Now the Tabernacle had been, and still was, a place " where I cause my name to be remembered" (Exod: xx. 24);

it was a *Mishkan*, a dwelling place, and as such the words of Jeremiah would be applicable to it; but it was not such a permanent Sanctuary as is evidently contemplated in Deut: xii.

The evidence of the history from Joshua to Solomon, then, does not in the least prove that the Deuteronomy law was unknown or disregarded, for it had not as yet come into operation. On this view, the whole period from Joshua to Solomon was of the nature of an interregnum. The regulations of P could only be carried out in their entirety when the Tent of Meeting was in the centre of the camp with the Levites concentrated round it. When the people were dispersed throughout Palestine, and the Levites were in various cities in different parts of the country, compliance with some of its provisions would be impossible. Until the Central Sanctuary was established, compliance with the D regulations would be equally impossible. Moreover we are repeatedly told that a great part of this period was a time of religious anarchy when "the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight "of the LORD" (Jud: ii. 11, iii. 7, 12, iv. 1, vi. 1). If they so flagrantly violated the fundamental principles of even the JE laws as to follow "other gods, of the gods of the peoples that were "round about them" (Jud: ii. 12), it is not to be supposed that they would be scrupulous in the lesser matter of ritual laws. It is practically certain that there must have been many grave irregularities as to worship, such as those of Micah.

Yet even in such a time of disorder we should expect to find traces of the true principle of worship, and those are found.

The "Tent of Meeting" * is set up at Shiloh (Josh: xviii. 1), and there in the days of Eli is a sanctuary to which the people repair periodically for sacrifice and worship (1 Sam: i. 3, ii. 13). With the capture of the Ark, this sanctuary would lose its meaning, and Shiloh was deserted (Jer: xxvi. 9, "This house shall be like "Shiloh, and the city shall be desolate, without inhabitant"). During the period that followed, while the sanctuary was in abeyance, the only possible guidance for loyal worshippers would be that of an accredited prophet, and it is just here that we find Samuel providing for sacrificial worship at Mizpah and Gilgal, at Bethel (possibly) and at Ramah, his own abode (1 Sam: vii. 16, 17). This irregular state of things would perforce continue until the re-instatement of the Ark by David, and meanwhile the people had fallen into the habit, perhaps from a mistaken idea of following Samuel's example, of sacrificing in "the high places," and this continued till the Temple was built.

It is submitted that this view, which does not require that the Deuteronomy law was unknown, is a perfectly reasonable interpre-

* Whether this was the Tabernacle of P is too large a question to be discussed at this point. It will be considered later on (pp: 285–288).

tation of the evidence. In other words, the evidence of the history does not compel the view taken by the critics.

Dr. Driver admits (BE. 208), **" A *tendency* towards centra- " lization, due to the natural pre-eminence of the sanctuary " at which the Ark was stationed, and afterwards to the " prestige of Solomon's Temple,"** but surely there is evidence of more than this. So long as the Ark was available, apart from exceptional manifestations and manifest irregularities, that was the recognized centre of worship. After its capture, sacrificial worship is found at places authorized by a prophet, and a few irregularities such as those of Saul. After the building of the Temple, no such irregularities are recorded till Jeroboam set up his rival sanctuaries. If there was only a **" *tendency* towards centralization,"** why should Jeroboam have been disturbed at the prospect of the people going up " to offer sacrifices in the house of the LORD at Jerusalem " (1 Kings xii. 27) ? Why did he not simply appeal to the liberty of having sanctuaries in any part of the land, and to the established practice of the people ?

Again, **" the sanctuary at which the Ark was stationed " had naturally the pre-eminence, and was the centre to " which annual pilgrimages were made."** BD. 137.

The annual pilgrimages, then, required a centre to which the pilgrims had to repair, and that centre was the place where the Ark was stationed. Here is at least something of the centralization of worship.

The whole incident of the altar of Ed (Josh: xxii. 10–29) would be evidence that only one altar, at which sacrifice might be legitimately offered, was recognized, only of course the critics attribute the passage to a later hand.

II. *The offerer.*

The critics maintain that under the law of JE (Exod: xx. 24) **" any Israelite might sacrifice,"** and that **" the practice of the " period of the Judges and early Kings "** was in harmony with this.

**" For examples of laymen offering sacrifice, see 1 S. vi. " 14, xiii. 9 f, 2 S. vi. 13, 17, xxiv. 25, 1 K. i. 9, iii. 4."** BE. 206.

As these are only examples, and other passages might have been cited, it is fair to presume that these six were selected as the clearest and most striking that could be adduced.

(a) 1 Sam: vi. 14, " and they clave the wood of the cart, and " offered up the kine for a burnt offering unto the LORD."

The words that immediately follow, mentioning " the Levites," are asserted to be an interpolation.

It is left quite uncertain who actually offered the sacrifice, so that it has even been conjectured that the offerers were not Israelites at all, but the Philistine lords who followed the cart (v: 13). If that were so, the statement in v: 15, " and the men of Beth-

"shemesh offered burnt offerings and sacrificed sacrifices the same "day unto the LORD," would not be an unnecessary repetition of v: 14, but the record of a separate action. It is too much to assume that a priest could not have been present, and the occasion, the unexpected return of the Ark, was altogether exceptional.

(b) 1 Sam: xiii. 9, 10, "Saul said, Bring hither the burnt offering to me, and the peace offerings. And he offered the burnt offering."

Saul, a layman, offers the burnt offering. Yes, but he himself makes an excuse of necessity, "I forced myself therefore and "offered the burnt offering" (v: 12); and is blamed for so doing, "Samuel said to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou hast not "kept the commandment of the LORD thy God" (v: 13).*

(c) 2 Sam: vi. 13, "When they that bare the ark of the LORD had "gone six paces, he sacrificed an ox and a "fatling."

17, "David offered burnt offerings, and peace "offerings before the LORD."

Referring to these passages, Dr. Driver asserts (LOT. 137), **"David offers sacrifice (as seems evident) with his own "hand."** Indeed? In v: 12 we read, "David went and brought "up the ark of God." Did he do this **"with his own hand"**? No, for the next verse mentions "they that bare the ark." V: 19 informs us, "And he dealt among all the people, even among the "whole multitude of Israel, both to men and women, to every "one a cake of bread, and a portion *of flesh*" [or "of wine"]. Did he do this also **"with his own hand"**? If these actions are attributed to David because he caused them to be done, why should it **"seem evident"** that he offered the sacrifices **"with "his own hand"**? V: 18, And when David had made an end of "offering the burnt offering and the peace offerings," would be just as appropriate to the conclusion of an action which he had caused to be done.

(d) 2 Sam: xxiv. 25, "David built there an altar unto the LORD, "and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings."

Did David build the altar **"with his own hand"**? If not, why are we to suppose that he was the actual offerer of the sacrifice?

(e) 1 Kings iii. 4, "the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there ". . . a thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that "altar."

Did Solomon offer the whole thousand **"with his own hand"**?

Unless in these three instances David and Solomon actually offered the sacrifices themselves, not one of them is an example of **"laymen offering sacrifice."** Also, the Chronicler, who cannot be suspected of attributing to the kings any usurpation of the priestly office, uses precisely similar language of both David and

* If, as some critics hold (LOT. 176), the whole passage 1 Sam: xiii. 7a–15a is a **"subsequent insertion,"** then this instance ought not to be cited at all.

Solomon in the parallel passages, 1 Chr: xvi. 2, xxi. 26; 2 Chr: vii. 7.

(f) 1 Kings i. 9, "Adonijah slew [marg: sacrificed] sheep and "oxen and fatlings by the stone Zoheleth."

Here not only it is incredible that Adonijah himself did all this, but it is not even certain that it was a "sacrifice" at all, and if it was, Zadok the priest was present.

Out of the six selected examples adduced by Dr. Driver, only one is certainly the action of a layman, and that one is the case of Saul who was blamed for doing it, showing that a layman was *not* at liberty to sacrifice.

It is doubtful whether the other passages to which reference might have been made would lend much support to the critical contention.

Gideon and Manoah, both laymen, offer sacrifice (Jud: vi. 25; xiii. 29):—both are clearly exceptional cases, and the sacrifice justified by a Divine command. Samuel offers sacrifice more than once, but he was probably looked upon as adopted into the priestly family, even if he was not of Levite origin as is asserted in 1 Chr: vi. 22–28. At Bochim and at Gilgal (Jud: ii. 5; 1 Sam: xi. 15) all the people were present, and therefore the priests. At Ebal and at Bethel (Josh: viii. 31; Jud. xx. 6, xxi. 4) the priests were certainly present.

In 1 Sam: i. 4 there is the sentence, "when the day came that "Elkanah sacrificed." Why is this not cited as an example of a layman offering sacrifice? Probably because the connection with Eli's sons (v: 3) is so close as to leave little doubt that the actual offering was done by the priests. Priests are mentioned fairly often in these books, and Dr. McNeile actually makes it part of his argument that in 1, 2 Kings **"priests play a large "part."** BN. xiv.

One other scrap of evidence is offered by Dr. Driver:—**"in "2 Sam. viii. 18 = xx. 26 David's sons are priests."** BE. 206.

To this he might have added 1 Kings iv. 5, where the same title is applied to Zabud the son of Nathan. As all three passages are lists of officials, it is not impossible that the term *Cohen* was occasionally applied to some secular office ("chief minister," RVm). The most they prove is that laymen were sometimes called "priests," not that they offered sacrifice.

The evidence from the history does not bear out the contention that **"any Israelite"** might sacrifice, and is again for less than half the period that ought to be covered.

III. *Character of ritual and of sanctuary.*

**"Further the incidental allusions in books belonging "to the same time** [Jud:—Sam:] **create the impression that 'the ritual in use was simpler than that enjoined in P."** LOT. 136.

Apparently the evidence of these incidental allusions is not very decisive for they only create an "**impression.**"

As a matter of fact, there is little (if any) evidence as to what ritual or ceremonial was used in this period, and the circumstances of the time would certainly preclude anything like the full ceremonial of P.

"**in P, for instance, elaborate provisions are laid down "for the maintenance and safety of the Tabernacle, and "for the reverent handling of the Ark and other sacred vessels; "in 1 Sam. the arrangements relating to both are evidently "much simpler.**" LOT. 136.

The provisions needed when the Tabernacle and Ark were being moved from place to place in the Wilderness were no longer needed when the Tabernacle was stationary at Shiloh.

"**the establishment at Shiloh (1 Sam. i–iii) is clearly "not upon the scale implied by the regulations Ex. xxxv–"xl, Nu. iii–iv.**" LOT. 136.

"**the Ark was guarded . . . by a small band of atten-"dants, in modest structure.**" LOT. 138.

Only Eli and his two sons are mentioned in 1 Sam: i–iii, but that does not show that they constituted the whole "**band of atten-"dants.**" In any case, the full attendance contemplated in Num: iii, iv, was not needed when the Tabernacle was at rest, nor possible when the Levites were scattered about the country.

What is there to show whether the structure was "**modest**" or not? Beyond the mention of the doorpost, and the doors, nothing is told us about it. For instance, no altar is mentioned: are we to suppose there was none? The word "*hecal*" (1 Sam: i. 9) does not suggest a "**modest structure.**" *

Under this head, this one fragment of the history is the solitary bit of evidence produced for the whole period.

The reader will now be in a position to judge how far the history shows that the practice, before the time of Josiah, was regulated only by the laws of the JE "code."

* For one or two other allegations about the Ark, see later on, pp: 287, 289.

# XXV.

## THE HISTORY AND D.

THE critics affirm that the history supports their contention that Deuteronomy was first published in Josiah's time. According to this, there should be no trace of the distinctive D legislation before 621 BC, while it should be prevalent from that date till 444 when PC is said to have been published. Actually, the evidence relied on is for a much shorter period.

The Exile began in 586, and the practice after that (even if we knew much about it) would have little or no bearing on the subject. The history from the beginning of the Return in 536 till 444 is only found in Ezra and Nehemiah, whose testimony is disallowed by the critics as prejudiced. At most, then, the evidence concerns only the 35 years, 621–586, and is contained (the evidence of the Chronicler being set aside) in the four chapters 2 Kings xxii–xxv, supplemented by some notices in Jeremiah, both these authorities being said to be greatly influenced by Deuteronomy.

The chief points in which the D laws are said to differ from those in JE and P are,

(1) Centralization of worship, as opposed to the liberty allowed in JE;

(2) extension of Year of Release from *land* (JE) to *persons*, i.e. release of debtors;

(3) release of Hebrew slaves in the 7th year, differing from the P law of the Jubilee;

(4) the three Feasts agricultural, differing from the historical-religious observance in P;

(5) privilege of sacrificing restricted to the tribe of Levi, where JE permitted it to any Israelite, but permitted to all Levites, whereas P restricts it to priests alone;

(6) status of Levites, impoverished and without settled residence, contrary to P regulations.

Practically the history is silent on all these points except (1), but that silence, of course, does not entitle the critics to claim that the evidence would be in their favour if there were any. The historical evidence to be examined, then, is really limited to Josiah's reform, and its bearing on the law of the Central Sanctuary.

Now it must be borne in mind that on the traditional view the

reform under Josiah must have been based on the D laws, since they were intended to regulate conduct in the Promised Land, and that especially on the subject of the Sanctuary. To establish the critical position, therefore, it will not be enough to show that Josiah proceeded on Deuteronomic lines; that he "**carries "out, step by step, . . . the principles of Dt.**" (LOT. 86). That he must have done on the traditional view. To prove the critical case, it would be necessary to show that Josiah introduced Deuteronomic restrictions previously unknown.

Also, it would be necessary to show that at this time the legislation of P was unknown.

"**This presumption,**"—that D is earlier than P,—writes Dr. Driver (LOT. 138), "**is supported by the evidence of the "history.**"

This assertion is followed up, a little further on, by a lengthy paragraph which it will be convenient to break up into clauses, in order to comment on each.

(a) "**The legislation of D harmonizes with the reforming "tendencies of the age in which it was promulgated,**"

The last seven words of course mean the age in which the critics believe it to have been promulgated.

At first sight, it seems a little difficult to reconcile this statement with one on p: 89 which affirms that Deuteronomy "**was a great "manifesto against the dominant tendencies of the time.**" If the latter quotation refers to the time of Manasseh, when some think that Deuteronomy was composed, and the former to the age of its promulgation under Josiah, then the harmony of the D legislation with the reforming tendencies of a later date does not seem of much value. Perhaps, however, the meaning is that at one and the same time there were "**dominant tendencies**" towards evil, and a lesser current of "**reforming tendencies**" with which the laws of D harmonize. Even so, this harmony would not show that the legislation was the outcome of the reforming tendencies, or the product of that age. The reforming tendencies of the 16th century are believed to be in harmony with the teachings of the New Testament, yet the two are not contemporaneous. There is no reason why whatever "**reforming tendencies**" there may have been in Josiah's time should not have been derived in like manner from an ancient document, as is represented in the history.

(b) "**and sanctions the practice of the age that immediately "followed:**"

Deuteronomy sanctions the practice which Josiah sought to establish, but which was not, even in the matter of the Central Sanctuary, the practice of the succeeding reigns, as Jeremiah (xi. 10, 13) testifies.

(c). "**it inculcates a centralized worship, in agreement**

**" with a movement arising naturally out of the existence " of the temple at Jerusalem, strengthened, no doubt, by the " fall of the Northern Kingdom, and enforced practically " by Josiah ; "**

No doubt the centralized worship enforced by Josiah is inculcated in Deuteronomy, but the very question at issue is whether the Temple at Jerusalem did not owe its existence to that same teaching, instead of the teaching arising out of the existence of the Temple.

(d) **" its attitude towards the high places determines " that of the compiler of Kings, who wrote in the closing " years of the monarchy ; "**

That shows that the compiler of Kings was influenced by the teachings of D: it does not show that D was then a comparatively recent production. The attitude of St. Paul towards Justification determined that of Luther, yet the Epistle to the Romans was not written in the 15th century.

(e) **" it contains regulations touching other matters (e.g. " the worship of the 'host of heaven') which assumed " prominence at the same time ; "**

The worship of images assumed great prominence when Leo the Isaurian was Emperor. Did the Second Commandment originate then ?

(f) **" the revenues and functions of the priests are more " closely defined than in JE, but the priesthood is still open " to every member of the tribe of Levi."**

Where in JE are the revenues and functions of the priests defined at all ? Do not the critics hold that under JE any Israelite might sacrifice ? If it were true that D leaves the priesthood open to **" every member of the tribe of Levi,"** (and we have already seen, pp: 189–191, that this is very questionable) this would in no way determine the date of D unless the equally debatable assertion that under JE it was open to any layman (see pp: 162, 163) was first proved.

The whole paragraph purports to be an appeal to the **" evidence " of the history "** to support the theory that D is later than JE, but earlier than P. What actual historical evidence is actually produced in it ? It takes for granted there were **" reforming " tendencies "** in the age of Josiah : what evidence is there in the book of Kings of any reforming tendency except that which was produced by the discovery of the " Book of the Law " ? It assumes that there was a **" movement "** towards centralized worship, arising out of the existence of the Temple, and strengthened by the fall of the Northern Kingdom : that there ever was such a movement, or that it ever was so strengthened, is substantiated by no historical evidence ; it is simply the critic's idea of what **" naturally "** and **" no doubt "** would have taken place. The

attitude of the compiler of Kings towards the high places is hardly evidence from the history, and proves nothing as to the date of the book. The one bit of anything like historical evidence is the statement that the worship of the "host of heaven" assumed prominence **"at the same time,"** and there is some reason for thinking that this had already assumed prominence, at least in the Northern Kingdom, more than a century earlier (2 Kings xvii. 16). There is no attempt to show from the history that the legislation of P was unknown at the period in question. Where in the history is there any evidence that in Josiah's age the priesthood was **"still open "to every member of the tribe of Levi"**? If Ezek: xliv. 10 is put forward, that again is hardly evidence from the history, and the inference from that passage is open to serious question (see above, pp: 211, 212).

What then has the history to tell us as to the Central Sanctuary, and Josiah's reform?

The evidence for the period before the building of Solomon's Temple has already been considered (pp: 234–238), and there is reason for thinking that up to that time the law of D had simply not yet come into operation.

From that point we take up the evidence. At the outset, the fact of the erection of the Temple is an important item of evidence. The critics speak of **"the prestige of Solomon's Temple"** as fostering a **"tendency towards centralization"** (BE. 208), and **"a movement arising naturally out of the existence of the "Temple"** (LOT. 138). They do not seem to consider it at all necessary to account for that existence. The fact is taken for granted as though it needed no explanation. Yet there must have been something to account for the desire to build a Temple. For this we must go back to the history of David, since the idea was David's, though it was left to Solomon to carry it out.

On becoming king over the whole nation, David's first step was to bring about the political unity of Israel and Judah, by providing a suitable capital. This was effected by the capture of the Jebusite fortress at Jerusalem near the boundary between the Northern and Southern tribes (2 Sam: v. 6–10). Then, the political position being further secured by the victories over the Philistines (v. 17–25), David was at liberty to turn his attention to matters religious. He brings up the Ark from Baale Judah (vi. 1, 2) and eventually lodges it in "the city of David." Can it be doubted that his motive was to make his new capital a centre of religious as well as political unity? He certainly made it a national concern. It is "all the chosen men of Israel" that he gathers together (2 Sam: vi. 1);—it is "all the house of Israel" that brings up the Ark (v: 15);—it is "the whole multitude of Israel" that partakes in the rejoicings (v: 19).

The Ark is placed in a tent specially prepared for it (vi. 17), but

David is not satisfied with this, and forms the design of building a House for it (vii. 2). He is not permitted to carry out this design himself, and the execution of it is reserved for Solomon (2 Sam: vii. 13 ; 1 Kings v. 5). Here again it is a national concern. The levy of workmen is " out of all Israel " (1 Kings v. 13) ;— " all the men of Israel " assemble for the dedication (viii. 2, 5), and " the king and all the children of Israel dedicated the house of " the LORD " (v: 63).

What was this but providing a centre of worship for the whole nation ?

But all of this turns upon the Ark. It is a fitting shelter for the Ark that David desires ;—" I dwell in a house of cedar, but the " Ark of God dwelleth within curtains " (2 Sam: vii. 2). All the costly splendour lavished on the Temple is to make it a worthy " house for the name of the LORD, the God of Israel. And there " have I set a place for the Ark " (1 Kings viii. 20, 21), and the bringing in of the Ark is the crowning ceremony of the dedication (viii. 1–11). The Temple came into existence because of the Ark, and the Ark was the symbol of the religious unity of the people. Instead of the existence of the Temple suggesting the idea of centralization, it is the idea of the Ark being the one true centre of worship which brings about the building of the Temple.

Was then this Temple the only legitimate sanctuary, or was it but the chief among many ? What of the " high places " at which the people and Solomon himself " sacrificed and burnt incense " before the Temple was built ? Were they forthwith abandoned ?

During the rest of Solomon's reign, the only " high places " actually mentioned are those he built for Chemosh and Molech (1 Kings xi. 7). Under his immediate successor, Rehoboam, Judah relapsed into idolatry, and it is with idolatrous practices that the " high places " are connected (1 Kings xiv. 23). After Abijam's short reign, Asa did away with the idolatrous practices, " but the high " places were not taken away " (1 Kgs: xv. 14). Jehoshaphat followed in Asa's footsteps, " howbeit the high places were not " taken away ; the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the " high places " (1 Kgs: xxii. 43). Jehoram and Ahaziah seem to have introduced the Baal worship of " the house of Ahab " (2 Kgs: viii. 18, 27). In the four succeeding reigns, Jehoash, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham, the " high places " are still not taken away, and the people still continue to sacrifice and burn incense in them (2 Kgs: xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35). Ahaz again reverted to idolatry, as well as himself sacrificing and burning incense " in the high " places and on the hills, and under every green tree " (2 Kgs: xvi. 3, 4).

Now as Asa abolished idolatry, and he, Jehoshaphat, Jehoash, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham are spoken of as doing " that which " was right in the eyes of the LORD," it may be reasonable to

conclude that in these six reigns the "high places" were used for the worship of JEHOVAH, but it was only the people, not the kings themselves, who so used them.

The critics accept the evidence of the compiler of Kings as to the continuance of the "high places," and build on it; but attribute the disfavour with which he views **"the worship (of Jehovah) "at the high places"** (LOT. 200) to his Deuteronomic bias:— **"Obedience to the Deuteronomic law is the qualification "for an approving verdict: deviation from it is the source "of ill-success . . . and the sure prelude to condemnation"** (LOT. 199). This estimate scarcely does justice to the historian. Solomon is blamed for going "after other gods" (1 Kgs: xi. 10);— Jeroboam for making "other gods and molten images" (xiv. 9); —Baasha for "walking in the ways of Jeroboam" (xvi. 2);— Ahaziah and Jehoram for walking "in the ways of the house of "Ahab" (2 Kgs: viii. 27);—and the Israelites generally because "they served idols" (xvii. 12). Charges of downright idolatry are something more than charges of deviating from **"the Deuter- "onomic law."** On the other hand, the six kings named above do receive an **"approving verdict,"** although they did not wholly comply with the Deuteronomic law of one only Sanctuary. Moreover, the standard to which the compiler himself repeatedly refers is not that of Deuteronomy, but the example of David. Solomon in his earlier days (1 Kgs: iii. 3), Asa (xv. 11), Hezekiah (2 Kgs: xviii. 3), and Josiah (xxii. 2) are all praised for imitating David. Solomon in his old age (1 Kgs: xi. 4), Jeroboam (xiv. 8), Abijam (xv. 3), and Ahaz (2 Kgs: xvi. 2) are blamed for being unlike David. Amaziah (2 Kgs: xiv. 3) is praised for general right conduct, but with the limitation "yet not like David his father."

Supposing, however, it is conceded that the historian's disapprobation of the "high places" may possibly be due only to his Deuteronomic prejudice, how must their continued use be regarded? The critics claim it as a proof that they were looked upon as legitimate under the JE law, but that is not the only possible interpretation of the evidence. Considering the repeated falling away of the people to gross heathen idolatry, is it not reasonable to believe that even pious kings may have deemed it politic to be content with bringing back the people to their allegiance to the LORD, even though it were expressed in irregular fashion, especially as there was some sort of precedent in the examples of Samuel and Solomon? That, in fact, the non-removal of the "high places" was a somewhat weak concession to popular prejudice? That would seem to be the view of the compiler of Kings: —**"he views, indeed, the worship (of Jehovah) at the high "places with disfavour, but the kings who permit it are "not thereby disqualified from receiving a verdict of "approval, as are those who patronized, or encouraged,**

**"practices actually heathen"** (LOT. 200). If the compiler of Kings was so completely under the influence of Deuteronomy as is represented, how is it that he did not pass a severer judgment on the kings who permitted its most distinctive law to be openly infringed? Is it not clear that, while distinctly disapproving their conduct in this respect, he yet treated it rather as a weakness, compensated for by their zeal against idolatry, and generally righteous motives.

Returning to the evidence, Hezekiah did remove the "high "places" (2 Kgs: xviii. 4). His successor Manasseh "built again "the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed" (xxi. 3), and it must have been these which Josiah in turn destroyed again. Manasseh's reign was marked by the grossest idolatry, even in the Temple itself (2 Kgs: xxi. 5, 7). It is therefore by no means certain that any of the "high places" he restored were ever used at all for the worship of JEHOVAH, (**"at those** [high places] **"which were set up again under Manasseh the worship "was probably more idolatrous than before."** IP. 137), and the short reign of Amon was equally idolatrous (2 Kgs: xxi. 21).

Then comes the reign of Josiah, and his reform. Here, if the critics are right, ought to be found clear proof of the establishment for the first time of **"the law of the Central Sanctuary in its "*exclusiveness*"** (LOT. 93), for this is alleged to be the special characteristic of Deuteronomy, and this therefore should be a marked feature in Josiah's reform. **"La seule innovation véritable "que nous sachions, c'était la defense absolue du culte "hors de Jerusalem"** (Reuss, quoted BD. lvi).

**"By the Deuteronomic reform, all the country sanctuaries "were suppressed."** BEM. lxix.

As regarded in 2 Kings xxiii, the steps by which the reform actually proceeded are these:—

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|---|---|
| (1) v: 3, | Making the Covenant. |
| (2) v: 4, | Destruction of vessels for Baal etc: out of the Temple. |
| (3) v: 5[a], | Abolition of "idolatrous priests" who burned "incense in the high places" |
| (4) v: 5[b], | Abolition of those who burned incense to Baal, sun, moon, etc. |
| (5) v: 6, | Burning the *Asherah* "from the house of the "LORD." |
| (6) v: 7, | Breaking down sodomite houses "in the house "of the LORD." |
| (7) v: 8[a], | Bringing all priests "out of the cities of Judah." |
| (8) v: 8[b], | Defiling high places "where the priests had "burned incense." |
| (9) v: 8[c], | Breaking down high places "at the gate of the "city." |

[v: 9, treatment of the priests of the high places].

(10) v: 10, Defiling Topheth,—Molech worship.

(11) v: 11, Taking away horses and chariots of the sun.

(12) v: 12, Destruction of altars in Ahaz' chamber, and "in the two courts of the house of the "LORD."

(13) v: 13, Defiling Solomon's high places for Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom.

(14) v: 14, Destruction of "pillars" and *Asherim*.

(15) vv: 15–18, Destruction of Jeroboam's altar and high place at Bethel.

(16) v: 19, Taking away high places "in the cities of "Samaria."

(17) v: 20, Slaughter of priests of the high places there.

(18) vv: 21–23, Keeping the Passover.

(19) v: 24, Putting away wizards, teraphim, idols, etc.

No doubt every one of these is in accordance with the principles of Deuteronomy, and based on the laws therein: so they must have been on the traditional view (see above, p: 243–244). But how many of them have to do with the law of the Central Sanctuary **"in its exclusiveness"**? and in what way do they show that this was an innovation?

The majority are concerned with the removal of gross idolatry and much of that from the Temple itself, the City, and its immediate vicinity. Jeroboam's high place at Bethel was for the worship of the Golden Calf, and the high places in the cities of Samaria were probably idolatrous also. In v: 5, the use of the word *Chemarim*,—used in the Elephantine papyrus to designate priests of idols,—and the close connection with burning incense to Baal, sun, and moon, point to idolatrous high places. There remains only v: 8; "he brought out all the priests out of the cities of Judah, "and defiled the high places where the priests had burned "incense from Geba to Beersheba; and he brake down the high "places of the gates that were at the entering in of the gate of "Joshua the governor of the city, which were on a man's left "hand at the gate of the city."

For even this one verse to be any support to the critical theory, it would be necessary to assume (a) that these high places had been **"local sanctuaries"** at which sacrifice **"was considered "perfectly legitimate"** (BD. 137); and (b) that, when rebuilt by Manasseh, they had reverted to the worship of JEHOVAH, though idolatry of the worst type prevailed everywhere else, and even in the Temple itself. Of these assumptions the former is at least questionable, and the latter highly improbable.

The evidence from the history that Josiah's reform established the law of the Central Sanctuary **"in its exclusiveness"** as

a new thing (if there be any) is at the utmost very slight and uncertain. Apart from that, there is nothing to show that the laws of Deuteronomy were previously unknown.

On the contrary, there is the reformation of Hezekiah :—" He " removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the " *Asherah* : and he brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses " had made " (2 Kgs: xviii. 4). Here the removal of the high places is put in the forefront ; and it is of this that Rabshakeh says, " if ye say unto me, We trust in the LORD our God : is not that " he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, " and hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before " this altar in Jerusalem ? " (v: 22). What is this but a removal of high places, used (if Rabshakeh is accurate) for the worship of JEHOVAH, and that in the interests of the Central Sanctuary ? Was not this a " **Deuteronomic reform** " ?

No, say the critics, this was due to the influence of prophetic teaching :—" **The prophets had more and more distinctly " taught that Zion was emphatically Jehovah's seat ; and " it became gradually more and more plain that the progress " of spiritual religion demanded the unconditional abolition " of the local shrines. It was not enough (Ex. xxiii. 24, " xxxiv, 13) to demolish heathen sanctuaries : other sanc- " tuaries, even though erected ostensibly for the worship " of Jehovah, must not be allowed to take their place. Heze- " kiah, supported, it may be presumed, by prophetical auth- " ority, sought to give practical effect to this teaching (2 " Ki. xviii. 4, 22 ; xxi. 3).**" LOT. 93.

This outline of the prophetic teaching is sketched in very boldly, and perhaps a little more positively than the evidence warrants, but the immediate point to be considered is the different causes assigned for the two reforms. In the earlier, the abolition of high places, said to have been used for the worship of JEHOVAH, directly in the interests of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem, is prominent ; that is to be due to prophetic teaching alone, and not to the Deuteronomic law. In the later, the abolition of high places, not certainly known to have been used for the worship of JEHOVAH, is mentioned incidentally as a subordinate item in a sweeping reform of idolatry ; this is to be due to the Deuteronomic law formulated in the interval.

Can this be considered an unbiassed treatment of the evidence ?

Dr. Driver continues (LOT. 93), " **But he** [Hezekiah] **was " unable to bring it** [the prophetic teaching] **really home to the " nation's heart ; and the heathen reaction under Manasseh " ensued. Naturally, this result only impressed the pro- " phetical party more strongly with the importance of the " principle which Hezekiah had sought to enforce ; and it is " accordingly codified, and energetically inculcated, in " Deuteronomy.**"

So then, the authority of Hezekiah backed by that of the prophets failed to bring about **" the unconditional abolition of the local " shrines,"** as is shown by the heathen reaction under Manasseh. Then and therefore, an unknown writer pens a law by which the local shrines, up to that time **" perfectly legitimate,"** are stringently forbidden, and calls this a Divine law transmitted through Moses centuries ago. That which royal and prophetic authority combined have failed to accomplish is sought to be effected by means of a new law masquerading as an old one. What an extraordinary expedient ! and what a peculiar meaning for **" codified "** ! Does " codify " really mean to frame a new law contradicting the existing law, and to call the new law ancient ? The critics do not seem to credit the **" prophetical party "** with much regard for truth.

The critical *theory* requires that the exclusive law of the Central Sanctuary was unknown till the finding of the " Book of the Law " in 621 * ; the *evidence* goes to show that it was known and acted on by Hezekiah a century earlier. The critical *theory* requires that the abolition of local shrines used for the worship of JEHOVAH was a marked feature of Josiah's reform ; the *evidence* shows that the reform was almost wholly the abolition of idolatry, chiefly in the Central Sanctuary itself.

That the main object of Josiah's reform was the abolition of idolatry is further shown by Huldah's denunciation of wrath upon Jerusalem and its inhabitants " because they have forsaken me, " and have burned incense unto other gods " (2 Kings : xxii. 17).

The sequel shows that Josiah's reform was as ineffectual and transient as that of Hezekiah. Jeremiah witnesses to a general relapse into idolatry within a short time after Josiah's death :— " They are turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers, which " refused to hear my words ; and they are gone after other gods " to serve them. . . . For according to the number of thy cities " are thy gods, O Judah ; and according to the number of the " streets of Jerusalem have ye set up altars to the shameful thing, " even altars to burn incense unto Baal." Jer: xi. 10, 13.

Two minor points in the critical argument may be noticed here.

(1) To account for the growth of the Central Sanctuary idea up to the time of Hezekiah, Dr. Driver asserts (LOT. 93), **" History " had shown that it was impossible to secure the local sanc- " turies against abuse, and to free them from contamination " by Canaanitish idolatry."** What authority is there for this ?

* It is only fair to say that some critics,—Delitzsch and others,—assign D **" to the reign of Hezekiah, considering that it was in its origin " connected with, or even gave the impulse to, the reform of 2 Ki. " xviii. 4, 22 "** (LOT. 87). This view would avoid the objections above, but it would destroy the Wellhausen theory that D was unknown till Hilkiah's discovery, and the argument that the contents of D harmonize with the age of its promulgation, while leaving the origin of the Temple and of D itself unexplained.

What iota of evidence is there for the contamination of the local shrines as such ? The history (so far as we have it) seems to show that under the influence of idolatrously inclined kings (Rehoboam, Abijam, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Ahaz, Manasseh, Amon, and the successors of Josiah) the relapse into idolatry was general and immediate. There is nothing to show that the local sanctuaries had anything to do with this.

(2) In 2 Kings xxiii. 8 we are told that Josiah "brought up "all the priests out of the cities of Judah." The critics at once assume that these were "**Levitical priests,**" but what right have they to do so ? Their theory is that, under the JE law, any layman might and did offer sacrifice and burn incense. On their own grounds, what is there to show that the priests who burned incense at the high places were "Levitical" at all ? The priests of the high places in Samaria whom Josiah slew (v: 20) were almost certainly not Levitical. Yet on this assumption they found a further argument :—"**After the abolition of the high places by "Josiah, however, the central priesthood refused to ac- "knowledge the right which (according to the law of Dt.) the "Levitical priests of the high places must have possessed.**" [Footnote] "**See 2 Ki. xxiii. 9 where it is said of the dises- "tablished Levitical priests that they 'came not up to the "'altar of Jehovah in Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened "'cakes among their brethren,' i.e. they were not deprived "of the *maintenance* due to them as priests by the law of "Dt. xviii. 8, but they were not admitted to the exercise "of priestly functions.**" LOT. 154.

If this be the correct view, the action of the "**central priesthood**" was both arbitrary and inconsistent. They defy that part of the newly established D which (according to the critics) especially gave to these "**disestablished Levitical priests**" the right to exercise priestly functions, viz: Deut: xviii. 6, 7, and in the same breath admit the authority of that law by giving them the "**main- "tenance**" prescribed by the very next verse (8) ! But, in truth, there is nothing to show that this was the action of the "**central priesthood,**" or of any priesthood at all. For aught we know this exclusion from priestly duties may have been due to the king or the prophets. Also "they did eat unleavened cakes "among their brethren" would be a curious way of expressing the allowance of their prescribed "**maintenance.**" It looks much more like an allusion to the keeping of the Passover soon after (2 Kgs: xxiii. 21). They were perhaps debarred from approaching the altar to offer sacrifice,* but were admitted to participate with their priestly brethren in the Passover festival.

* Even this is far from certain, for "came not up to the altar" might refer to voluntary action on their own part.

Dr. Driver in the above passage has not presented the evidence, but his view of what the evidence means, involving no less than four distinct assumptions;—(1) that these were Levitical priests (i.e. neither laymen, nor of the house of Aaron); (2) that they were excluded arbitrarily from priestly privileges to which they had a legal right; (3) that this was the action of the central priesthood; (4) that the "unleavened cakes" means their lawful maintenance.

Of course on the traditional view these must have been Levitical priests and, more than that, descended from Aaron, only their implication in the idolatry to which the high places were perverted under Manasseh had forfeited their right to act as priests, though they retained their Levitical status. This would exactly fit in with the view that those who in Ezek: xliv are condemned to the inferior services (vv: 13, 14) were indeed priests but, having gone astray after their idols (v: 10) were no longer worthy either of the office or of the title, and therefore were called simply "the Levites" (see above, p: 212).

The evidence from the history as to the date of D adduced by the critics is incomplete both as to subject and time, touching only one point out of several, and for a very short period.

It does not show that Josiah's reform was Deuteronomic in the sense that the critics allege.

It does not show that the high places abolished by Josiah were legitimate sanctuaries for the worship of JEHOVAH.

It does not show that the idea of an exclusive Central Sanctuary was new in the days of Josiah.

The earlier history does show that the Ark was the centre of national worship first at Shiloh, afterwards in the Temple.

The later history at least admits of the view that the "high "places" were irregular, though connived at by pious kings.

It also shows that the exclusive law of the Central Sanctuary was known and put in force by Hezekiah, long before Josiah's time.

The evidence of the history does not bear out the contention that Deuteronomy originated in the time of Hezekiah, Manasseh, or Josiah.

# XXVI.

## THE HISTORY AND P—THE TABERNACLE (I).

AFTER the Exile, it is admitted that the P code was in force. Does the evidence show that before the Exile it was unknown ?

The allegations as to the place of sacrifice, the persons who sacrificed, and the allusions in the history to institutions prescribed in P have already been sufficiently discussed (see cc: xxiii, xxiv). It is contended, however, that there is one matter of great importance, the Tabernacle, in which both the legislation and the representation of P are **" unhistorical."**

The account of the planning and construction of the Tabernacle occupies a large part of the P narrative : the whole of the P sacrificial system centres in the Tabernacle. Yet the critics maintain that this structure never really existed.

It was **" a product of religious idealism "** (Ottley's " Bampton Lectures," quoted BE. 432).

**" The Tabernacle, *as described by P*, represents, not a " historical structure, which once actually existed, but " an ideal,—an ideal, based indeed upon a historical reality, " but far transcending it, and designed as the embodiment " of certain spiritual ideas."** BE. 426.

Some of the grounds for objecting to the historicity of the P representation are set out in an introductory notice to Exod: xxv–xxxi (BE. 257, 258), but they are more fully stated in a special Appendix (App: iv, BE. 426–432) where they are grouped in four paragraphs which may be summarized thus :—

I. (a) Obscurities and omissions in the account ; (b) inadequacy of transport.

II. (a) Want of requisite skill ; (b) want of materials ; (c) impossible statistics.

III. Inconsistency with representation in JE.

IV. Absence from later history.

The whole is summed up thus :—**" For these reasons—the " presumable absence of the skill and means for constructing " it, the divergent representations of it found in the Pent. " itself, and the impossibility of finding a place for it in the " picture of the early religion of Israel given in Judges and**

**"Sam.—it does not seem possible to regard the Tent of "Meeting, *as described by P*, as historical."** BE. 430.

The counts in this indictment are numerous, and will require examination in detail.

I. (a). *Omissions and obscurities.*

**"The descriptions, when examined carefully, are found "to be marked by omissions and obscurities, indicating that "they are not the work of an eye-witness, or the working "directions upon which a fabric, such as is described, could "be actually constructed. Thus nothing is said of the "shape of the cherubim, the nature and position of the "ledge on the bronze altar, the position of the 'border' round "the table of Presence-bread, the thickness of the solid "gold 'mercy-seat,' and, especially, of the thickness of the "'boards' or 'frames' or of the manner in which the hollow "wooden case, plated with bronze, which formed the altar "of burnt offering was to be used."** BE. 426.

The **"omissions and obscurities"** here enumerated are exactly six, and it may be presumed that they are, at least, the most remarkable. Considering that the directions for the construction of the Tabernacle occupy five long chapters (xxv–xxviii, xxx; 179 verses) this does not seem a very large amount.

Do these indicate that the descriptions are not **"the work of "an eye-witness"**?

Any one who has ever attempted to describe an edifice minutely will know how extremely difficult it is to avoid some, and even serious, omissions. As for obscurities, it is well known how hard it is to understand the written description of a construction (say, some machine) which has not been actually seen. Even diagrams will not always clear up every difficulty. When, moreover, the description is in an ancient language, and the precise meaning of some of the terms uncertain, the marvel would be if there were not a very great deal of obscurity.

As to **"working directions upon which a fabric . . . could "be actually constructed,"** can the descriptions in Exodus be fairly considered anything of the sort? Minute as the details are, they are nothing like so minute and precise as the specifications of a modern building. Besides, whoever supposed that the workmen had nothing but these written instructions to guide them? If, as the account in Exodus twice asserts (xxv. 9, 40), Moses was shown a "pattern" in the mount, there would be many details in which he would be able to instruct the artificers, apart from the verbal directions recorded.

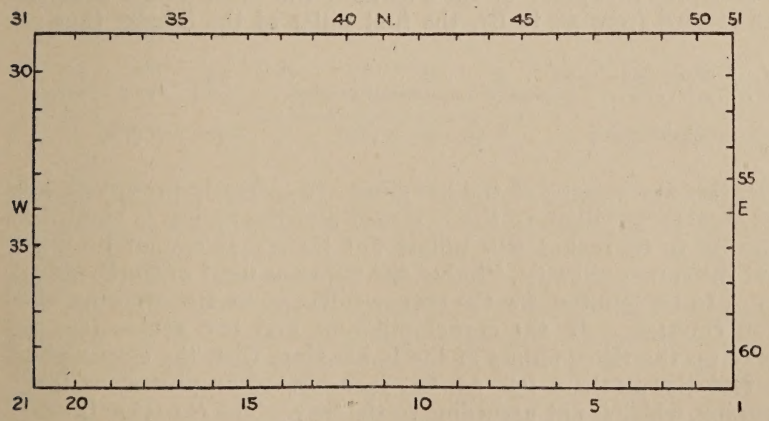
On the other hand, are not such **"omissions and obscurities"** exactly what a writer of an "**ideal**" description of an **"ideal"** structure would avoid? Moses, thoroughly acquainted with **"the "shape of the cherubim,"** and the manner of using **"the**

**" hollow wooden case, plated with bronze, which formed the " altar of burnt offering,"** might very well omit to speak of what was so familiar. They are just the kind of points which an idealizing writer would be sure to make clear.

There is an instance of omission leading to some obscurity, not among Dr. Driver's six, the examination of which will be instructive.

In regard to the Court of the Tabernacle, there is a note (BE. 295) on c: xxvii. 9–16 :—**" In the method of reckoning the pillars " of the court there is an inexactness, due no doubt to the " author's love of symmetry. The two longer sides are " of 100 cubits, each with 20 pillars, the two shorter sides " are of 50 cubits each, with 10 pillars; and there are 60 " pillars in all. If now there are 10 pillars on the E. side, " the distance between each [*sic*] will be $\frac{50}{9}$ cubits, and the " two sides of the entrance, 15 cubits from each corner, will " not coincide with two of the pillars; as, moreover, the " four corner pillars must now be counted twice, there " will in all be not 60, but only 56 pillars. The writer must " thus, for the sake of symmetry, have reckoned the sides as " having respectively 20 and 10 pillars each, when in reality " they would have 21 and 11."**

Here two assumptions not warranted by the text have been made ;—that the spaces between the pillars were all equal; (2) that the corner pillars are counted twice. On these assumptions it is argued that in the shorter sides there were 10 *spaces* of 5 cubits each, requiring 11 pillars, and in the longer sides 20 *spaces* of 5 cubits each, requiring 21 pillars; but as in this arrangement each corner pillar is counted twice, the actual total would be 60 pillars, as below :—




The arrangement is ingenious, keeping to the general measure-

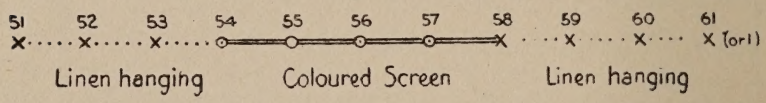
ments, and to the number of pillars, but none the less there is a serious flaw in it.

In the text the S, W, and N sides are briefly dismissed with a mere mention of the length of the hangings, and the number of pillars, but for the E side the directions are more detailed: "And "the breadth of the court on the east side eastwards shall be fifty "cubits. The hangings for the one side *of the gate* shall be fifteen "cubits: their pillars three, and their sockets three. And for "the other side shall be hangings of fifteen cubits: their pillars "three, and their sockets three. And for the gate of the court "shall be a screen of twenty cubits, of blue, and purple, and "scarlet, and fine twined linen, the work of the embroiderer: "their pillars four, and their sockets four." Exod: xxvi. 13–16.

The total length of 50 cubits was divided into three: at each end, a hanging of 15 cubits supported on 3 pillars, made of fine twined linen; in the centre a screen of 20 cubits supported on 4 pillars, made of **"the same richly coloured materials, the 'work "'of the embroiderer,' as the screen to the entrance to the "Dwelling."** BE. 294.

Dillmann's account of this (quoted BE. 296) is,—**"the E. side "has for the N. side of the entrance nos. 51–54, no. 54 being "reckoned to the entrance: the entrance has nos. 54–58, no. "58 being reckoned to the S. side of the entrance; the S. "side of the entrance has nos. 58–61, no. 61 being the same "as no. 1 of the S. side."**

According to this, the linen hanging of the N corner began at pillar 51, its three pillars being 51, 52, 53, but was carried on to 54 which was the first pillar of the Screen: the richly coloured Screen began at 54, with the four pillars, 54, 55, 56, 57, but was carried on to 58, the first pillar of the S corner: the linen of the S corner was carried from 58 to 61, the first pillar of the S side, thus:—




In this the lengths of the hangings are correctly preserved, and the number of pillars to the N corner and the Screen is right, but from 58 to 61 makes *four* pillars not three. It cannot be urged that the corner pillar 61, **"being the same as no. 1 of the S. side,"** is not to be counted, for the corner pillar 51 at the other end has been counted. If the corner pillar 51 and two others (52, 53) make up the three pillars of the N hanging, then the corner pillar 61 and three others (58, 59, 60) make up four pillars for the S hanging, which is not according to the text. The **"inexactness"** is on the part of the critics.

Moreover, if (as the language suggests) the 20 cubits of richly

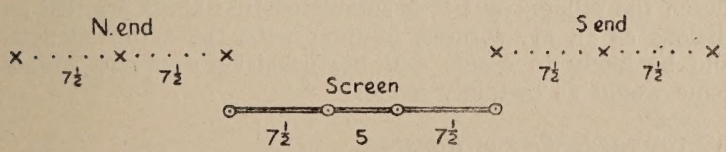
coloured material is in one piece, no entrance would be left unless those hangings were wholly or in part taken down.

Can any arrangement be suggested which would agree with the directions of the text ?

Let us begin with the Screen at the gate. This is to consist of richly coloured material 20 cubits in length, supported by 4 pillars. Taking this direction by itself, it is natural to conclude that the end pillars are to coincide with the ends of the material. As the direction for the Screen does stand complete in itself (v: 16), there is more reason for this conclusion than there is for assuming that the spaces between the pillars were all equal.

The linen hangings at either end are each 15 cubits in length, supported by 3 pillars. If for these also the end pillars are to coincide with the ends of the material, it becomes evident that the spacing of pillars which suits the ends will not do for the Screen. When there are three pillars, one at each end and one in the middle, the 15 cubits length of hanging will be divided into two equal panels of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. But this would be too long for the spacing of the Screen. That has 4 pillars, leaving 3 spaces, and three times $7\frac{1}{2}$ makes $22\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, whereas the length of the Screen is only 20 cubits. Let us suppose, then, that the two outer panels of the Screen were (like those of the ends) $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, but the centre one only 5, making up 20 in all.

As the three lengths of hanging exactly total 50 cubits, they would, if placed in line, entirely fill up the E side of the Court. But it is not stated that they were in line. Why may not the Screen have stood a little outside or (perhaps preferably) inside the Court, affording an entrance at either end ? The E side of the Court would then stand thus :

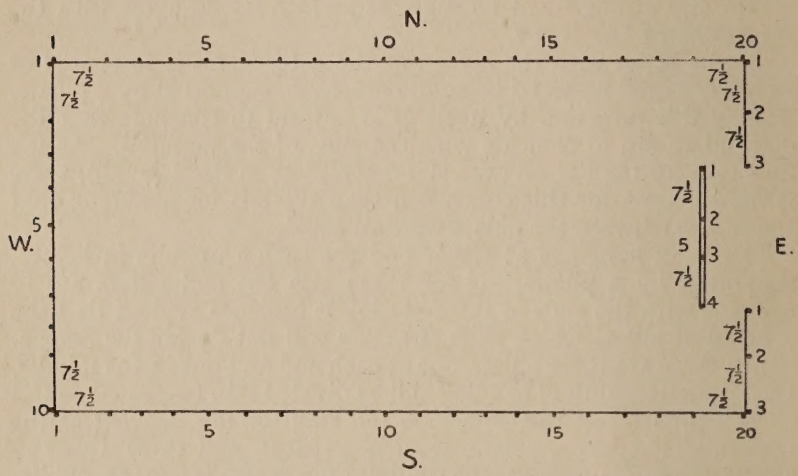



Take then the other sides. The S and N sides are each to have a hanging of 100 cubits, and 20 pillars, giving 19 spaces. Again let the two end panels be $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits each, and the intervening 17 panels 5 cubits each, making 100 cubits in all (15 + 85).

The W side is to have a hanging of 50 cubits, and 10 pillars, giving 9 spaces. Here again 2 end panels of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, and 7 intervening panels of 5 cubits each make up 50 cubits (15 + 35).

So far the sides have been treated separately. Now let the end pillar of each side be placed close up against the end pillar of the adjoining side, and let the hanging be placed *within* the pillars (another detail not specified). The hangings will then form the

required rectangle (100 cubits × 50); there will be 60 pillars; and no pillar will have been counted twice. Thus :—




In this arrangement the directions of the text have been faithfully adhered to, but it is not claimed that this must have been the plan actually adopted ;—for instance, the spacing of the pillars might have been different. It is claimed, however, that this shows that the figures and details given in Exodus are capable of a simple and reasonable interpretation, and the writer need not be charged with "**inexactness.**"

It follows, then, that in the directions there is some "**obscurity**" due to "**omissions**" (e.g. the omission to specify the distances between the pillars), but it is submitted that these are just such omissions as an eye-witness, familiar with the actual structure, would be likely to make, and the constructor of an "**ideal**" scheme would as certainly avoid.

I. (b) *Inadequacy of transport.*

**"It is remarkable also that for the transport of the Taber-"nacle and the court, consisting of 48 'boards' or 'frames,' "each 15 ft. high, 2¾ ft. broad (their thickness is not stated) "with 13 'bars' (ch. xxvi. 26–28) and 100 bases of solid "silver—according to xxxviii. 27 weighing 96 lbs each, "and altogether therefore more than 4 tons,—the 9 pillars "of acacia wood, each 15 ft. high, for the veil and screen, "the 300 * pillars for the court, each 7½ feet high (their "other dimensions are not given) with their 300 * bronze**

* There seems to be some error here. Dr. Driver himself says, "**there "are 60 pillars in all.**" BE. 295.

**" bases, and the cords and bronze pegs for keeping both " the Tent and court in position (xxxviii. 31), the Merarites " have only *four* wagons assigned to them (Nu. vii. 8, cf iii. " 36 f), evidently an altogether insufficient number."** BE. 426.

It is nowhere said that all these things were piled on the four wagons. The Kohathites had no wagons at all :—" The service " of the sanctuary belonged unto them ; they bare it upon their " shoulders " (Num: vii. 9). Probably the Merarites did a good deal of the carrying in the same way. Num: iii. 24 gives the number of Merarites as 6,200 ; and c: iv. 44 gives the number of those between the ages of 30 and 50 as 3,200. 3,000 able-bodied men could carry a good deal ; indeed probably 2,000 men could have carried the whole amount without any wagons at all. It is hardly fair to argue on statistics from one part of the narrative without taking into consideration the statistics in another part.

Also, how came the constructor of an **" ideal "** scheme—one too who (according to the critics) persistently indulges in exaggerated figures,—to name the very modest number of six wagons as the offering of the princes (Num: vii. 3) ? One would have thought that a scribe who (again according to the critics) has not scrupled to turn the number of the people from 5,000 or 10,000 into something over 2 millions would have said at least 600 wagons. Is not the **" evidently altogether insufficient number "** in reality a proof of *bona fides* and honest record ?

# XXVII.

## THE TABERNACLE (II).

II. (a) *Want of skill among the Hebrews.*

**"It is perfectly true that the Egyptians, like the Baby-"lonians, had long before the time of the Exodus acquired "high proficiency in many of the useful and fine arts: but "it can hardly be supposed that this proficiency was shared "by a subject nation such as the Hebrews, who did not live in "great cities, who had no palaces or temples to keep up, "and no domestic state or luxury to cultivate, but whose "principal occupations were the pasturing of cattle, and the "forced labour of the *corvée*. Can it be deemed likely that a "people such as this possessed the skill in joinery, weaving, "embroidery, the casting and hammering of metals, and "the forming them into often difficult and complicated "forms, necessary to carry out the specifications contained "in Ex. xxv–xxxi?"** BE. 426, 427.

Much of the above description of the condition of the Hebrews before the Exodus rests on assertion for which there is little or no support in the narrative. The Hebrews had not always been a **"subject nation."** The narrative leads us to believe that, at least during Joseph's lifetime, they were treated with consideration. The narrative also states that "the land was filled with them" before the new king "which knew not Joseph" arose (Exod: i. 7, 8). Is it unlikely that many of this numerous population had engaged in other occupations besides that of pasturing cattle, and that some may even have acquired something of the Egyptian **"high proficiency in many of the useful and fine arts"**? Even after the Pharaoh had decided to reduce the people to servitude, is it impossible that there were some who had become too skilful and too useful in higher occupations to be turned into mere brick labourers? When the Israelites "built for Pharaoh store cities, "Pithom and Raamses" (Exod: ii. 11), are we to suppose that none of them did any of the higher work which must have been included? In modern history, are there no instances of Hebrews being found in high positions of responsibility and skill when the bulk of the people were in a down-trodden condition, say for instance in mediaeval Spain?

We do not know that none of the Hebrews lived "**in great "cities,**" or had any "**domestic state or luxury to cultivate.**" The narrative indeed does not mention any other occupation than that of "**pasturing of cattle**" until the people were reduced to "**the forced labour of the corvée,**" but that would be surely sufficiently accounted for if the majority of the nation was so occupied and would not exclude the possibility that a minority,—perhaps a very small one,—was otherwise engaged. The nomination of Bezaleel and Oholiab and "all that were wise-hearted" ("**those who were already *wise-hearted*, i.e. . . . possessed "artistic aptitudes.**" BE. 343) would rather point to a comparatively small number being capable of this artistic work.

"**Years afterwards, when the Hebrews had been long "settled in Palestine, and had no doubt added something "to their knowledge of art from their contact with the "Canaanites, Solomon hired Phœnician workmen to make "all the metal furniture and vessels of his temple (1 Ki. "vii. 13 f, 41 ff).**" BE. 427.

1 Kgs: vii. 13, 14, "King Solomon sent and fetched Hiram out "of Tyre . . . he was filled with wisdom and understanding and "cunning, to work all works in brass." v: 45, ". . . even all "these vessels which Hiram made for King Solomon, in the house "of the LORD, were of burnished brass."

Only one Phœnician workman is mentioned, Hiram;—his work is limited to articles of brass (or bronze); he is in no way connected with the artistic wood and gold work in vi. 21–36, or the gold work in vii. 48–50; the amount of work attributed to him (vii. 15–45) could hardly have been done by him single handed, and, as no other Phœnicians are mentioned, the probability is that the other workers were Hebrews. The importation of a master workman, especially skilled in one branch of metal work, in no way implies that the Hebrews were deficient in artistic skill.

II. (b) *Want of material.*

"'**Further, it is difficult to suppose that a desert tribe, "'even after spoiling the Egyptians, possessed the requisite "'materials. Apart from the precious stones and the "'fine linen thread, the amount of metals alone, as given "'in xxxviii, 24–29 works out' (on the most probable com-"putation of the shekel, at 224 grs) as follows: gold, "40,940 oz [=c. 1¼ ton]; silver, 140,828 oz. [=c. 4¼ tons]; "bronze, 108,749 oz: av. [=3 tons].**" BE. 427.

In passing, note the invidious and misleading term "**a desert "tribe.**" The Israelites are represented as a nation of tribes, who had only been in the desert a very short time, about 3 months.

The tonnage of metals sounds very imposing, but if the people numbered anything like 600,000 adult men (the question of the numbers will be dealt with in the next section) the amount of

metal per man would work out to less than $\frac{1}{14}$ oz: of gold, a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ oz: of silver, and a little less than $\frac{1}{5}$ oz: of bronze. Or, if from the number of firstborn we compute the number of families at about 45,000, still the amount of metal contributed would be less than 1 oz: of gold, a little over 3 oz: of silver, and under $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz: of bronze per family. These amounts can hardly be considered very startling.

**" Moreover, it would be very difficult to procure in the " desert the olive oil for the lamps, and the dyes—' violet and " ' purple from Tyrian shell fish, and crimson from an " ' insect found on a particular kind of oak tree [see on " ' xxv. 4] ' (McNeile, p. lxxxi)."** BE. 427.

The seven lamps of the Golden Candlestick would not require a great amount of oil per diem, as they do not seem to have been large, and were only trimmed once a day. We do not know what opportunities there may have been for obtaining fresh supplies (e.g. at Kadesh).

Nothing whatever is said about any of the dyeing being done in the desert. The Israelites probably brought ready dyed materials with them from Egypt, as seems to be implied in Exod: xxxv. 23, " Every man, with whom was found blue, and purple, and scarlet, " and fine linen, and goats' *hair*, and rams' skins dyed red, and " sealskins, brought them."

II. (c) *Impossible statistics.*

**" It is also (cf. on xii. 37; and see more fully on Nu. i) " quite certain that the numbers of the Israelites at the " Exodus could have been in reality nothing even approaching " 2,000,000. Petrie, a most circumspect historical critic, who " is himself well acquainted with the products and capacities " of the Sinaitic Peninsula, places the utmost number that " the country could support at 5,000: but even though we " doubled this figure, it would not be credible that 10,000 " nomad serfs could have possessed precious metals in " these quantities, or even metals in general and the other " materials mentioned, in quantities sufficient to construct " the Tabernacle according to the specifications of Ex. " xxv–xxxi."** BE. 427.

Again note the invidious and misleading term **" nomad serfs."** The Israelites were not nomads at this time: they had only left a settled existence in Egypt a very short time. They were not now serfs, and, if the narrative is at all to be trusted, had come away with a large amount of wealth, " jewels of silver, and jewels of " gold, and raiment " (Exod: xii. 35).

Strictly speaking, the objection against the numbers of the people does not affect the question of the existence of the Tabernacle. Indirectly it may affect the statements of the quantity of metals and materials, or of the adequacy of the transport; but, supposing

it to be proved that the statistics of the people are incredibly large, the statistics as to quantity of metals and weight of material might be similarly exaggerated and yet the general description of the Tabernacle little affected. What does emerge is that the statistics as to metals etc: and the statistics as to the numbers of the people, whether exaggerated or not, are consistent the one with the other. The objection, however, would affect the general credibility of P's history.

Before discussing this, it must be noted that the numbers in question are not found in P alone. Exod: xii. 37 (J according to BE. 100 ; E according to LOT. 28) gives the number of men as 600,000, and Num: xi. 21 (J) repeats this. In Exod: xxxii. 28 (J) the number slain by the Levites is given as 3,000 men, a number clearly impossible if the total number of men, women, and children was only 5,000, or even 10,000. The numbers may be dismissed as exaggerated but the fact remains that the JE statistics agree with those of P.

The note on Exod: xii. 37, to which Dr. Driver calls attention, says, **" These numbers are incredible, they are not consistent with " the limits of Goshen [footnote, So Sayce EHH, 212], or " (as has been most recently shown by Petrie, *Researches " in Sinai*, 1907, pp. 206–8) with the number that could be " maintained in the Sinaitic Peninsula (similarly Di. Num- " bers, p. 6) ; the details given by P are, moreover, incon- " sistent and impossible in themselves (see G. B. Gray, *Num- " bers*, pp. 12–15)."** BE. 101.

On Num: i, Dr. McNeile comments (BN. 3, 4), **" There can be " no doubt that the numbers given in chs i–iii and xxvi are " purely artificial. Gray (*Numbers*, pp. 10–15) shows that " (1) they are impossible, (2) when compared with each " other they yield absurd results, (3) they are inconsistent " with numbers given in Hebrew literature earlier than P."**

Of these, No (1), the impossibility of the numbers, is referred to the capabilities of the Sinaitic Peninsula ;—**" The present popu- " lation of the Sinaitic peninsula is estimated at from 4,000 " to 6,000, and a body of over 2 million people could not " find subsistence even if dispersed all over the peninsula."** BN. 4.

The objections that are advanced, then, are founded on (i) the limits of Goshen ; (ii) the capabilities of the Sinaitic Peninsula ; (iii) **" absurd results "** on comparison ; (iv) inconsistency with numbers in other histories.

As to the first two, with every possible respect for the authority of Profs. Sayce and Petrie, it is submitted that the data are not yet wholly determined.

(i) *The limits of Goshen.* Two factors are involved ; the extent of the territory, and the density of the population.

In the latest (11th) edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, Dr. Macalister, Director of Excavations to the Palestine Exploration Fund, says of Goshen (vol: xii, p: 264), **" its exact delimitation " is a difficult problem."** It would seem then that this authority does not altogether accept the very precise definition of Prof. Naville,—**" within the triangle lying between the villages " of Saft, Belbeis, and Tel el-Kebir "** (BE. 67). The LXX transliteration, Γέσεμ, does not prove that the " Goshen " of Genesis was exactly conterminous with **" *Kesem* . . . the 20th " nome of Lower Egypt "** (BE. 67). At most it shows that the ancient name *Kesem* was still known in the 3rd century BC, and that the LXX translators believed that it indicated the locality of Goshen : that *Kesem* included the whole of Goshen is not certain.

Again, the same edition of the Enc: Britt: gives (vol: ix, p: 31) the population of Egypt, according to the census of April 1907, as over 11 millions, excluding Bedawin, and adds, **" If the desert " regions be excluded, the population of Egypt is extremely " dense, being about 939 per sq: m. . . . In parts of Menufia, " a Delta province, the density rises to 1,352 per sq: m."** Here then is proof that the Delta is capable of supporting a very dense population. If in the days of Rameses II the population was at all equal to what it is now, it is not impossible that the Israelites formed a quarter of the total.

(ii) *Capabilities of the Sinaitic Peninsula.**

Prof. Petrie argues, chiefly on the ground that the rainfall shows no sign of having decreased, that the conditions of the Sinai Peninsula in the present day must be much the same as at the time of the Exodus.

On the other hand, Mr. Wiener (EPC. 115) quotes from an article, " Climate of Ancient Palestine," by Ellsworth Huntington (Bulletin of the American Geogr: Soc: vol: xi. 1908) ;—**" this whole " region had a larger rainfall, and was much more productive " at the time of the Exodus than it is now."**

Dr. McCaul in his *Examination of Bishop Colenso's Difficulties* (p: 71) quotes from Ewald in reference to Sinai, **" From the present " number of inhabitants, in a land long deprived of human " labour, it is not safe to draw a conclusion as to its former " condition. . . . The most different causes, as invading " sloth and barbarism, (and these are undeniably there), " advance of the sand driven forward by the wind, change " of the temperature of the soil, may all contribute to the " desolation of a land."** As instances of such changes, Dr. McCaul refers to the Haurân, the Libyan nome, the Roman province of Africa, and especially Palmyra ; and quotes (p: 76) from the

* Prof. Sayce (EHH. 188) places Sinai in Edom, Elim on the Gulf of Akaba, and maintains that the Israelites did not enter the " Sinaitic Penin- " sula " at all.

traveller Burckhardt a passage concerning Wady Ahmeer to the effect that fifty years before his visit, **" it was one of the most " fertile valleys of the country, full of date and other fruit " trees ; but that a violent flood tore up all the trees, and laid " it waste in a few days, and since that period, it has been " deserted."** It is not, then, impossible that decrease of rainfall and other causes may have made the conditions of the Sinai Peninsula now very different from what they were 3,000 years ago.

Further, the Pentateuch narrative itself indicates that the number of Israelites was more than could be maintained by the natural resources of that region, (1) in the records of frequent privations and murmurings ; (2) in representing that miraculous provision (manna, quails) had to be made for their sustenance. Calculations based on the numbers that can now be maintained in the Peninsula are not quite to the point.

A couple of minor objections, not included in the statements under consideration, may here be noticed.

Prof. Sayce (EHH, 212) says, **" Had the fighting population " amounted to anything like the number recorded, there " would have been no need of avoiding ' the way of the Philis- " ' tines ' lest the people should ' see war,' or of doubting " the issue of the combat at Rephidim with the Bedawin " tribes."**

The 603,550 enrolled at the Census were not the **" fighting " population,"** but men " from twenty years old, and upwards, " all that were able to go forth to war " (Num: i. 3), i.e. capable of bearing arms. Most of them, probably, were unarmed, and few if any had any experience of fighting. At Rephidim, the Israelites had a large camp to guard : the Amalekites were an unencumbered fighting force.

Dr. Gray (*Numbers* Temple Bible, p: x) says, **" The entire " population of Israel and Judah can hardly have exceeded " a million."**

The area of Palestine, E and W of Jordan, is said to be nearly 10,000 sq: miles. At 300 per sq: m: (and the Egyptian figures quoted above show that this might easily have been exceeded) the population would be about 3,000,000.

(iii) *"Absurd results."*

The only ones given by Dr. McNeile relate to the number of the firstborn.

**" The male first-born numbered 22,273 (iii. 43) ; and it is " fair to suppose that the number of families in which the " first-born child was a female would be about the same, " giving a total of some 44,546 families, in which case there " was an average of about 50 children to a family.**

**" Again from iii. 13 we gather that the ' first-born ' means " the first-born of the *mother*, not the eldest son of a father**

**"who might have several wives. There were, therefore, "44,546 mothers. But this number (assuming that the "number of women over 20 years of age was the same as "that of the men, i.e. 600,000) involves the extreme im- "probability that only 1 in 14 women over 20 years of age "had any children."** BN. 4, 5.

These calculations depend on the accuracy of the total 44,546 which looks so imposingly precise, but that accuracy is questionable. In the first place, there must have been a good many families in which the firstborn was not living at the time of the Census, especially among the older generations. Next, the number of female firstborn may have been in excess of the male. Therefore the number 22,273 would have to be increased (perhaps very considerably) to get the number of male firstborn, and that number again doubled (or more than doubled) to get the number of families. The number 44,546 cannot be relied on: the number of families may have been much greater.

Perhaps the real difficulty may be more correctly stated thus:—if the number of men over 20 years of age, "able to go forth to "war," was 603,550, the total number of males (including those under 20, and those incapable of bearing arms) must have been much greater, say 1,000,000. Allowing that half of these belonged to families in which the firstborn was a female, 500,000 belonged to families in which the firstborn was a son. Supposing that the number of firstborn who died before the Census was $\frac{1}{10}$ of those who survived, then the total of firstborn would be 22,273 + 2,227 = 24,500. But that would mean an average of over 20 sons to a family, besides daughters.

Or again, even if by making a very large allowance for deaths and for excess of female firstborn, the total number of families could be brought up to 70,000 instead of 44,546, on a population of 2,100,000 this would still mean an average of 30 per family. On any consideration, the number of firstborn seems much too small.

What does this mean? There are three possibilities:—

(1) the statistics are altogether unreliable, if not imaginary, as the critics maintain.

(2) the figures may be corrupt.

This is Mr. Wiener's view (EPC. 155–169). Frankly dismissing the numbers in the present text as impossible, he argues (EPC. 169), **"Numbers that were originally correct underwent "corruption in the first instance, partly through the ordin- "ary decay of a MS text, and partly through the peculiarities "of Hebrew writing. These causes were reinforced by a "natural but unfortunately misleading theory of the copying "scribes, and by well meant but unhappy attempts to correct "obvious errors. These causes, acting sometimes succes-**

**"sively, sometimes jointly, have resulted in our present text."** For instance, Mr. Wiener considers that in Josh: iv. 13 the number was originally 4,000 (which he holds **"cannot be far from the "mark"**), but so written that it might easily be misread as 40,000 (EPC. 162), and he thinks that there are indications that in other passages the true numbers have been multiplied by ten.

In other words this means that the numbers in some passages having been excusably misread as 10 times what they ought to be, the other statistics have been systematically altered by copying scribes so as to make them seem consistent throughout. Even so, it would not meet the objections of critics who hold that the numbers of the Israelites have been multiplied, not by 10, but by 200 or even 400. Also it would not solve the difficulty about the firstborn. For if 603,550 ought really to be 63,550, then the proportion of 22,273 surviving firstborn is too large; while if 22,273 is also ten times too great, then the proportion (and the difficulty) remain the same.

The third alternative is (3) the small number of first may be due, partly to unusual mortality among the male firstborn, partly to a limited sense of the term "firstborn." For instance, in the case of a man who had more than one wife, would there be more than one "firstborn," viz: the one who was first born of the father?

Dr. Mr. Neile rejects the possibility of this limitation of the term. It would be, he maintains, **"in defiance of iii. 12, Ex. xiii. 2, "where the 'first-born' is clearly defined as that which "'openeth the womb.' . . . There is not a trace in the Old "Testament of any distinction between mother and mother "with respect to the dedication of her first-born son."** BN 8.

Undoubtedly none but that which "openeth the womb" can possibly be "first-born," but the question is, Does the term "first-"born" (*bechor*) include every male that "openeth the womb"? It is not a question of distinction between mother and mother, but of the usage of the Hebrew word. Now Jacob had four wives, yet only Reuben is called his *bechor* (Gen: xlvi. 6). David had six wives, yet only Amnon is the "firstborn" (2 Sam: iii. 2). There is reason for thinking that this word *bechor* is a technical term (like our word "heir"), which does not include sons of second or later marriages, and this might go a good way towards explaining the small number of "firstborn."

Further, there is a difficulty on the other side to be considered. If the number 22,273 seems much too small for the other statistics in Numbers, it is even more glaringly too large for the figures the critics maintain as the true ones. If the total population was only 5,000 or even 10,000 the number of firstborn sons could not have exceeded a few hundreds. Whence did the writer of Num: iii. 43 derive his figures? Did he simply invent them? If so, why did he not make them bear some reasonable proportion to his other

statistics? Did he get them from an exaggerated tradition? Figures exaggerated by tradition are usually vague, and in round numbers, whereas 22,273 is curiously precise.

This precision, taken together with the apparent inadequacy of the figure, raises a presumption that the figure was taken from some genuine record, or else it is an evidence of intent to deceive. For, whether the P writer was adapting the round number of an exaggerated tradition, or simply inventing, he could only have given his figures this peculiarly detailed form in order to give them the appearance of being taken from genuine records. This would also apply to all the detailed figures of the Census. So Dr. Gray, while arguing that **"it seems likely that *all* the tribal "numbers are purely artificial," says, "The exacter totals (603,550 and 601,730) appear to have been given to gain an "air of reality"** (*Numbers*, pp: 10–15). With regard to the number of the firstborn, he suggests that this was derived from the number (in itself **"artificial"**) of 22,000 Levites (Num: iii. 39), **"a slight excess (273) being attributed to the first-born in "order to admit of an illustration of the law of xviii. 16."** But if this was the purpose of the writer why should he have hit on such an odd number as 273? As an illustration of the law alluded to, 250 or any similar number would have done just as well. He must have been very anxious to **"gain an air of "reality"** if he went out of his way to choose such a peculiar number.

As a further illustration of these detailed figures, take the numbers of the Levites. There are two sets of statistics given; (i) the total number of males "from a month old and upwards," Num: iii. 21–38; (ii) those of age for service, from 30 to 50, Num: iv. 34–35. The figures given are

| | (i) | (ii) |
|---|---|---|
| Gershon . . . . | 7,500 | 2,630 |
| Kohath . . . . | 8,600 | 2,750 |
| Merari . . . . | 6,200 | 3,200 |

Here the figures, especially in the first column, have all the appearance of round numbers, yet no ingenuity could deduce the numbers in the second column from those in the first on any kind of system. The difference between the total numbers of Kothath and Gershon (1,100) is indeed nearly (but not quite) 10 times the difference between the numbers of those of age for service (120). But Merari, with the smallest total of males, has considerably the largest number of those fit for service. Does that look like the work of a writer who was framing **"artificial"** numbers?

The same kind of inartificiality is found in the statistics of the other tribes, Num: i. 20–43; xxvi. 5–50.

| | *First Census.* | *Second Census.* | *Difference.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reuben | 46,500 | 43,730 | — 2,770 |
| Simeon | 59,300 | 22,200 | —37,100 |
| Gad | 45,650 | 40,500 | — 5,150 |
| Judah | 74,600 | 76,500 | + 1,900 |
| Issachar | 54,400 | 64,300 | + 9,900 |
| Zebulun | 57,400 | 60,500 | + 3,100 |
| Ephraim | 40,500 | 32,500 | — 8,000 |
| Manasseh | 32,200 | 52,700 | +20,500 |
| Benjamin | 35,400 | 45,600 | +10,200 |
| Dan | 62,700 | 64,400 | + 1,700 |
| Asher | 41,500 | 53,400 | +11,900 |
| Naphtali | 53,400 | 45,400 | — 8,000 |

What possible system can account for these fluctuations? The decrease in the tribe of Simeon may be accounted for by the plague in the previous chapter, but only partly, for "those who died by "the plague were twenty and four thousand," while the decrease in this one tribe is 13,100 more than that, and Ephraim and Naphtali have each decreased by 8,000. What is there to account for the startling increase of Manasseh, or of Asher and Issachar? Judah indeed holds the first place for numbers in both lists, but why should Dan come second? And why should these two large tribes show so small an increase when Benjamin, almost the smallest of all, increases by nearly 30 per cent.? If all this is caprice, it is very extraordinary caprice. If it is artifice, it can only be said that the art is so skilfully concealed as to look like nature.

In the number of the firstborn, there is no doubt difficulty, but difficulties in a history are, as often as not, evidence of the honesty of the historian. Unless the numbers are hopelessly corrupt, the dilemma is this;—Either (1) there was, for reasons now unknown, an abnormally small number of "firstborn" (in the limited sense) living at the time of the Census; or (2) a scribe was unscrupulous enough to invent a seemingly precise number and insert it in his history, and yet stupid enough to choose one that was inconsistent with his other statistics.

If all these figures are **"artificial"** the precision of form, and the wholly unlikely variations in the numbers of the tribes, show that they must have been carefully framed with intent to deceive by giving them **"an air of reality."** There can be no question of "idealizing" here. Yet the man who has been so skilful in avoiding any appearance of artifice in the Census variations is at the same time blunderer enough to give an impossible figure for the firstborn! Is it credible?

(iv) *Inconsistency with statistics in other histories.*

**"According to Jud. v. 8 the tribes of Benjamin, Ephraim, "Manasseh, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar yielded only**

**"40,000 persons, i.e. apparently fighting men. But in "these six tribes the fighting men were 273,300 at the first "census, and 301,000 at the second (Num. xxvi)."** BN. 5.

Jud: v. 8, "They chose new gods; Then was war in the gates:
"Was there a shield or spear seen Among forty thousand in Israel."

It is part of a poem, Deborah's song, and evidently rhetorical. It is part of a description of the desolation and helpless condition of Israel when "the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways" (v: 6), before Deborah arose (v: 7). So unarmed are the people that not a spear or shield was to be found among 40,000. Fighting men are not mentioned. It is not an allusion to the force led by Deborah and Barak. There is not the slightest suggestion that the 40,000 formed the actual force of even a single tribe. Yet we are gravely asked to consider this a statistical statement of the entire force that could be supplied by six tribes, while Dr. Driver goes further and says, **"the number "of warriors in *entire* Israel"** (LOT. 168)! It is almost superfluous to add that beyond the words "out of Machir came "down governors," Manasseh is not mentioned; that it is not clear that Ephraim or Benjamin sent more than a small contingent; that only the princes of Issachar are mentioned; and that both the song and the history agree in stating that the brunt of the struggle was borne by the *two* tribes Zebulun and Naphtali iv. 6, 10; v. 18).

What kind of a case is it that needs to be supported by a "proof" like this?

**"Again in Jud. xviii it is related that the Danites had "no proper territory belonging to them; and therefore "600 armed men (obviously the greater part of the tribe) "migrated to the north. But the fighting men of Dan "numbered 62,700 at the first census, and 64,400 at the "second."** BN. 6.

Jud: xviii states (v: 1), "in those days the tribe of the Danites "sought them an inheritance to dwell in; for unto that day *their* "inheritance had not fallen unto them among the tribes of Israel." Then follows an account of the mission of 5 spies "from Zorah and "from Eshtaol" (v: 2). On their return (v: 8) with a report of the "very good land" in the north, and the security in which the inhabitants dwell, then (v: 11) "there set forth from thence of the "family of the Danites out of Zorah and out of Eshtaol, six hundred "men girt with weapons of war," who go north and capture Laish.

In v: 1 "their inheritance had not fallen unto them" may mean that no territory had yet been allotted to them (in which case the incident would fall in the very early days of the conquest), but if so

how came the Danites to be already in Zorah and Eshtaol and apparently settled there, these being two of the towns stated to have been assigned to the tribe (Josh: xix. 41)?

Joshua had previously reproached the Israelites, when there were still seven tribes who had not yet divided their inheritance, with the words, "How long are ye slack to go in to possess the land?" (Josh: xviii. 3). May not the phrase in Jud: xviii. 1, then, simply mean that, though the territory had been allotted to them, they had not yet fully occupied it?

But in any case, what possible grounds are there for asserting that the 600 men were **"obviously the greater part of the "tribe"**? Is it not **"obviously"** a gratuitous assumption? The expedition is carefully specified to have gone out from two towns only, Zorah and Eshtaol, which towns continued to be occupied by Danites at a much later time, as is shown by the history of Samson (Jud: xiii. 2, 25). The men are said to have been "of "the family of the Danites," which rather indicates that they were but a portion of the tribe. Why should this migration be anything more than that of a small part of the largest tribe but one, which found its territory inconveniently limited?

On the other hand, how does this incident fit in with the critical figures? It **"introduces us to an archaic state of Israelitish "life; the tribe of Dan (xviii. 1) is still without a possession "in Canaan"** (LOT. 168). At this early period, then, Dan is able to put a force of a least 600 armed men in the field. If so, then the whole of Israel should have been able to furnish 7,000 fighting men, which would mean a total population of 35,000. How came the 5,000 of the wilderness to be so soon multiplied by 7? And how came the force of 7,000 men to be multiplied into the 40,000 of Deborah's time, (to say nothing of the 400,000 of Jud. xx. 2)? Are not the critical figures open to the charge of inconsistency? We seem to need some of Bp. Colenso's arithmetic here.

These two instances from Jud: v and xviii (and no others are adduced) afford little ground for the assertion that the statistics in Numbers are inconsistent with those in the other histories.

If the total number of Israelites was only 5,000 say 1,000 fighting men, why was the Pharaoh so disturbed about their increase (Exod: i. 9, J)? Why did he order the destruction of the male children (Exod: i. 22, E)? Why did he pursue them with "six hundred "chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt" (Exod: xiv. 7, J)? How could J speak of "the myriads of thousands of "Israel" (Num: x. 36; see BN. 56)? Why was Moab "sore "afraid of the people because they were many" (Num: xxii. 3, E)? Why did Moab say unto the elders of Midian, "Now shall "this multitude lick up all that is round about us" (Num: xxii. 4, J)? How came Jericho to be "straitly shut up, because of

"the children of Israel" (Josh: vi. 1, JE)? How could Joshua set 5,000 men as a mere ambush against Ai (Josh: viii. 12, JE)? How could the Deuteronomist represent that the people were "as "the stars of heaven for multitude" (Deut: i. 10, x. 22, D)? Why were "all the kings which were beyond Jordan" gathered "to fight "with Joshua and with Israel" (Josh: ix. 1, $D_2$)?

Not the statistics of P alone, but the details of the history throughout are consistent in representing the Israelites as something immensely greater than the insignificant clan of the critics. If these are right, then the whole history of the Exodus, and of the entry into Canaan has been falsified by all the writers, J, E, and D, as well as P.

# XXVIII.

## THE TABERNACLE (III).

III *Inconsistency with the account in JE.*

**"It seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the "Pent. contains (cf. p. 257 f) two different representations "of the 'Tent of Meeting.'"** BE. 427 (cf. IP. 84–86). The differences, given at considerable length on pp: 427, 428, and 257, 258, and alluded on p: 359 of BE may be tabulated thus :—

| | JE. | P. |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | A simple tent, | a highly decorated structure, |
| (2) | outside the camp, | in the centre of the camp, |
| (3) | guarded by a single attendant, Joshua. | guarded by a large number of Levites. |
| (4) | The Ark precedes the people on the march; | The Ark moves in the centre of a long procession. |
| (5) | The pillar of cloud descends to the entrance, | The cloud remains always on the Tent when the camp is stationary. |
| (6) | and from it the LORD speaks to Moses. | The LORD speaks to Moses from the cherubim. |
| (7) | | The Tent is the centre of an elaborate sacrificial and ceremonial system. |

The passages relied on for exhibiting the representation of JE are not many;—Exod: xxxiii. 7–11; Num: x. 33; xi. 16, 17, 24–30; xii. 4, 5, 10; Deut: xxxi. 14, 15. The most important of these is Exod: xxxiii. 7–11 :—

"(7) Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without "the camp, afar from off the camp; and he called it, The tent of "meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which sought "the LORD went out unto the tent of meeting, which was without the "camp. (8) And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the "Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his "tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone into the "Tent. (9) And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the

"Tent, the pillar of cloud descended, and stood at the door of "the Tent: and *the Lord* spake with Moses. (10) And all the "people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and "all the people rose up and worshipped, every man at his tent door. "(11) And the LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speak-"eth unto his friend. And he turned again unto the camp: but "his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not "out of the Tent."

Here we have an account of how Moses took "the tent," and pitched it outside the camp, and called it "The Tent of Meeting"; how when Moses entered the Tent, the pillar of cloud descended and stood at the door, and the LORD spake with Moses "face to "face";—how afterwards Moses returned to the camp, but Joshua remained in the Tent.

That this was a **"simple tent"** or a **"simple nomad tent"** * (BE. 427) is nowhere stated. Dr. Driver admits (BE. 257) that **"it had probably some decoration,"** and (p: 358), **"There "can be little doubt that, as Di. remarks, according to E, "the ornaments** [stripped off by the Israelites, xxxiii. 6] **were "to be used in the construction or decoration of the Tent "of Meeting."** Even according to E, then, the Tent was more or less ornate.

Certainly *this* Tent was outside the camp, and at some distance, but then, as it stands, the passage belongs to the period when the Tabernacle of P had not yet been constructed. Is it not possible that it describes what Moses did between the command to construct the Tent of Meeting and its actual erection? The interval was considerable, about 7 months (from forty days after "the third "month," Exod: xix. 1, till "in the first month of the second year "on the first day of the month . . . the tabernacle was reared "up," xl. 17),—and it does not seem improbable that for the meanwhile a temporary "Tent of Meeting" was provided.

The critics will not allow this. Dr. Driver asserts (BE. 427), **"This tent for reasons explained on xxxiii. 7 cannot be "either Moses' tent, or a provisional tent."** The note on xxxiii. 7 simply says, **"As the context shows, not Moses' "tent, or a provisional tent, but the same sacred tent which "is mentioned by P under the same name"** (BE. 359), and in what follows no reason is given for the assertion. But just above on the same page is a comment, **"The tenses, throughout the "section, are frequentative, and describe what was Moses'**

* Dr. McNeile goes further, and calls it **"an ordinary nomad tent which "Moses could himself carry and pitch outside the camp"** (BN. 2). There is something read into the text here. It does not necessarily imply that Moses carried and pitched it by himself alone. How came Joshua there? In Exod: xl. 18 it is said "Moses reared up the tabernacle, etc:" Did he do this by himself?

**" habitual practice,—no doubt, in E's view, during the whole " time of Israel's wanderings in the wilderness "**; and the words " used to take " are explained as meaning **" at every new " encampment of the Israelites."** BE. 359.

Even if the tenses were certainly frequentative, the interval in question is long enough to allow of repeated action, without extending this to **" the whole time of Israel's wanderings,"** or making it refer to **" every new encampment of the Israelites."** But actually the tense is the simple " imperfect," of which Dr. Driver says (Heb: Tenses, p: 30) that, **" In the description of past occur- " rences it is used . . . (1) to represent an event while nas- " cent (γιγνόμενον), and so, by seizing it while in movement " rather than while at rest, to picture it with peculiar vividness " to the mental eye; and (2) as a frequentative, to suggest " the reiteration of the event spoken of. In which of these " senses it is on each occasion to be understood is left to the " intelligence of the reader to determine "**: and further on (p: 31), **" it may sometimes be rendered in English by the " '*historical present*,' the effect of which is to present in " strong relief and with especial liveliness the features " of the scene which it describes."**

It is possible, then, that in this passage the tense may be used as a " historic present " for vividness and liveliness of description. Indeed, so used it would agree well with the context preceding. The Israelites, informed that the LORD will not go up in the midst of them (v: 3), mourned (v: 4), and, as a test of their sincerity, are bidden to deprive themselves of their ornaments (v: 5). In obedience to this (v: 6), " the children of Israel stripped themselves of " their ornaments from Horeb onward." Then, in response to this, Moses *takes* the tent, and *pitches* it " without the camp afar off " from the camp,"—(for the threat in v: 5 had been, " if I go up into " the midst of thee for one moment, I shall consume thee "),—and *calls* it " The Tent of Meeting." Not in the midst of the people, but " afar off from the camp " the place of communication is established.

With what dramatic effect does the sudden change of tense portray the scene! Substitute the frequentative, " Moses used to " take," and the connection is at once broken, (indeed the critics complain of this **" sudden introduction of this notice of the " Tent of Meeting,"** BE. 358), and the whole effect becomes tame and spiritless. (See also pp: 374, 375).

However, Dr. Driver proceeds to argue (BE. 427), **" That this " tent is not a provisional tent appears with particular clear- " ness from the fact that the same representation of the " Tent of Meeting, *outside* the camp,—seemingly also with " Joshua as its guardian,—is found in the Pent. even *after* " the erection (Ex. xl) of the splendid tabernacle described by**

**" P : see Nu. xi. 16, 24–30 ; xii. 4–5 (note especially ' Come " ' out ' in v. 4), and cf. Deut. xxxi. 14 f."** (Cf. IP. 86).

Three more of the JE passages are cited to show that, according to that narrative, the Tent of Meeting was outside the camp even after the period when P represents that the Tabernacle had been erected in the centre of the camp.

Their evidence, then, must be examined.

(a) Num: xi. 16, 24–30. *The incident of Eldad and Medad.* v: 16 (E), " And the LORD said unto Moses, Gather unto me " seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be " elders of the people, and officers over them ; and bring them unto " the tent of meeting, that they may stand there with thee."

So far there is a command to bring (not " bring out ") 70 elders to the Tent of Meeting, but of the position of the Tent no hint is given.

Then follows a passage attributed to J, (18–24[a],) containing the promise that the people should have flesh to eat, and ending with, " And Moses went out, and told the people the words of the LORD."

v: 24[b] (E) " and he gathered seventy men of the elders of the " people, and set them round about the Tent."

Again there is nothing said about the position of the Tent. The wording does not suggest that it was at a distance.

v: 25 says nothing about the Tent.

v: 26, " But there remained two men in the camp, the name of " the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad : and the " spirit rested upon them : and they were of them that were " written, but had not gone out unto the Tent : and they pro- " phesied in the camp."

Two of those that " were written " (**" i.e. registered as being " of the number of the elders and officers,"** BN. 63) remained " in the camp," and had not " gone out " to the Tent. The localities of the Tent and the camp are distinguished, but so they were in the arrangement of P's Tabernacle, which stood in the centre of a hollow square with the camp of the Levites between it and the general camp of the other tribes. The 70 had " gone out " to the Tent, but that does not imply that they had gone *outside* the camp. The word is quite general, meaning " go forth," and is used in 24[a] of Moses, where it cannot mean that he went outside the camp, for he goes to tell the people. If the camp was round about the Tabernacle, but at some little distance, the elders would have to go forth from it in order to approach the Tabernacle.

v: 27, " And there ran a young man, and told Moses, and said, " Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp."

There was some distance between the camp where Eldad and Medad were, and the Tent where Moses was. So there must have been in the P arrangement.

vv: 28, 29, Joshua's remonstrance and Moses' reply have nothing about the Tent.

v: 30, " And Moses gat him into the camp, he and the elders of " Israel."

The words " gat him into " do not imply that Moses and the elders were outside the limits of the camp. The Hebrew has the same word as in 24[b] (where it is rendered " he *gathered* seventy " men "), and that only conveys the idea of addition or repetition. It does not suggest entering the camp from outside, but only means that they came *again* to their tents, just as they would have to do if the Tabernacle was in the centre.

In the whole passage there is not one word which requires that the Tent of Meeting was "**'outside the camp,"** or is inconsistent with the representation of P.

(b) Num: xii. 4, 5 (E), *Aaron and Miriam dispute Moses' supremacy.*

v: 4, " And the LORD spake suddenly unto Moses, and unto " Aaron, and unto Miriam, Come out ye three unto the tent of " meeting. And they three came out. (5) And the LORD came " down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the Tent, " and called Aaron and Miriam : and they both came forth."

Dr. Driver calls special attention to **" ' come out ' in v. 4,"** as though that must necessarily mean " Come outside the camp." It is the same word as we have had before (xi. 26), meaning simply " Come forth," and is so translated at the end of v: 5, (" they both came forth "), where it cannot mean " outside the camp," for the three had already come out (v: 4). If at first Moses, Aaron and Miriam were in their own tents, (or any other part of the inhabited camp), they would have to " come forth " in order to go to the Tent. Arrived there, the LORD calls out of the pillar of cloud to Aaron and Miriam, and the two of them " came forth," i.e. came forward, apart from Moses.

(c) Deut: xxxi: 14, 15, *Joshua appointed Moses' successor*

v: 14, " And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold thy days approach " that thou must die : call Joshua, and present yourselves in the " tent of meeting, that I may give him a charge. And Moses and " Joshua went and presented themselves in the tent of meeting. " (15) And the LORD appeared in the Tent in a pillar of cloud : " and the pillar of cloud stood over the door of the Tent."

Here there is not even " come out " to suggest that the Tent was " outside " the camp.

Even if these three passages are rightly attributed to JE, not one of them requires a position of the Tent of Meeting inconsistent with that assigned by P.

Do they, or any other JE passage, exhibit any of the other characteristics of the Tent of Meeting in Exod: xxxiii. 7–11 ?

**" It** [the Tent of Meeting in E] **is guarded by a single atten-**

**" dant, the Ephraimite Joshua, instead of by the hosts of " Levites appointed in P (Nu. i. 49–53, iii–iv) to guard and " tend it, to the exclusion of all others) see Nu. i. 51, iii. 10, " ' and the stranger [i.e. the non-Levite] that cometh nigh " ' shall be put to death ').''** BE. 427 (see also BE. 257, 359).

Even if Exod: xxxiii. 11,—" but his minister Joshua, the son of "Nun, a young man, departed not out of the Tent,"—can be stretched into meaning that Joshua was the guardian, and the sole guardian, of the Tent (which is something more than the text actually asserts), this only concerns the Tent of Meeting before the erection of the Tabernacle, and before the appointment of the Levites to guard it. What of the later passages ?

In Num: xi. 28 Joshua (as well as 70 elders) is present at the Tent of Meeting, but there is not a word to suggest that he was in any way in charge of it, (still less that he was **" attached to the " sacred Tent as its *æditiuus* or caretaker "** BN. 63), or that he was there in any capacity but that of " the minister of Moses."

In Num: xii. 4, 5, Joshua is not even mentioned.

In Deut: xxxi. 14, 15, Moses is commanded to call Joshua in order that both may present themselves in the Tent, " and Moses and " Joshua went and presented themselves in the tent of meeting." That does not look as if Joshua were already at the Tent as its guardian.

The passages Num: i. 51, iii. 10 are apparently referred to as showing that, according to P, Joshua, being an Ephraimite and non-Levite, could not even approach the Tabernacle on pain of death.

Num: i. 51, " And when the tabernacle setteth forward, the " Levites shall take it down : and when the tabernacle is to be " pitched, the Levites shall set it up : and the stranger that cometh " nigh shall be put to death."

At the most, this forbids the presence of a " stranger " when the Tabernacle was being taken down or set up, and probably only forbids the " stranger " to give any assistance to the Levites in their work.

Num: iii. 10, " And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and " they shall keep their priesthood : and the stranger that cometh " nigh shall be put to death."

This forbids the " stranger " to approach **" the sanctuary to " perform a priestly office."** BN. 14.

Both passages prohibit the " stranger " performing Levitical or priestly duties. Neither passage precludes a non-Levite from ever approaching the Tabernacle. On the contrary, the P regulations (Lev: i. 3, iii. 2, etc:) enjoin that non-Levites bringing sacrifices must bring them " to the door of the tent of meeting." Non-Levites, therefore, might approach the Tabernacle, and the presence of Joshua (Num: xi. 28, Deut: xxxi. 14) would infringe no Levitical law.

**"It is a parallel difference between the two narratives "that, when the Israelites are on the march, in JE (Nu. "x. 33) the ark moves on ahead to search out a resting-"place for them, whereas in P it is borne by Levites in the "midst of the long procession of tribes (Nu. x. 21 [the tenses "in vv. 17–27 are all frequentative,* describing the *practice*] ; "cf. ii. 17, iv. 15)."** BE. 428.

How very dull the redactor must have been to insert the JE account which represents the Ark as moving ahead of the people, x. 33, only a dozen verses removed from x. 21 which represents it as being in the middle of a long procession !

But what does x. 33 actually say ? "And they set forward from "the mount of the LORD three days' journey ; and the ark of "the covenant of the LORD went before them three days' journey, "to seek out a resting place for them."

On this Dr. McNeile remarks (BN. 55), **"The ark would be "useless as a guide if it were three days' journey in advance."** Probably, but what need is there for such an interpretation ? The Israelites make a three days' journey, and during that three days' journey the Ark was "setting forward" before them (*lit*: before their face), i.e. preceding them. This would suggest that ordinarily it did not so precede them. The occasion was a special one, the first start from Sinai, and v: 13 (P) particularly states that "they "first took their journey according to the commandment of the "LORD." The tense is not frequentative **"describing the "*practice*,"** and therefore the statement is limited to that particular three days. Thus the frequentative tenses, vv: 17–27, describe the normal practice ; v: 33 narrates the exceptional order at an exceptional time.

There remains only the question of the pillar of cloud to be considered.

**"Moses used to *go out* to it** [the Tent], **and enter into it to "speak with God, and the pillar of cloud then descended, "and stood at the entrance of the Tent, and Jehovah spake "to him from it."** BE. 257.

With the exception of **"to speak with God"** in the first clause, and **"from it"** in the last, which assert rather more than the text actually warrants, this is a fair summary of the account in Exod: xxxiii. 11. With it is contrasted the P representation (p: 258),—**"the cloud (which is not in P spoken of as a 'pillar'), "instead of descending from time to time, as occasion re-"quires, to the entrance of the Tent, that Jehovah may "speak with Moses, rests upon the Tent always, when the "camp is stationary (xl. 35–38, Nu. ix. 15–23), and Jehovah**

* Yet the tenses from v: 11 to v: 16, part of the very same description of the order of march, are not **"frequentative,"**

**"instead of speaking to Moses at its 'entrance,' speaks "to him from between the cherubim above the ark (xxv. "22, Nu. vii. 89).**

That the representation of what took place before the erection of the Tabernacle differs from what took place afterwards is not in itself an inconsistency. The real question is, Are there any notices in the history *after* the erection of the Tabernacle inconsistent with the representation in P? The references given, BE. 257, are to the same three passages cited as to the position of the Tent, viz: Num: xi. 17, 25; xii. 5, 10; Deut: xxxi. 14, 15.

(a) Num: xi. 17, "I will come down and talk with thee there";—v: 25, "And the LORD came down in the cloud, and spake unto "him, and took of the spirit that was upon him, and put it upon "the seventy elders."

(b) Num: xii. 5, "And the LORD came down in a pillar of cloud, "and stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam"; —v: 10, "And the cloud removed from over the Tent."

(c) Deut: xxxi. 14 15, "And Moses and Joshua went, and pre-"sented themselves in the tent of meeting. And the LORD appeared "in the Tent in a pillar of cloud: and the pillar of cloud stood over "[*or* by] the door of the Tent."

Are these inconsistent with the representation in P that the cloud rested always upon the Tent when the camp was stationary?

First it may be noted that, while in P the cloud is not **"spoken "of as a 'pillar,'"** Num: xii seems expressly to distinguish the "cloud over the Tent" (v: 10) from the "pillar of cloud" in which the LORD came down (v: 5), for the cloud removed from over the Tent *after* the LORD had departed (v: 9); the two manifestations are not necessarily identical. Exod: xl. 34, 35 also distinguishes between the cloud which "covered the tent of meeting," and the glory of the LORD which "filled the tabernacle."

Next, the three occasions in the later history were of a special character:—(a) the imparting the spirit to the elders; (b) the rebuke of Aaron and Miriam; (c) the commission of Joshua.

Thirdly, in each of these cases others besides Moses were concerned in the communications; they were not the ordinary communications to Moses alone.

The presence of the cloud resting upon the Tent does not preclude the special manifestation of the descent of the pillar of cloud on special occasions. The communicating with Moses alone from between the cherubim is not inconsistent with the communications to others at the door of the Tent.

The evidence of these three passages, then, comes to this, that after the erection of the Tabernacle on three very marked occasions when others besides Moses were concerned, the LORD came down in the pillar of cloud to the door of the Tent to speak with them, just as formerly the pillar of cloud stood at the door of the Tent in

the sight of all the people (Exod: xxxiii. 10) when the LORD " spake " unto Moses face to face." That does not contradict the representation that, after the erection of the Tabernacle, the cloud ordinarily rested upon the Tent, and the communications to Moses were made from between the Cherubim.

There is indeed a passage which seems to place the Tent of Meeting outside the camp. In Num: xix. 3 the red heifer is to be taken to a place " without the camp," there to be slain and burnt to ashes. The ceremony completed, the priest is to wash his clothes and his body, and (v: 8) " afterwards he shall come into the camp." Yet in the interval Eleazar the priest is to take of the blood and sprinkle it *opposite the front of* (el nokhach p'ney—AV " directly before ") the Tent of Meeting.

Is not this explicit enough ? The scene is unquestionably outside the camp, and there is no hint that the priest is to re-enter the camp for the sprinkling. Why then has it not been cited ? Because the critics attribute it to P which places the Tent in the centre of the camp, and hence the questionable RV rendering " toward the " front of."

If the definite " without the camp—shall come into the camp " of this account be not inconsistent with the P representation, why should the much vaguer phrases of the other three passages be so inconsistent ? Were it possible to assign plausibly this passage to JE, we can imagine how eagerly its evidence would have been insisted upon. As it is, it is passed over in discreet silence.

There was, then, a " Tent of Meeting " which was outside the camp, to whose entrance the pillar of cloud descended, from which Joshua departed not. The description of this Tent belongs to the interim period between the command to construct a Tabernacle and its erection. That this was not a **" provisional "** Tent, to be superseded by the " Tent of Meeting " described by P, depends solely on the evidence of the four alleged JE passages, Num: x. 33 ; xi. 16–30 ; xii 4–10 ; Deut: xxxi. 14, 15. These passages (see the list of differences above, p : 275),

(1) say nothing about **" a simple tent "** ;
(2) do not require that the Tent was **" outside the camp "** ;
(3) do not represent Joshua as in charge of the Tent ;
(4) one passage alone speaks of the Ark preceding the people, and that at a special time, and for 3 days only ;
(5) and (6) the other three passages speak of the LORD coming down in a pillar of cloud to the entrance of the Tent, but only on three special occasions when He would communicate with others besides Moses ;
(7) none of these passages furnish the slightest evidence against the Tent of Meeting therein mentioned being the

**"centre of an elaborate sacrificial and ceremonial system."**

They do not show that the "Tent of Meeting" of Exod: xxxiii. 7–11 was in existence at a later period than that at which P represents that the Tabernacle was erected.

# XXIX.

## THE TABERNACLE (IV).

IV. *Absence from later history.*

**"Another remarkable fact about the Tabernacle of P "is its singular absence from the history upon occasions "on which, if it had existed, it must almost inevitably have "been mentioned."** BE. 428.

Of this absence of mention, the first instance given is **"at the "passage of the Jordan, though the ark is a prominent "feature, the narrative is silent as to the Tent of Meeting."**

Why should the latter be mentioned here? The Ark, borne by priests, goes before the people to be the signal for the cutting off of the Jordan waters. The marked emphasis laid on its going first (Josh: iii. 3, 6, 11) looks as if there were something unusual in this, which would agree with the representation of Num: x. 33 that only on one special occasion previously had the Ark led the way. If, as is probable, the regular order was observed in all other respects, there would be no need to say anything about the Tent of Meeting.

After noting the **"last passages in which P mentions"** the Tent (as having been set up in Shiloh, Josh: xviii. 1, xix. 51), the criticism goes on, **"In the book of Judges the ark is men- "tioned as being at Bethel (Jud. xx. 27—probably a gloss); "but there is no notice of the Tent of Meeting."** BE. 428.

Possibly it is not noticed because it was not there, but at Shiloh, where c: xviii. 31 says "the house of God" was. The Ark may have been specially brought to Bethel just because of the Benjamite war which is being described (see p: 288).

**"In 1 S. i–iii the ark is at Shiloh (iii. 3); but the sanctuary "at which Eli is here mentioned as being the priest cannot "be the Tent of Meeting, whether of JE or of P: it is a 'house' (i. 7, 24, iii. 15: so Jud. xviii. 31), or *hêkāl*, 'temple' (i. "9, iii. 3), and has not a mere 'opening,' like the Tent of "Meeting, or other tent (see on xxvi. 36, xxxiii. 8), but "doors (iii. 15), and door-posts (i. 9); in other respects, "Samuel, in the duties discharged by him, reminds us "strongly of Joshua in E (Ex. xxxiii. 11); the Levites and**

**" priests of P are conspicuous by their absence."** BE. 428.

What is set before us in these three chapters, 1 Sam: i–iii ? There is a sanctuary in Shiloh, where the Tent of Meeting had been set up (Josh: xviii. 1, xix. 51), and " the house of God " was (Jud: xviii. 31). To this the people repair for worship and sacrifice (ii. 12–17), and that periodically (i. 3, ii. 19). This sanctuary is in charge of at least three priests, Eli and his sons Hophni and Phineas. The P regulations as to burning the fat of the sacrifices are in force (ii. 15). The priests' duties are " to go up unto mine altar, to burn " incense " ; they wear an " ephod " ; they receive " all the offerings " of the children of Israel made by fire " (ii. 28). There is the " offering,"—*minchah*, meal offering,—and the " sacrifice," *zebach* (ii. 29). The " lamp of God " is left burning at night (iii. 3). All these details are in accordance with the P code. At first sight, there seems fair reason for identifying this sanctuary with the Tent of Meeting of P.

Not so, say the critics. This **" cannot be the Tent of Meeting, " whether of JE or of P."** For this uncompromising statement, two reasons are given ;—(a) the names applied to the sanctuary ; (b) the nature of the entrance.

(a) *The names.*

The sanctuary in the wilderness is called a Tent, *Ohel* : this sanctuary is three times called " the house [*bayith*] of the LORD " (i. 7, 24, iii. 15: in Jud: xviii. 31, " the house [*bayith*] of God "), and twice is called " the temple [*hekal*] of the LORD."

As to the former word, it may be sufficient to quote Dr. Driver ;— **" we do not know . . . whether at this time** [the Mosaic " age] ***bayith* may not have been a general term meaning " ' abode,' and have included (as in Arabic) tents as well " as houses."** BE 415.

As to the second, in Fuerst's Lexicon *hekal* is defined as " pro- " perly a large dwelling, containing in it a number of inhabitants ; " definitely *a palace, a splendid house* Amos viii. 3." That does not seem so very inappropriate to **" the splendid tabernacle of P "** (BE. 428). Also, is it fair to ask if this " splendid house " at Shiloh was not the Tent of Meeting, what was it ? Was it specially built for the reception of the Ark ? How did it come to be there ? Why was this name applied to a **" modest structure "** (LOT. 138).

Further, in 1 Kings vi. 5 the *hekal* is distinguished from " the " oracle," the " most holy place " (RVm). In Solomon's Temple, then, *hekal* is used for the Holy Place as distinguished from the Holy of Holies. Now in 1 Sam: i. 9 Eli is sitting at " the door "post of the *hekal*," and it would be exactly to the entrance to the Holy Place that Elkanah and Hannah would have to come to present their sacrifices. In iii. 3, Samuel lies down to sleep " in the " *hekal* of the LORD." As this follows immediately on the mention of " the lamp of God," the Holy Place is again indicated. Is it not

possible that the usage found in Solomon's time may have begun much earlier, even before Eli's time? Is it not also likely that names like these would begin to be associated with the Sanctuary when it became stationary in Shiloh, even though it was a Tent?

(b) *The entrance.*

The "door" of the Tent of Meeting is always called an "opening" (*Pethach*): in 1 Sam: iii. 15 it is said that Samuel "opened the "doors (*dalthoth*) of the house of the LORD": in i. 9 Eli was sitting "by the door post (*Mezoozah,* the word used in Exod: xii. 7) of "the temple of the LORD."

Are we to suppose that the entrance to the Tent of Meeting was left open all night? Tents usually have some kind of curtain or hanging to close the entrance at night: in the daytime this is drawn aside, and the entrance becomes an "opening." If there were some such curtains to close the entrances to the Court and Tabernacle by night, would not that be sufficient to account for the solitary mention of opening the "doors" in the morning (iii. 15)? And if the entrance to the Tent had an acacia wood pillar at either end, why might not that be called a "door post"?

In these very chapters (ii. 22) the Sanctuary is actually called "the Tent of Meeting" with its appropriate "opening," only this is said to be a gloss. **"1 S. ii. 22[b] implies indeed that the "Shiloh sanctuary was the Tent of Meeting of P (cf Ex. "xxxviii. 8; 'door,' also, is here lit. *opening*): but this "half-verse (from *and how*) is not in the LXX; and its con-"tradiction to i. 9, iii. 3, 15, in describing as a 'tent' what "these verses describe as a 'temple' or 'house,' leaves no "reasonable doubt that it is a gloss, not yet found in the "MSS used by the LXX translators."** BE. 428.

The critics are rather fond of calling inconvenient passages "glosses," but in this instance there is actually a piece of external evidence:—**"this half-verse . . . is not in the LXX,"** at least not in the Vatican copy.

Attention, however, is not drawn to the fact that the half-verse is of such a nature that the LXX translators may have very much preferred to omit it as throwing an ugly light on the conduct of Jewish priests. Its omission from the Greek by no means proves that it was absent from their MSS.

The words **"not yet found"** would imply that this "gloss" was inserted after the LXX translation was made, which brings it to a very late date. Which is the more probable, (1) that the LXX translators should have omitted an unpleasant passage, or (2) that a scribe of the 2nd century BC should have gratuitously invented and inserted a statement so discreditable to the priests, and that his interpolation should have been accepted ever since as part of the true text? Did this scribe insert his "gloss" in all the MSS then extant? If not, why should his interpolated

text with its disgraceful statement have gained preference over other texts ?

But if this verse is not a wilful interpolation (the word " gloss " is misleading), then *cadit quæstio*. The Shiloh sanctuary is definitely identified with the Tent of Meeting: the **" contradiction "** between " house " (or " temple ") and " tent " vanishes, and with it vanishes also the alleged **" absence "** of the P Tabernacle from the history, at least as far as the time of Samuel.

**" In 1 S. iv the ark, as if nothing were known of the strin-
" gent regulations of Nu. iv. 5 f, 15, 17–20, is fetched from
" Shiloh, and taken into battle with the Israelites."** BE. 429.

What has this to do with the existence or non-existence of the Tabernacle ? In 1 Sam: iii. 3 the Ark is in the " temple of the " LORD " at Shiloh: in iv. 4 it is brought from Shiloh. Why not from the Shiloh sanctuary of the preceding 3 chapters ?

The **" stringent regulations "** in Num: iv provide that the Ark is first to be covered by the priests, and afterwards to be carried by the Kohathites. What is there to show that this was neglected in the present instance ? The priests Hophni and Phinehas accompanied the Ark (iv. 4), and were slain when it was captured. Does not that suggest that the regulations of Num: iv were complied with ?

Num: xiv. 44 records that on one occasion the Israelites went presumptuously into battle, but the Ark " departed not out of the " camp," which rather suggests that it did accompany them on other occasions. If so, there was precedent for their taking it against the Philistines, besides the precedent of Jericho. This might also account for the presence of the Ark at Bethel in the war with Benjamin (Jud: xx. 27.)

**" After the ark was restored by the Philistines, instead
" of being taken to what, if it existed, must have been its
" only proper place, the Tent of Meeting of P, it was brought
" to the house of Abinadab near Kirjath-jearim (1 S. vii. 1),
" who, though to all appearance an ordinary layman, con-
" secrated one of his sons to keep it (where, it may per-
" tinently be asked, were the priests of Aaron's line, who
" alone, according to Nu. *ll. cc.* might touch the ark ?)."**
BE. 429.

This reads as though the Ark was in some way formally **" re-
" stored by the Philistines,"** deliberately taken to Kirjath-jearim, and there entrusted to the care of a layman. How does the narrative actually run ?

Unguided milch kine bring the cart bearing the Ark to Beth-shemesh (a priestly city, Josh: xxi. 16). It is received with rejoicing, Levites take down the Ark (1 Sam: vi. 15, said to be manifestly interpolated), and sacrifices are offered. Some of the Beth-shemesh men look into the Ark, and their irreverent curiosity is punished

with " a great slaughter." In a panic, messengers are sent to the men of Kirjath-jearim to bid them fetch away the Ark. They do so, and it is taken to the house of Abinadab " in the hill." Who or what Abinadab may have been is simply not known: it is assuming too much to assert that he was **" to all appearance an " ordinary layman."** It is not said that Abinadab **" conse- " crated one of his sons."** The verb is in the plural, " they " sanctified," and probably refers to the men of Kirjath-jearim in general. Even if no priests were present, (and we cannot be sure of that; the history is merely silent), it is evident that the whole proceeding was abnormal and irregular. It is also reasonably probable that the Ark was looked upon as desecrated by having been in heathen hands.

Dr. Driver continues, **" It was now, probably, that the " destruction of the sanctuary of Shiloh referred to by Jere- " miah (vii. 12, 14, xxvi. 6, 9; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 60), took place."** If, as is not impossible, this took place a little before the return of the Ark, it might afford sufficient explanation for the Ark not being taken to **" its only proper place, the Tent of Meeting."**

**" After this disaster the priests of Eli's line must have " migrated to Nob, where they formed a settlement, more " than 80 in number, and where there was a sanctuary of " some kind, in which the Presence-bread was laid out, " and an 'ephod' kept (1 S. xxi. 1, 4–6, 9, xxii. 18, 19); " but whether it was a 'tent,' and, if so, of what kind, we " are not told."** BE. 429.

A sanctuary where there were 85 priests " that did wear [*or*, " bear] a [linen] ephod " (1 Sam: xxii. 18), and where they regularly set out the Shewbread " before the LORD " does not look like ignorance of the P regulations. It is certainly no proof of the non-existence of the Tabernacle.

**" The ark, however, seems to have remained with Abina- " dab till David removed it to the house of Obed-edom, a " *Philistine* of Gath, (2 S. vi. 2–11)."** BE. 429.

Again this reads as though the removal to the house of Obed-edom was deliberate and intentional. The narrative makes it clear that David intended to bring the Ark " into the city of David," and only " carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom " on account of fear at the fate of Uzzah. Whether " the Gittite " means that Obed-edom was actually of Philistine extraction, or not, it is evident that the removal to his house was an expedient adopted on the spur of the moment, and probably because that was the nearest shelter available.

The real truth is that the whole period from Eli's death until the Ark was brought to Zion, possibly as much as 70 years, was one of entire religious disorganization. The Ark was for a while in the hands of the Philistines; and then left at Kirjath-jearim, seemingly

neglected. Shiloh had become "desolate, without inhabitants." The notices we have are so few * and fragmentary that it is most unsafe to build any inferences on them.

**"Three months afterwards David brought it up in triumph "to his recently conquered capital, the 'city of David' (Zion): "but still the elaborate Tabernacle of P does not appear: David "himself erects a tent for the ark (2 S. vi. 17; cf. 1 K. i. 39, "ii. 28, where the altar belonging to the tent is mentioned): "the priests and Levites, even on this solemn occasion, "are, as before, conspicuous by their absence."** BE. 492.

At last we come to what looks like a real difficulty. If the Tabernacle was in existence, why was not the Ark taken thither? and why should David have erected another tent for it? **"If "that Tent had existed in David's time it is difficult to "suggest a reason why he should have prepared another."** IP. 194.

Dr. Driver himself suggests (BE. 429) that David's tent **"is "apparently intended only as a temporary shelter for the "ark."** Possibly David already had in his mind the design of building a "house" which occupies so much of the next chapter (2 Sam: vii). Perhaps also the Tabernacle itself had suffered some discredit in the destruction of Shiloh. There seems to be a hint at something of the kind in Ps. lxxviii. 60, "He forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh, the tent which he placed among men."

David's **"temporary shelter"** is no conclusive proof that the Tabernacle was not in existence.

But why should 1 Kings i. 39, ii. 28 be so confidently adduced as referring to David's tent (see also IP. 194)?

i. 39, "Zadok the priest took the horn of oil out of the Tent, "and anointed Solomon."

There is no suggestion in the history that David's tent ever contained anything but the Ark, whereas the sacred anointing oil might well be kept in the Tent of Meeting.

ii. 28, "And Joab fled unto the Tent of the LORD, and caught "hold on the horns of the altar."

Again there is nothing to show that there was an altar of refuge at David's tent, whereas the Tent of Meeting would be associated with the Brazen Altar. If the Chronicler is right,—of course the critics disregard his evidence,—in stating (2 Chr: i. 3–6) that both Tabernacle and Brasen Altar were at Gibeon, 5 miles from Jerusalem, it is likely enough that Joab would escape thither, rather than remain in the immediate vicinity of the city; (and so also Adonijah, 1 Kgs: i. 50).

* Mr. Chapman asserts (IP. 194) that **"Frequent mention is made of the "ark"** during this period. It is not once mentioned from the time it was placed in Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam: vii. 2) till David brought it away (2 Sam: vi. 2).

Both verses suggest the Tent of Meeting rather than David's tent. At the very least, the critics have no right to take it for granted that "the Tent,"—"the Tent of the LORD," must mean David's tent and not the Tent of Meeting.

So too, why assert that **"the priests and Levites . . . are, "as before, conspicuous by their absence"**? The most that ought to be said is that they are not mentioned in 2 Sam: vi. But that might quite possibly be because their presence where the Ark was, and where sacrifices were offered, was considered too much a matter of course to need mention, especially in a work which is chiefly concerned with the kings and their doings. If in a modern book it is stated that a service was held in church, without specifying that clergy were present, it would hardly be safe to infer that the service was conducted by laymen.

The express evidence of the Chronicler that priests and Levites were present (1 Chr: xv. 14) is, as a matter of course, rejected by the critics. On this very point, Dr. Driver says (BE. 429, footnote 2), **"The student who will be at the pains of *underlining* "in his text of 1 Ch. xv–xvi *every word not excerpted from* "2 Sam. vi. 12$^{b}$–20$^{a}$ will have ocular evidence of the manner "in which the Chronicler, writing 700 years after the event, "supplied the omission."**

The Chronicler wrote at a late date; he makes considerable additions to the earlier history; those additions say much about priests and Levites; the writer is considered to have written in the priestly interest. Well, all that does not prove that his additions are mere figments of imagination. Though writing long after the event (**"700 years"** is to some extent conjectural) he may have had access to other reliable sources of information besides the history in 1 Sam: Though he wrote in the priestly interest, he need not have been reckless enough to insert statements for which he had no authority whatever.

The critics may have some right to treat his evidence with suspicion: they have no right to dismiss it as untrue.

There remains a piece of positive evidence to be accounted for.

**"When however Solomon transferred the Ark to his newly "built Temple, the Tent of Meeting and the sacred vessels "are said to have been taken into it (1 K. viii. 4$^{b}$). It is not "stated where they had previously been."** BE. 429.

1 Kings viii. 3, 4, "And all the elders of Israel came, and the "priests took up the ark. And they brought up the ark of the "LORD, and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels that were "in the Tent; even these did the priests and the Levites bring up."

Dr. Driver does not absolutely reject this passage,* but contents

* Mr. Chapman (IP. 194) says, **"The reference here to the tent may be "a scribal addition,"** and on p: 274 gives reasons for thinking that the whole passage vv: 1–11 has been considerably interpolated.

himself with saying, "**The notice, if authentic, cannot refer "to P's Tent of Meeting.**" The only reason given for this rather dogmatic assertion is that "**if this ancient and venerable "structure had been in existence, David would hardly "have erected a new and special tent himself for the ark.**" The learned critic therefore considers that the Tent brought into the Temple was in reality David's tent, and suggests that the passage "**is the work of a writer who may have preserved a true tra-"dition with regard to the tent erected by David, but have "referred it erroneously to the Tent of Meeting of P.**" (BE. 429)

If there were reasons (see above, p: 290) for David choosing to erect a temporary shelter for the Ark rather than convey it to the Tent of Meeting, the only reason for denying that the Tent taken into the Temple could be the P Tent of Meeting disappears, and 1 Kings viii. 4 would be another piece of evidence that the Tabernacle was in existence, even as late as the time of Solomon.

To sum up :—The critics assert that the Tabernacle of P is singularly absent from the later history. To support this assertion they have to insist

(1) That the Tent of Meeting must have been mentioned at the passage of the Jordan if it had been there ;
(2) that the Shiloh sanctuary could not have been the Tent of Meeting ;
(3) that the movements of the Ark 1 Sam: iv–vi are incompatible with the existence of the Tabernacle ;
(4) that David would not have erected a special tent if the Tabernacle existed.

They have also to maintain

(5) that 1 Sam: ii. 22[b] is a late gloss ;
(6) that 1 Kings viii. 4 (if authentic) refers erroneously to the Tent of Meeting ;
(7) that 1 Kings i. 39, ii. 28 must refer to David's tent ;
(8) that the evidence of the Chronicler is untrustworthy.

To all this it is replied

(1) At the passage of the Jordan there is reason for mentioning the Ark, but none for mentioning the Tent ;
(2) the Shiloh sanctuary has much in common with the P Tabernacle ; the names applied to it, and the nature of the entrance are not inconsistent with its being the Tent of Meeting, with which it is identified in 1 Sam: ii. 22 ;
(3) the movements of the Ark do not disprove the existence of the Tabernacle : after its capture by the Philistines, the treatment of the Ark was abnormal ;
(4) there may have been reasons to induce David to erect a temporary shelter for the Ark ;

(5) 1 Sam: ii. 22[b] is much more likely to have been designedly omitted by the LXX than to have been a late gloss ;
(6) if the answer to (4) is sound, there is no reason for thinking 1 Kings viii. 4 erroneous ;
(7) the notices in 1 Kings i. 39, ii. 28 suit the Tent of Meeting better than David's tent ;
(8) the evidence of the Chronicler, though of late date, is not therefore necessarily false.

The view that the Tabernacle is mentioned in the history has in its favour

(1) The establishment of the Tent of Meeting in Shiloh, Josh: xviii. 1, xix. 51 ;
(2) the " house of God " at Shiloh," Jud: xviii. 31 ;
(3) the sanctuary at Shiloh in Eli's time, identified with the Tent of Meeting, 1 Sam: ii. 22 ;
(4) the sanctuary at Nob in Saul's time, 1 Sam: xxi. 1–6 ;
(5) the references to " the Tent " early in Solomon's reign, 1 Kings i. 39, ii. 28 ;
(6) the express evidence of 1 Kings viii. 4 ;
(7) the express evidence of 2 Chron: i. 36.

Readers must judge for themselves which view accords with the evidence.

If it is urged that the traces of the existence of the Tabernacle are at best very scanty, there must be considered

(1) The chaotic condition of affairs during the greater part of the period ;
(2) the character of the history, political rather than ecclesiastical.
(3) the precarious nature of the argument from silence. The destruction of Shiloh must have been of disastrous import, yet the history is wholly silent about it ; but for an incidental allusion in Jeremiah we should have known nothing about it.

If there are traces of the existence of the Tabernacle in the fragmentary notices of those troubled times, it is all that can be reasonably expected.

# XXX.

## DATING THE SOURCES.—JE AND D.

It is claimed that "literary criticism" has shown that the Pentateuch is "composite," derived from three principal "sources," JE, D, and P; that in these three sources are found three more or less divergent "codes" of law; that in the history are found three stages of practice which correspond to the varying provisions of the three "codes." It is then claimed that the evidence of the history confirms the literary analysis.

Yet this would not hold good unless the dates and order of the sources correspond reasonably with the dates and order of the stages of practice. If, for instance, it became clear that the source containing Code iii was centuries older than the stage of practice corresponding to Code i, it would scarcely be probable that there was any real connection between the codes and the practices (unless indeed it could be shown that the code, though ancient, had been lost sight of, and was re-discovered about the time when the change of practice began). So also, if the order of the codes were (as critics once held) P, JE, D, but the history revealed stages of practice JE, D, P, the corroboration would again fail.

Now the dating and order of the history is known. If then the historical evidence is to confirm the literary analysis, it must be shown that the dates and order of the sources distinguished by the analysis really correspond to those of the history. And this must be shown *independently of the history*: for if the dating and order of the sources be in any degree determined by the history, then the history cannot *confirm* what has only been established by its own evidence.

There are, then, two distinct points to be considered:—

(A) What reasons are there, apart from the history, for the dates assigned to the sources?

(B) What reasons are there for maintaining the particular sequence JE, D, P?

(A) *Reasons for the dates assigned to the sources.*

(a) *The dating of JE.*

**"All things considered, both J and E may be assigned "with the greatest probability to the early centuries of the**

**"monarchy."** (LOT. 125). That neither is later than 750 BC is said to be **"fixed by the general consideration that the "prophetic tone and point of view of J and E alike are not so "definitely marked as in the canonical prophets (Amos, "Hosea, etc:), the earliest of whose writings date from *c.* "760–750."** LOT. 123.

But why are J and E to be brought down to a date anything like so late as this? **"The *terminus a quo* is more difficult to fix "with confidence: in fact, conclusive criteria fail us"** (LOT. *ib*). In other words there are no decisive proofs to show that J and E did not originate at a much earlier period. **"We can only "argue upon grounds of probability derived from our view "of the progress of the art of writing, or of literary com-"position, or of the rise and growth of the prophetic tone "and feeling in ancient Israel, or of the period at which the "traditions contained in the narratives might have taken "shape, or of the probability that they would have been "written down before the impetus given to culture by the "monarchy had taken effect, and similar considerations, "for estimating most of which, though plausible arguments, "on one side or the other, may be advanced, a stand-"ard on which we can confidently rely scarcely admits of "being fixed."** LOT. 123, 124.

What could well be more nebulous than this? Nothing more than **"probability"** is urged, and that a probability not based on evidence, but on **"our view,"** i.e. on the shifting sands of individual opinions—truly not **"a standard on which we can "confidently rely."** And on our view of what? of various matters concerning which little or nothing is known. As regards the progress of the art of writing, at least **"it is not denied that "the patriarchs possessed the art of writing"** (BG. xliii). What can we know of the progress of literary composition in ancient Israel except from the writings in question? What do we know of the **"rise and growth of the prophetic tone and feeling"** before 750 BC? It is something of an assumption to take it for granted that prophetic tone and feeling needed to rise and grow at all. The prophets themselves, at least, claim that their utterances were not their own, but communicated to them. It is begging the question at issue to assume that much of the narratives are **"traditions."** The historical statements in Deuteronomy claim to come from an eyewitness, and the very thing the critics have to prove is that the narratives in Exodus and Numbers are not also the work of a contemporary. Whether the monarchy gave any **"impetus to culture,"** and if so what the amount of impetus may have been, are matters of sheer guess work.

**"Nor does the language of J and E bring us to any more "definite conclusion. Both belong to the golden period of**

**"Hebrew literature. They resemble the best parts of "Judges and Samuel (much of which cannot be greatly "later than David's own time) but whether they are actually "earlier or later than these, the language and style do not "enable us to say."** LOT. 124.

The resemblance to the **"best parts of Judges and Samuel,"** then, is insufficient to prove anything, on the critic's own admission. From **"David's own time"** to 750 BC is an interval of over two centuries, a rather large margin of uncertainty, and the critic does not venture to say that the language and style of JE may not belong to a still earlier period.

**"There is at least no *archaic* flavour perceptible in the "style of JE."** LOT. 124.

How can we judge if there is no **"archaic"** literature to compare ?

**"And there are certainly passages (which cannot all be "treated as glosses) in which language is used implying "that the period of the exodus lay in the past, and that "Israel is established in Canaan. The manner also in "which *songs* are appealed to (Nu. xxi. 14, 27), in support of "historical statements, is scarcely that of a contemporary."** LOT. 124.

Both these classes of "Indications of late date" have already been examined (see above, c: xii. pp: 112–128). Here it will be enough to add that of the former class Dr. Driver gives exactly 5 instances from the JE document (Gen: xii. 6, xiii. 7, xxxiv. 7, xl. 15, and Num: xxxii. 41), and of the songs just two instances from one chapter.

These are the only grounds (apart from the history) for assigning both J and E **"with the greatest probability"** to the early centuries of the monarchy. Probability certainly figures largely, but of actual evidence there is exceeding little.

(b) *The dating of D.*

**"It must have been written prior to the 18th year of King "Josiah** (BC. 621)**."** LOT. 86.

**"It is true, the data showing Dt. to be post-Mosaic are "more definite and distinct than those which we possess "for fixing the *precise* part of the century before BC. 621 "to which it is to be assigned."** LOT 87, footnote.

No one is so unreasonable as to ask for data fixing **"the *precise* "part"** of the century. What are needed are data for showing that the book belongs to that century at all. It is the data **"show-"ing Dt. to be post-Mosaic"** that are in question.

**"The conclusion that Dt. belongs, at least approximately, "to this age, is in agreement with the contents of the book."**

This is followed by arguments numbered 1 to 7, LOT. 87–89.

**"(1) The differences between Dt. and Ex. xxi–xxiii point "with some cogency to a period considerably removed**

**"from that at which the Israelites took possession of Can-"aan, and presuppose a changed social condition of the "people."**

The provisions of Deut: "**presuppose**" that the people were just about to enter on an entirely "**changed social condition.**" For the examination of the alleged differences, see above, cc: xvi, xvii, pp: 155–171.

"**(2) The law of the Kingdom, xvii. 14 ff, is coloured by "reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon. The argu-"ment does not deny that Moses may have made provision "for the establishment of a monarchy in Israel, but affirms "that the form in which the provision is here cast bears "traces of a later age.**"

Solomon is recorded to have brought horses out of Egypt (1 Kgs: x. 8), and multiplied wives which turned away his heart (1 Kgs: xi. 1–3), and amassed large quantities of gold (1 Kgs: x. 14–21). Therefore, it is argued, the law in Deut: xvii which forbids these very things (vv: 16, 17) must have been coloured by reminiscences of what Solomon did.

Is it then so very unlikely that a prudent legislator could foresee the danger to a monarch of military ambition, sensuality, and accumulation of wealth? The provisions in Deut: are in perfectly general terms except the mention of Egypt, and the comparatively recent memory of Pharaoh's chariots and horses would account for Moses specifying that country.

Besides, the critics constantly reject evidence furnished by the Book of Kings on the ground that it is "**strongly influenced "by Deut.**" Why may not the account of Solomon's conduct in the history be "**coloured by reminiscences**" of the law in Deut: instead of the law being coloured by reminiscences of Solomon? As the compiler of 1 Kings is admittedly Deuteronomic in his point of view, is it not probable that he would single out for mention just the points in which Solomon infringed the D laws? Is not that much more likely than that a writer adopting a Mosaic disguise should so obviously betray himself by putting into Moses' mouth a law relating to events long after Moses' death? If the law already existed, it is easy to understand that a historian deeply imbued with the spirit of that legislation would be careful to record the violation of it, even though the violator was Solomon. If the law had not previously existed, it is difficult to imagine why a writer in Manasseh's time should insert imaginary provisions calculated to throw discredit on such a hero as Solomon was (and is) to the Oriental imagination.

"**(3) The forms of idolatry alluded to, specially the worship "of the 'host of heaven' (iv. 19, xvii. 3) seem to point to the "middle period of the monarchy. It is true, the worship of "the sun and moon is ancient, as is attested even by the**

**" names of places in Canaan ; but in the notices (which are " frequent) of idolatrous practices in Jud.–Kings no mention " occurs of ' the host of heaven ' till the period of the later " kings. That the cult is presupposed in Dt. and not antici- " pated prophetically, seems clear from the terms in which " it is referred to. While we are not in a position to affirm " positively that the danger was not felt earlier, the law, as " formulated in Dt., seems designed to meet the form which " the cult assumed at a later age."**

Deut: iv. 19, " lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when " thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the " host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them."

xvii. 2–7 enjoins the penalty of death by stoning on the man or woman that (v: 3) " hath gone and served other gods, and wor- " shipped them, or the sun, or the moon, or any of the host of " heaven."

What is there is these terms to suggest that the cult is **" pre- " supposed "** as already existing *in Israel*? Manasseh may have been the first to introduce the worship of the " host of heaven " in Judah (2 Kgs: xxi. 3, xxiii. 4, 5 mention the worship, but give no clue as to when it began), though it seems to have been practised earlier in the Northern Kingdom (2 Kgs: xvii. 16). That does not show that it was previously unknown to the heathen, among whom it may have been as ancient as the worship of the sun and moon. There is no reason why Moses should not have included this along with other forms of Canaanite idolatry.

**" (4) The influence of Dt. upon subsequent writers is " clear and indisputable. It is remarkable now that the early " prophets, Amos, Hosea, and the undisputed portions of " Isaiah, show no certain traces of this influence: Jeremiah " exhibits marks of it on nearly every page; Ezekiel and II " Isaiah are also evidently influenced by it. If Dt. were " composed in the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah " these facts would be exactly accounted for."**

There is a curious limitation in the evidence here. **" Subse- " quent writers "** in general are mentioned, but only a few prophets are actually cited. If the critical theory be right, no writings before 621 BC should show any trace of the influence of Deuteronomy, while it should be **" clear and indisputable "** in a majority of the later books. Now the earlier historical books, Josh: Jud: and 1 Sam:, do show traces of Deuterononic influence, and the critics only escape from this by asserting that these parts are due to a later Deuteronomic editor. On the other hand, just three of the major prophets, none of the minor prophets, and no other later writers are quoted as showing **" certain traces of this " influence.** The paragraph only deals with a small portion of the evidence.

But does even this portion lead necessarily to the critical conclusion ? The missions of Hosea and Amos were to the Northern Kingdom, and there appeals to the authority of Deuteronmy would be of little avail. The contrast between the two parts of Isaiah involves yet another critical theory which cannot be entered on now. Only it may be pointed out that if this other theory is not justified, the whole of the present argument breaks down hopelessly.

Of the later prophets mentioned, "**Jeremiah's phraseology "is modelled most evidently upon that of Dt.; and remin- "iscences may frequently be traced in Ezekiel and Deutero- "Isaiah.**" LOT. 103.

There were good reasons why Jeremiah should be specially influenced by Deuteronomy. It had come into marked prominence in the 5th year from his prophetic call (LOT. 247), and its teachings would be fresh in the minds of those whom he addressed. Through him Ezekiel also would be influenced :—"**He had a master "interpreting events to him to whose influence every page "of his prophecies bears witness. Jeremiah indeed may "not have been Ezekiel's only master. . . . Still the teaching "and life of Jeremiah was probably the most powerful "influence under which the young priest grew up.**" (Dr. Davidson, "*Ezekiel,*" Camb: Bib: pp: xviii, xix). If "**Deutero- "Isaiah** " was indeed "**a prophet writing towards the close "of the Babylonian captivity** " (LOT. 236), and addressing "**the exiles in Babylonia** " (LOT. 237), he in turn would probably be influenced by both Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

The fact can be sufficiently accounted for without the hypothesis that Deuteronomy was "**composed in the period between "Isaiah and Jeremiah.**"

"(5) **The language and style of Dt., clear and flowing, "free from archaisms, but purer than that of Jeremiah, "would suit the same period.**"

The critic does not go so far as to assert that the language and style would not suit an earlier period. Would he go so far as to assert that there is any appreciable difference between these and those of JE beyond what there must necessarily be between a carefully written history and an impassioned discourse ? If Deut : is "**free from archaisms,**" JE too has "**no archaic flavour "perceptible.**"

"**It is difficult,**" the argument continues, "**in this connection "not to feel the force of Dillmann's remark** (p. 611), **that "'the style of Dt. implies a long development of the art of "'public oratory, and is not of a character to belong to the "'first age of Israelitish literature.'**"

The critical theory is that D was not an oration at all, but a carefully written document. In that case, what relation can its style have to "**the art of public oratory** " ? If, however, it

was an oration, what has that to do with "**literature**"? How can we possibly judge to what heights of oratory an exceptional personality like Moses might rise at a time of supreme emotion? What do we really know of "**the first age of Israelitish "literature**"?

"**(6) The *prophetic teaching* of Dt., the dominant theo-"logical ideas, the point of view from which the laws are "presented, the principles by which conduct is estimated, "presuppose a relatively advanced stage of theological "reflexion, as they also approximate to what is found in "Jeremiah and Ezekiel.**"

In these somewhat wide and vague generalizations it is tacitly assumed that "**prophetic teaching,**" "**theological ideas,**" and the rest, can only be the outcome of "**theological reflexion.**" That they could possibly be in any degree influenced by Divine guidance is simply left out of consideration. But, quite apart from this, how can we judge of the "**stage of theological reflexion**" of such a man as Moses must have been? May he not have been as far in advance of the theological thought of his day as Bacon was in advance of the scientific thought of his age?

Since Jeremiah and Ezekiel were admittedly profoundly influenced by Deuteronomy, it is inevitable that their teaching would approximate to what is found in that book. That in no way implies that the teaching was a product of their age. The theological ideas of Augustine approximate to much that is found in the writings of 16th century reformers, yet he was further distant from them than Moses was from Ezekiel.

"**(7) In Dt. xvi. 22 we read 'Thou shalt not set thee up a "'*mazzebah* (obelisk or pillar), which the LORD thy God "'hateth.' Had Isaiah known of this law he would hardly "have adopted the *mazzebah* (xix. 19) as a symbol of the "conversion of Egypt to the true faith. The supposition "that *heathen* pillars are meant in Dt. is not favoured by "the context (v. 21[b]); the use of these, moreover, has been "proscribed before (vii. 5, xii. 3).**"

Deut: xvi. 21, 22, "Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any "kind of tree beside the altar of the LORD thy God, which thou "shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up a pillar (*mazze-"bah*); which the LORD thy God hateth."

Deut: vii. 5 and xii. 3 are both injunctions that the Israelites are to dash in pieces the Canaanite pillars and destroy their *Asherim*. The injunctions of xvi. 21, 22, therefore, go further. Not only are the Canaanite pillars and *Asherim* to be done away with, but the Israelites are forbidden to place either of these beside the altar of God. The final clause, "which the LORD thy God hateth," may fairly be referred to both *Asherah* and *mazzebah*, and not to the pillar alone.

Isai: xix. 19,—" In that day shall there be an altar unto the "LORD in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar (*mazzebah*) " at the border thereof to the LORD,"—is part of a prediction of the conversion of both Egypt and Assyria, and their association with Israel in the blessing, " Blessed be Egypt my people, and "Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance " (v: 25). The whole chapter professes to be a revelation of the Divine purpose, in which case it would be God Himself, and not Isaiah, who adopts the *mazzebah* as a symbol of conversion. Is there no fitness in the choice of what was once hated because of its idolatrous use to be now the consecrated sign that even Egypt has at last become " My people " ?

Even if this was only (as the critics probably consider it) the expression of the prophet's **" lofty hopes "** (LOT. 215), still it would be appropriate that the once heathen " pillar " should be an outward sign of the utter change by which the Egyptians, whose ruler had once said " I know not the LORD," should now " know " the LORD," and " worship with sacrifice and oblation " (v: 21).

Of these seven grounds for assigning a late date to D, Nos: (1), (2), and (3),—difference from Exod; law of the kingdom ; forms of idolatry—depend ultimately on the assumption that laws must have been framed to meet circumstances that had already arisen, and not to provide for circumstances likely to arise ;—No: 5,—language and style—is largely assertion, and does not positively preclude the possibility of an earlier date ;—No : 6,—theological reflection—rests upon an *a priori* estimate of what was possible in the Mosaic age ;—Nos: 4 and 7,—influence on subsequent writers ; the *mazzebah*, —furnish some show of evidence which, however, may be reasonably interpreted in a different sense.

It is very doubtful whether all together would have led an unprejudiced inquirer to assign a late, or even a post-Mosaic, date to D, still less to the particular century required by the critical theory. It looks more as if everything which bears even the semblance of an argument had been pressed into service to support the preconceived theory that D was a recent production in 621 BC.

Mr. Chapman advances one more argument :—**" A long occu- " pation of the land is implied in the prohibition ' Thou " ' shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark which *they* " ' *of old time* have set in thine inheritance ' (Deut. xix. 14)."** IP. 140.

The word rendered " they of old time " is *Rishonim*, which simply means " the first," and may refer to precedence in order of time, of place, or of dignity : e.g. the Chief Rabbi of the Sephardim in Jerusalem is styled " *Rishon le Zion*,"—First in Zion. There is no necessary idea of antiquity in the word at all. It may mean those

who are foremost in rank, the chiefs ; it may refer to the primary delimitation which would have to be made when the Israelites entered into possession of the land ; it may even refer to landmarks, set up by the previous inhabitants. Those marks would very probably be respected in apportioning inheritances to the individual Israelites, for the East is very conservative in such matters.

No "**long occupation of the land**" is implied in the wording of this prohibition.

# XXXI.

## DATING THE SOURCES.—H AND P.

(c) *The dating of H.*

As regards H, the critics distinguish between the "**laws**" and the "**framework**":—"**The *laws* of H date in the main "from a considerably earlier time; but it seems that they "were arranged in their present parenetic framework, "by an author who was at once a priest and a prophet, "probably towards the closing years of the monarchy.**" LOT. 151.

How much earlier the laws may be is not even remotely indicated; and who the priest-prophet author may have been is also left undetermined, except that he was not Ezekiel:—"**It is thus "agreed by the best critics that Ez. is not the author, or "even the compiler, of the Law of Holiness**" (LOT. 148, 149). As to the age of this "**framework**" it is said "**The "principal clue appears to be afforded by the closing exhorta- "tion, xxvi. 3 ff. This, it seems clear, must have been "written at a time when Israel had *already* worshipped "at 'high places,' and erected sun-pillars (v. 30); but "beyond this it is thought by many to presuppose the *exile*** " (LOT. 149). As to the latter point, Dr. Driver himself favours the conclusion that "**the certainty of *approaching* exile (which "was unquestionably realized by the prophets of Jeremiah's "age) would, not less than the actual exile, form a sufficient "basis on which to found the promise of v. 40–45.**" LOT. 150.

The argument so far is that Lev: xxvi. 3–45 indicates a time when Israel had already worshipped at high places, and erected sun-pillars and approaching exile was already certain.

Lev: xxvi. 30 (to which special reference is made) is part of a general denunciation of punishment if Israel is unfaithful and disobedient, and runs "I will destroy your high places, and cut "down your sun-images (*Chamanim*), and cast your carcases upon "the carcases of your idols; and my soul shall abhor you."

The inference that this must have been written at a time "**when "Israel had *already* worshipped at high places, and erected "sun-pillars**" assumes that there could have been no human

prevision (to say nothing of Divine foreknowledge) of these forms of false worship in the Mosaic age. Now from Num: xxii. 41 we learn that there were "high places of Baal" in Moab in Balak's time, and from 2 Chron : xxxiv. 4 that the *Chamanim* were closely associated with altars of Baal. High places for the worship of Baal, the sun-god, were ancient ; and *Chamanim*, (**"i.e. symbols "of the sun-god, probably in the shape of a pyramid or "obelisk. They stood beside the altars."** Dr. Davidson, "*Ezekiel*," p. 42), may have been quite as ancient. These, then, are quite likely to have been mentioned by Moses as specimens of the idolatry into which the Israelites might be drawn. Whereas if the passage were written at a late date, how comes it that "sun-images," hardly mentioned in the history, are specified, while *Asherim*, pillars, etc: (which are often mentioned) are here ignored ?

Vv: 40–45 contain the promise that when punishment is accepted in a spirit of penitence, that penitence will not be rejected. It is couched in very general phrases (**"so indefinite in its terms,"** LOT. 151), not directly promising restoration from exile, but only that the covenant with the patriarchs should be remembered. Can it be seriously contended that Moses could not have denounced expulsion from the Land of Promise as the punishment for faithlessness, nor promised remembrance in return for subsequent penitence ?

It is further argued that **"the parenetic framework of H, "while it may be thus earlier than Ez, will hardly be much "earlier ; for though isolated passages in Lev. xxvi re-"semble, for instance, passages of Amos or Micah, the "tone of the whole is unlike that of any earlier prophet ; "on the other hand, its tone is akin to that of Jeremiah, "and still more (even apart from the phrases common "to both) to that of Ezekiel."** LOT. 151.

It is not easy to meet an argument based on anything so vague as **"tone."** However, the critics tell us that the similarity between H and Ezekiel, even in style and phrases, is very great. If then Ezekiel was not the author of H, he must have made a special study of these chapters. It is not very wonderful, therefore, that the **"tone"** should be akin. Also, this particular passage (Lev: xxvi. 3–45) deals markedly with the punishment of exile ;—in Jeremiah's time **"the certainty of approaching exile"** had been realized, and Ezekiel wrote after the exile had begun. It is not very surprising that a similar **"tone"** should run through the three. The similarity does not prove that H belongs to the age of those prophets. As the earlier prophets had not the same reasons for dwelling on the subject of exile, any difference in tone in their writings is no real argument for the late date of H.

**"The language and style are compatible with the same "age, even if they do not actually favour it."** LOT. 151.

The argument from language and style cannot be very strong when the critic does not venture to state positively that they "**favour**" this particular age. The plea here only amounts to this that the language and style do not prove that the document belongs to a different period.

None of these reasons for assigning any part of H to a late date can be said to be very convincing.

(d) *The dating of P.*

The arguments for assigning P to a late date (LOT. 136, 137) begin with appeals to the history as to the place of sacrifice, the offerers of sacrifice, and the provisions concerning the Tabernacle and the Ark. These matters have already been considered, and moreover we are now considering the reasons apart from the history. Then follow arguments to show that P "**is later than Dt.**" (LOT. 137–140) which will be considered shortly (see below, pp: 312–314).

In addition to these, a few other reasons are given, LOT. 140, 141.

"**The later date for P, suggested by a comparison of it "with JE, D, and Ez., is confirmed, as it seems, by the "character of the religious conceptions which it presents.**"

The only religious conception actually mentioned, however, is —the representations of the Deity, which, it is alleged, are far more anthropomorphic in JE than in P, and particularly it is urged that in Gen: i–ii. 4[a], "**His transcendence above nature "is conspicuous throughout: He conducts His work of "creation from a distance: there are no anthropomorphisms "which might be misunderstood in a material sense.**"

What authority there is for asserting that this passage represents the Creator as working "**from a distance**" it would be hard to say, but as to anthropomorphisms, the reader is referred to the remarks on pp: 36, 37, and especially as to the making of man in God's image.

"**Contrast, again, the genealogies in JE (Gen. iv) with "those in P (Gen. v); does not JE display them in their "fresher, more original form, while in P they have been "reduced to bare lists of names, devoid of all imaginative "colouring.**"

"**Bare lists of names**" are not absent from the genealogies ascribed to J (see Gen: iv. 18; x. 13, 14; 26–29). Where details that are not mere genealogy are given, it is only in connection with a few remarkable names; Cain, Lamech, Nimrod, Peleg. The genealogies in Gen: v, xi. 10–26 (ascribed to P) give the line of direct descent from Adam to Abram, and are genealogies pure and simple, only recording names and ages: these may possibly be excerpts from some kind of family record older than the Mosaic age (see p: 25). The parts of c: x which contain details not merely genealogical are only separated from P by the analysis.

The contrast drawn is not altogether justifiable, but if it were, the "**bare lists of names**" are not necessarily indications of late origin.

"**In JE the growth of sin in the line of Cain leads up "suitably to the narrative of the Flood; in P no explanation "is given of the corruption overspreading the earth, and "rendering necessary the destruction of its inhabitants.**"

How does this show that P is of late origin? Even on the critical theory it would merely suggest that the compiler has omitted some part of the P narrative, preferring the account in JE. On the traditional view, the explanation of the corruption, having already been given in Gen: vi. 1–8, is not wanted at v: 11.

"**In JE the patriarchs are men of flesh and blood; the "incidents of their history arise naturally out of their antece-"dents, and the character of the circumstances in which "they are placed . . . in P we have a skeleton from which "such touches of life and nature are absent, an outline in "which legislative (Gen. xvii) statistical, chronological "elements are the sole conspicuous feature.**"

Apparently the argument is that the freshness and vividness of the JE narratives belong to a comparatively early age: the arid meagreness of P's "**outline**" must belong to a later time. But how much of this meagreness is really due to the analysis? For instance, in the history of Joseph the only passages allotted to P are Gen: xxxvii. 1, 2[a], "And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's "sojournings, in the land of Canaan. These are the generations "of Jacob. Joseph being seventeen years old—" ;—xli. 46, "And "Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh King "of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, "and went throughout all the land of Egypt," ;—and xlvi. 6–27, mainly the list of Jacob's family. It is evident that, if there ever was a separate P account of Joseph, it must have contained a good deal more than this, and therefore the P history is by no means fairly represented by the few fragments assigned to it. There is also room for suspicion that these fragments are attributed to P just because they are "**statistical, chronological.**"

Gen: xvii is referred to as an instance of the "**legislative**" element, but is that its "**sole conspicuous feature**"? Vv: 1–8 are occupied with promises, not legislation; and so are vv: 15–22, altogether more than half the chapter. Are not Abraham's laughter, and his intercession for Ishmael (vv: 17, 18)"**touches of life and "nature**"? Are there no "**men of flesh and blood**" in the narratives of Machpelah (Gen: xxiii), of Nadab and Abihu (Lev: x. 1–7, 16–20), and of the sequel to Korah's rebellion (Num: xvi. 41–50)?

"**There is also a tendency to treat the history theoretically (p. 128) "which is itself the mark of a later age.**"

The reference to p: 128 appears to be to the following :—" his " **representation, as a whole, seems to be the result of a " systematizing process working upon these materials, " and perhaps, also, seeking to give sensible expression to " certain ideas or truths (as, for instance, to the truth of " Jehovah's presence *in the midst of His people*, symbolized " by the 'Tent of Meeting,' surrounded by its immediate " attendants in the centre of the camp). His aim seems to " have been to present an ideal picture of the Mosaic age, " constructed, indeed, upon a genuine traditional basis, but " so conceived as to exemplify the principles by which an " ideal theocracy should be regulated."**

It is much to be doubted whether this theoretical treatment of the history belongs really to P, and not to the critical interpretation thereof. In the instance above cited, the critics hold that the historical Tent of Meeting was outside the camp, and that P represents it as being in the centre only in order to symbolize " **the " truth of Jehovah's presence in the midst of His people.**" But it is possible that P's representation is simply a narration of historical fact (see pp: 277–280), in which case, the systematizing, idealizing, theorizing disappear, and with them this argument for the late origin of P.

" **The representations of the patriarchal age seems, more- " over, not to be so primitive as in JE : the patriarchs, for " instance, are never represented as building altars or sacri- " ficing ; and Noah receives permission to slaughter animals " for food without reference to sacrifice, notwithstanding " the intimate connection subsisting in early times between " slaughtering and sacrifice.**"

If P's account of the patriarch is a mere " **skeleton,**" a statistical and chronological " **outline,**" the absence of mention of building altars and of sacrificing is nothing surprising. Also how much of this alleged absence is really due to the analysis ? Gen: xxxv. 1–8 mentions Jacob building an altar, and v: 14 speaks of his erecting a pillar, and pouring out a drink offering ; but the critics have assigned vv: 1–8 to E, and have cut v: 14 out of the P passage 9-15 and given it to J, though the whole passage 1–15 reads like a connected account of Jacob's second visit to Bethel. That the P part of the narrative does not mention an altar is really due to the critics themselves. The permission given to Noah to eat animal food is only " **without any reference to sacrifice** " because the preceding section about Noah's sacrifice (Gen: viii. 20–22), which comes between two P sections, is assigned to J, although it contains the otherwise Levitical phrase " the sweet " savour."

On the other hand, JE does represent that Abraham provided animal food without any mention of sacrifice (Gen: xviii. 7, 8).

Was there any sacrifice when Rebecca made "savoury meat" of the two kids (Gen: xxvii. 9, 14)? Was Joseph's feast to his brethren (Gen: xliii. 32–34) purely vegetarian, or was there any sacrifice connected with it?

Finally, there is an argument from language, LOT. 155, 156: **"The language of P is not opposed to the date here assigned "to it."** Again the critic does not go so far as to assert that the language *requires* a late date. He admits that Giesebrecht goes too far, and detects **"signs of lateness in P which do not "exist,"** but contends that **"there is a residuum of words "which possess this character, and show affinities with "writings of the age of Ez. That these are less numerous "than might perhaps be expected, may be explained partly "by the fact that P's phraseology is largely traditional, "partly by the fact that the real change in Hebrew style "does not begin 'till a later age altogether."**

A **"residuum of words . . . less numerous than might "perhaps be expected"** does not sound like a very strong case. In admissions that **"P's phraseology is largely traditional"** (which means that much of the language of P belongs to an earlier age) and that **"the real change in Hebrew style"** does not begin till a later period, show that the argument from language and style is little relied on. Indeed the hesitating manner in which this argument is appealed to with regard to all the "sources" is remarkable.

Apart from this halting appeal to the language, and the rather vague charge of treating the history **"theoretically,"** the reasons given for assigning a late date to P are all drawn from an alleged contrast with the JE patriarchal history. This contrast is largely vitiated by the fragmentary nature of the parts attributed to P, and even so is not really made out.

# XXXII.

## THE SEQUENCE JE, D, P.

(B) *Reasons for maintaining the particular sequence JE, D, P.*

The present critical theory agrees with the traditional view in regarding the laws of JE as the earliest. The question at issue, then, is chiefly that of the priority of D or P, but there are some points in which a consideration of the JE laws is involved.

(a) *The interval between JE and P.*

**" Can any one read the injunctions respecting sacrifices and " feasts in Ex. xxiii. 14–19 beside those in P (Lev. i–vii, Nu. " xxviii–xxix, for instance), and not feel that some centuries " must have intervened between the simplicity which char- " acterizes the one, and the minute specialization which is " the mark of the other ? "** LOT. 85.

There are some tacit assumptions here :—(1) that the half-dozen verses in Exodus are, or could ever have been intended to be, a complete set of injunctions ;—(2) that minute specialization was a matter of development and growth ;—(3) that this growth was entirely due to natural causes ;—(4) that the minute specialization was already in practice before being reduced to a system of law.

Quite apart from the all-important question of Divine direction (which the critics constantly ignore as though it could not possibly have been given), is it impossible that a man with a genius for organization could draw up a code full of **" minute specializa- " tion "** in the course of a few months ? That is all that would be required in this case. The original sketch of an artist is characterized by severe simplicity : detailed elaboration is the mark of his finished picture. Yet the finished picture may have been produced from the simple sketch in the course of a few days or weeks.

(b). *The interval between JE and D.*

**" The earliest of the Pentateuchal sources, it seems clear, " is JE : but at whatever date this be placed, Dt. must follow it " at a considerable interval ; for the legislation of Dt. implies " a more elaborately organized civil community than that " for which provision is made in the legislation of JE. Nor " is this more elaborate organization merely anticipated " in Dt. ; it is presupposed as already existing."** LOT. 85.

That D followed JE is, of course, quite in accordance with the traditional view ; the question is as to the interval. In this case, it is the more elaborate civil organization, and not the religious specialization, which is said to demand **" a considerable interval."** Again there are the assumptions (1) that the provisions in JE formed a complete system ; (2) that no unusual force was at work to expedite the organization.

The traditional view is that the laws in Exod: xx–xxiii were a brief summary of the simpler rules ;—that these were supplemented by a more elaborate organization in Leviticus and the early part of Numbers ; that for some 38 years this organization had been in process of consolidation, and even elaboration, under the guidance of (at the least) an exceptional personality, Moses, **" a man of " remarkable power of command and personal influence "** (BN. xxi) ; and that, on the eve of a momentous change in the conditions of the national life, this same remarkable personage made provision, in the Deut: laws, for a yet more elaborate organization to suit the new circumstances which lay before the people. Is not this amply sufficient to account for the differences between the earlier and the later laws ?

As an instance, take the Court of Appeal set up by Deut: xvii. 8–13. During the Wanderings the Israelites had been under the system of judicature inaugurated in Exod: xviii, by which minor matters were settled by subordinate judges, and matters of supreme difficulty referred to Moses himself, who was believed to be under Divine guidance. This system, admirably adapted for the Wilderness, when the people were concentrated in one camp and Moses was still alive, would clearly be unsuitable for the life in Canaan when the people would be dispersed over a considerable extent of country. Accordingly provision is made for appointing judges and officers " in all thy gates " (Deut: xvi. 18), and for referring matters of unusual difficulty to a central court of appeal composed of priests and " the judge that shall be in those days " at " the place which the LORD thy God shall choose " (Deut: xvii. 8, 9). The principle of the Wilderness system is adhered to, but the method modified to suit the altered conditions.

The assertion that in Deut: the organization is presupposed and not anticipated is in mere contradiction of the repeated claim made in the book that these provisions are made for a future time " when thou art come unto the land which the LORD thy God " giveth thee " (xvii. 14, xviii. 9, xxvi. 1).

(c) *Increasing complexity of the laws.*

**" The ritual legislation of JE, which, it is not disputed,***

* Not now, but D was considered the oldest stratum in the Pentateuch before De Wette ;—**" he pronounced it to be the most recent stratum of " the Pentateuch, not, as had been previously supposed, the oldest."** (Wellhausen, " Pentateuch," Enc: Britt: edn: 9, vol: xviii, p: 505).

**"is earlier than D, is in every respect simpler than that "of D; and a presumption hence arises, that that of D is "similarly earlier than the more complex legislation of P."** LOT. 138.

"**As regards fulness of detail** [as to sacrifices] **the three codes "stand in the order JE, D, P."** IP. 149.

There would be force in the argument if (1) it affected the whole legislation, and not ritual alone; (2) if D was, or professed to be, a complete "code," in ritual as well as other matters, though even then it would remain a "**presumption,**" not a proof.

Now (1), though the ceremonial regulations in P are more detailed and complex than those in D, the moral and civil regulations are far fuller in D than in P;—"**The civil element which is prominent "in Exod. xxi–xxiii is not found in P**" (IP. 221);—and the civil (and moral) element is even more prominent in Deuteronomy than in Exodus. The argument from progressive elaboration might, then, just as well be used in the opposite direction, viz: to prove the priority of P to D. Indeed it may fairly be argued that progress in matters civil and moral is a far more reliable indication of later date than increase of complexity in ceremonial: elaborate ceremonial is not unknown in savage communities.

(2) Deuteronomy does not profess to be a "code" at all, but a farewell address. In such an address civil and moral exhortations might be expected to be prominent: details of ceremonial would be out of place, especially if a set of regulations on ceremonial already existed, and was well known. The P regulations, on the other hand, claim to have been issued when a magnificent Sanctuary had just been set up, and a hierarchy of priests inaugurated. That is exactly when full ceremonial directions would be needed. Some of these would need to be modified when the people were about to exchange the Wilderness conditions for those of a settled life, and just such modifications are found in Deuteronomy.

(d) *The law about Hebrew slaves.*

"**On the assumption that JE, D, P represent successive "steps in the treatment of an Israelite bondservant, the "whole legislation with respect to slavery appears in his-"toric sequence and presents no difficulty; but on the "supposition that JE and P were set forth in the *same year* "at Sinai, and D promulgated about 40 years later, the "inconsistency of the three laws is inexplicable.**" IP. 127.

The three laws *as interpreted by the critics* would be inconsistent, and this argument would be forcible. But if the law in Deut: is only an informal allusion to the law in Exodus, and not a modification of it, while the law in Leviticus relates only to a particular class of servitude (that of a poor man who sells himself), there is no inconsistency, and therefore nothing inexplicable (see above,

pp: 167–170). On the other hand, there is very considerable difficulty is supposing that the Leviticus law could have been framed during the Exile (see pp: 170, 171).

(e) *The later practice.*

**" Attention has been drawn to (1) the frequency of pilgrim-" age, (2) the existence of the Sin-offering, (3) the duration " of the Feast of Tabernacles: it appears that in the time " of Samuel the practice falls short of the requirements of " JE; that in the time of Solomon, according to the writer " of Kings, the Law of Deuteronomy is recognized; and that, " according to the writer of Chronicles, the existence of " the law in P is assumed. This points to a development of " Jewish law, the stages of which are represented by JE, D, " and P."** IP. 153.

As to (1) the narrative in 1 Sam: i, ii does not show that Elkanah went to Shiloh *only* once a year (see pp: 179, 180), and therefore does not show that **" in the time of Samuel "** (rather of Eli), the practice fell short of the requirements of JE.

As to (2) and (3), the non-mention of the Sin offering at the Dedication of the Temple (see below, p: 319), and of the observance of the 8th day of Tabernacles (see above, pp: 178, 179) in a single chapter of 1 Kings does not show that the writer recognized no other law than that of Deuteronomy. Of course he recognized the laws of Deuteronomy, and had special reason for laying stress on them, as he does in other parts of the history :—**" The compiler " of Kings, though not, probably (as has sometimes been " supposed), Jeremiah himself, was nevertheless a man like-" minded with Jeremiah, and almost certainly a contem-" porary, who lived and wrote under the same influences "** (LOT. 199), and in Jeremiah's time the laws of Deuteronomy had been brought into prominence by the discovery of the Book of the Law. The Chronicler, besides the fact that his history is ecclesiastical rather than secular, wrote after the religious revival under Ezra and Nehemiah had aroused special interest in the ceremonial regulated in Leviticus and Numbers. That the latter should notice an observance which the former passes over in silence affords no real clue to the order in which the laws were promulgated.

We may now pass on to the arguments dealing only with D and P.

**" When P is compared with Dt. in detail, the differences " tend to show that it is later than Dt."**

To support this statement four reasons are given, LOT. 137, 138.

**" (a) in Dt. the centralization of worship is *enjoined*, it is " insisted on with much emphasis as an end aimed at, but " not yet realized: in P it is presupposed as already existing."**

So also Mr. Chapman ;—**" according to P, the ordinance " of the one sanctuary has been established from the be-**

**" ginning : according to D it is introduced under the mon-
" archy. Moses is pleading in Deuteronomy for the principle
" of the one sanctuary, as an ideal to be realized in the future ;
" but the Priestly legislation sets forth the one sanctuary
" as already in the midst of the children of Israel."** IP. 133.

There seems to be some confusion of thought here. The **" princi-
" ple of the one sanctuary "** is not the same thing as the provision of a permanent sanctuary. It is the latter which is, in Deuteronomy, regarded as being still in the future.

The *principle* of one only Sanctuary is at least hinted at in the " Book of the Covenant," in the provision that the three annual festivals are to be observed as " Pilgrimages," and that the first-fruits are to be brought into " the house of the LORD thy God " (Exod: xxiii. 14–19). Then, according to P, a sanctuary is set up which is the only legitimate one in the Wilderness. It is provided " to the end that the children of Israel may bring their " sacrifices, which they sacrifice in the open field, even that they " may bring them unto the LORD unto the door of the Tent of " Meeting " (Lev: xvii. 5). The principle that there should be only one sanctuary is clearly enunciated, but the sanctuary provided is a movable Tent, suited to the migratory life of the Wilderness. In Deuteronomy, the establishment of a Central Sanctuary in the Promised Land is spoken of as yet in the future, but that Sanctuary is to be permanent, and in one particular spot, " the place which the " LORD your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name " there " (Deut: xii. 5). Nothing is said about this ordinance of the one sanctuary being introduced **" under the monarchy "** : the time indicated is " when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land " which the LORD your God causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you " rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in " safety " (Deut: xii. 10). There is no indication whether the interval would be long or short, and, for all that is said, the time might have been while the people were still under Joshua's leadership. There is no **" pleading for the principle of the one " sanctuary "** : the injunction to observe it is peremptory and repeated, and that is quite consistent with its being a principle already laid down and well known. Indeed, on the traditional view, there is a good reason for Moses insisting **" with much " emphasis "** on the observance of the principle at this particular time. In the Wilderness, the Tabernacle in the centre of the camp was accessible to all, and the principle of the one sanctuary easily observed. But when the people came to be spread over a large extent of country, they might be inclined to think that the strict rule of the Wilderness would be relaxed, and that they would be permitted to have local sanctuaries within easy reach. In several matters the severity of the Wilderness rule could be and was relaxed, (e.g. the slaughtering of sacrificial animals for food), but not as

regards this. The one Sanctuary was the visible token and the safeguard of the foundation principle, " Hear, O Israel : the LORD " our God is one LORD " (Deut: vi. 2). Not for one moment must that principle be endangered, and therefore the injunction that in their new home there must only be the one Sanctuary needed to be again and again emphasized, and driven home to the people's conscience.

It is urged, however, that **" the manner in which this precept " is urged gives the impression that something new is " demanded. No reference is made to a previous law, but " it is implied that the existing practice of the people is " unsatisfactory. ' Ye shall not do after all the things which " ' we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right " ' in his own eyes ' (Deut. xii. 8).** IP. 132.

No reference to the old law was needed : that was well known, and had been in force for close on 40 years. The new element was that the old law was to be maintained in all its rigour under altogether different circumstances.

No doubt the existing practice was not satisfactory. The history represents that immediately after the giving of the Decalogue the Israelites worshipped the Golden Calf :—Num: xxv. 2, 3 asserts that the daughters of Moab " called the people unto the sacrifices " of their gods ; and the people did eat, and bowed down to their " gods. And Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor." Amos (v. 25, 26) brings the accusation, " Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and " offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel ? Yea, " ye have borne Siccuth your king and Chiun your images, the " star of your god, which ye made to yourselves."

If the weightier matters of the law were so grossly violated, what probability is there that the injunctions of Lev: xvii were faithfully observed ? There is every reason to believe that the **" existing " practice,"** even in Moses' lifetime, was most **" unsatisfactory."** All the more necessary was it, then, to urge on the people the observance of the one-sanctuary law in the country where temptations to forsake the one God would abound. The Deuteronomic injunctions to observe the law of one Sanctuary can be fully accounted for without assuming that **" something new is demanded."** P lays down that only one sanctuary is lawful, and provides a temporary one ; D lays down that this principle is to be observed in its strictness under altered conditions, points to the future establishment of a permanent sanctuary, and enjoins the people to frequent that, and no other. Instead of this being an argument that P is later than D, it is rather an argument that D is the necessary sequel to P.

The second and third reasons, (**b**) and (**c**), given for considering P later than D have to do with the alleged priestly functions and the status of the Levites in D, contrasted with the limitation to the

Aaronic priests and the provision for the maintenance of the Levites in P :—" **In each case the stricter limitation is on the side of " P "** (LOT. 138). These matters have already been fully discussed (see pp: 187–199), and need not now detain us. If the suggestion on p: 198, that the D rules as to tithes and firstlings was a relaxation of the " **stricter limitation** " of P, be sound, this would again be an argument in favour of D being later than P.

" (d) **The entire system of feasts and sacrifices is much " more complex and precisely defined in P than in Dt."** LOT. 138.

This is only the argument from elaboration over again (see p: 311).

The assertion that D is inconsistent with P is serious enough, but something even more serious is alleged.

" **The writer of Deuteronomy makes no reference to this " [P] elaborate system of sacrifice, worship, and law ; and his " account of the legislation *leaves no room for it*."** IP. 118. " **The book of Deuteronomy not only *ignores* this continued " legislative activity ; it *excludes* it."** IP. 119. What grounds are there for these startling assertions ?

In D, " **The covenant at Horeb was the ' Ten Words ' ; " and there is no intimation that any further commands " were issued to the people during their stay at Sinai, or " during their journeyings."** IP. 118. **This narrative " [D] limits the published revelation at Horeb to the Ten " Words, and thus excludes the idea that further legislation, " such as that contained in the Priestly code, was com- " municated to the children of Israel at Sinai."** IP. 173.

These assertions in turn rest upon some earlier statements :— " **According to Deut. v. the Decalogue *only* was spoken " by the Lord in Horeb, ' and he added no more ' (v. 22) "** : statutes and judgments are declared to Moses, but " **These statutes and judgements are not made known to the people " at once. The words of v. 31 ' which thou shalt teach ' " do not require Moses to teach them at that time ; and he " declares them to the children of Israel in the land of Moab " on the eve of passing over the Jordan."** IP. 113. " **This " law, declared in the land of Moab (i. 5) is not a *repetition* " of laws already promulgated at Sinai, but a series of enact- " ments delivered to Moses at Horeb, and now at the close " of the journeyings, *for the first time made known* to Israel. " . . . According to Deuteronomy the Decalogue *only* is the " covenant at Horeb (vi. 13, v. 22). Whatever had been " imparted to Moses at Horeb besides that, is communicated " by him to the people in the land of Moab and not before."** IP. 114.

According to this, the author of D represents that no Divine commands of any kind, or at least "**no *formal code***" (IP. 119, note), were communicated to Israel between the giving of the Decalogue at Horeb and the final address in Moab (which would, of course, exclude the whole of the P legislation); that a lengthy series of enactments,—"**contained in Deut. xii-xxvi**" (IP. 113), —was delivered to Moses at Horeb, but that he kept silence about these for nearly 40 years, and only delivered them to the people at the very last, "**and not before.**" What an extraordinary course to pursue! Is it imaginable that the author of Deuteronomy, whoever he was, could have supposed such a thing possible?

Of course this would also contradict the representation of JE that "Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD" (Exod: xxiv. 3), and wrote them in "the book of the covenant, "and read in the audience of the people" (xxiv. 7). Yet from this Mr. Chapman only infers that, "***The writer of Deut. v-xxvi, "xxviii was not acquainted with Exod. xx. 22-xxiv in its "present position.***" (IP. 114). This would mean that the whole of this Exodus section was either added to the JE document, or else transferred to this place from some other part of the history, after the time of Manasseh! So does one extraordinary deduction lead to yet another.

As authority for the statement "**the Decalogue *only* is the "covenant at Horeb**" we are referred to Deut: iv. 13, v. 22.

iv. 13, "And he declared unto you his covenant, which he "commanded you to perform, even the ten commandments."

v. 22, "These words" [the Decalogue] "the LORD spake unto "all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of "the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice, and he "added no more."

When Mr. Chapman says "**the Decalogue *only* was spoken "by the Lord in Horeb,**" he must mean that only the Decalogue was spoken *to the people*, for he himself goes on to point out that in Deut: v. 31 the LORD "**commands Moses to stand by Him "while He declares to him the statutes and judgements**" (IP. 113). On the critic's own showing, the words "and he added "no more" only mean that He added no more to the people. He did add more to Moses, and this corresponds exactly to the JE representation, Exod: xx. 18–22. The only question is, Did Moses (as JE represents, Exod: xxiv. 3) impart these further communications to the people at the time, or did he keep them in reserve for nearly 40 years?

There is no statement in Deuteronomy that Moses was making known the statutes and the judgements to the people "**for the "first time.**" That is only an inference of Mr. Chapman's, apparently based on Deut: i. 5, and a "**comparison of Deut. "v. 31 with vi. 1, 6, viii. 1, 11, xi. 8.**" IP. 113.

Deut: i. 5, "beyond Jordan, in the land of Moab began Moses "to declare this law, saying,"—

That is to say, this was the commencement of Moses' utterance. It in no way declares that Moses had never before said anything about this or any other law.

v. 31, "as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak unto "thee all the commandment, and the statutes, and the judgements, "which thou shalt teach them."

vi. 1, "Now this is the commandment, the statutes, and the "judgements, which the LORD your God commanded to teach you."

The other references only speak of the commandment, (or in viii. 11, "his commandments, and his judgements, and his stat-"utes"), "which I command thee this day."

At the most, this comparison only shows that what follows is (in substance) the revelation received at Horeb. It does not in the least show that Moses had never communicated any part of this until that day, still less that he had never conveyed to them any other commands.

The representation of Deuteronomy, then, is that only the Decalogue was addressed to the people; that at the same time Moses received "the commandment, the statutes, and the judgements"; and that he conveyed these to the people in the land of Moab. It is not said that he had never communicated any part of them before. It is not said that the whole of what follows was communicated to him at Horeb. It is not said that he had received no other commandments in the interval.

There is really no ground for asserting that the account in Deuteronomy "***leaves no room for***" and "***excludes***" the legislation of Leviticus and Numbers.

## XXXIII.

## THE SEQUENCE D, P (continued).

If D does not "**exclude**" P, does it "**ignore**" it?

"**The silence of Deuteronomy with regard to matters "contained in P is sometimes explained by saying that "Deuteronomy is addressed to the people, and omits refer- "ence to priestly ritual. But the legislation in P is addressed "to both priests and people** (see reff. on p. 118); **even "precepts referring to sacrifice and ritual purity are de- "livered directly to the people** (Lev. xii, Num. xxviii, xxix). **"Though the Priestly code contains the priests, ritual it "contains also, like the other codes, laws for the people. "The explanation offered only accounts for the silence of "Deuteronomy with regard to a part of P, viz. that part "which contains regulations for the priests."** IP. 119.

"The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children "of Israel" (Lev: xii. 1), or "Command the children of Israel" (Num: xxviii. (1), does not amount to quite the same thing as "**delivered directly to the people.**" Still the "**explanation**" which is here so triumphantly demolished is certainly inadequate. The silence of Deuteronomy about much that is in P is not sufficiently accounted for by merely saying that it "**omits reference "to priestly ritual.**"

But then there is a good deal more than this to be said. The whole character of Deuteronomy has to be taken into account. It is not a "code" intended to set forth the whole law, nor is it accurate to say that "**according to the traditional view, Deuteronomy "is a *repetition* of laws already promulgated at Sinai and "elsewhere**" (IP. 143). The traditional view is that Deuteronomy is what it professes to be, an account of the final addresses of Moses to the people. These addresses contain retrospects of the history, fervid exhortations to keep the Law, recapitulations of parts of the Law specially affecting the future conduct of the people in their new surroundings, and even modifications of some provisions of the Law to suit changed conditions. Such addresses would necessarily omit a good deal. Some things would be left out as now past and done with: for instance, in his list of commands addressed

to the people generally (IP. 118) Mr. Chapman begins with Exod: xxv. 2, which is the command to bring offerings for the construction of the Tabernacle, and it would be superfluous to mention this at the end of the Wanderings. Other matters would be passed over as unsuitable to the occasion, or too familiarly known to need even passing allusion, and among these would be details of ceremonial and sacrificial regulations. Take the two passages cited by Mr. Chapman above :—Lev: xii prescribes the ceremonies to be observed after childbirth ; Num: xxviii, xxix, the long lists of sacrifices to be offered at the various seasons. As these instructions needed no modifying, what speaker in his senses would dream of introducing these topics into addresses like those in Deuteronomy ?

**" Why, when specifying with some minuteness the sacri-**
**" fices and offerings that should be brought (Deut. xii. 6, 11,**
**" 17) is no reference made to precepts issued to *the people* a**
**" few months before on the same subject (Num. xxviii,**
**" xxix) ? "** IP. 120.

Deut: xii names, as matters well known, different classes of sacrifices and offerings, without giving details of what they were to consist of, what quantities were to be offered, or what was to be the method of offering. That fact alone is enough to show that Deuteronomy is not, and never was intended to be a complete code. The fact that precepts had been issued to the people on these subjects **" a few months before "** is the very reason why it was unnecessary to refer to them here.

**" Two additional offerings are specified in Lev. iv–vi. 8**
**" which are not found in the earlier codes ; the *ḥaṭṭath*,**
**" ' sin offering,' and the *'asham*, ' Guilt ' or ' Trespass**
**" ' offering ' "** (IP. 150). This is in contrast to **" A list of**
**" offerings to be brought is found in Deut. xii. 6, 11, 17, 18 "**
(p: 148), which list Mr. Chapman seems to think complete and exhaustive.

The Sin and Guilt offerings are not mentioned in Deut: xii. 6, (the lists in vv: 11, 17, 18, only mention some of those already enumerated in v: 6), but why should they have been included ? Most of those mentioned,—the burnt offerings, peace offerings, heave offering, firstlings,—are obligatory. Moses would also naturally assume that the Israelites would have freewill offerings and vows to pay. Why should he assume that they would need to make Sin and Guilt offerings ? Would he not rather avoid suggesting that such things would be necessary ?

It is urged further that while the Sin offering is prominent at the inauguration of the Tabernacle, and the consecration of Aaron (in P), it is not mentioned at the Dedication of the Temple :—
**" in 1 Kings viii, among the numerous sacrifices offered,**
**" the sin offering finds no place."** IP. 152.

Neither is it mentioned in the account in Chronicles. Did the

Chronicler know nothing of it? If he was so careful to introduce the notice of the observance of the 8th day of Tabernacles in this same chapter, so as to convey the idea that the full ritual of P was observed, why did he not also introduce a mention of the Sin offering among the sacrifices?

The truth is that both in Kings and in Chronicles the interest centres in the vast number of victims offered. This would have to do with the burnt and peace offerings, while the Sin offering would probably be a single victim.

The non-mention of the Sin offering in Deut: and 1 Kings is no proof that it was an after invention of P.

Then there is "**the great Day of Atonement. The obser-** "**vance of that day is most strictly enjoined: whoever does** "**not afflict his soul in that day shall be cut off, and the Lord** "**will destroy the soul that doeth work on that day from** "**among his people (Lev. xxiii. 29, 30). A law so *necessary* "*for all* must find a place in a code which contains the** "**statutes and judgements to be observed in the land which** "**the Lord God is giving to Israel.**" IP. 120.

Again there is the assumption that Deuteronomy was a "**code**" containing *all* "**the statutes and judgements to be observed.**"

The Day of Atonement is not the only "set feast" (*mo'ed*) prescribed in P which is passed over in Deuteronomy. Not only are the "new moons" (which are attested as pre-exilic by 1 Sam: xx. 5, Isai: i 13, 14, Hos: ii. 11) and the Feast of Trumpets unnoticed, but even the observance of the Sabbath day itself is only mentioned in the Decalogue. Only "**the three pilgrimage feasts of JE**" (IP. 148) are noticed. Does that mean that no others were known? Surely not, since there is a special reason for noticing these and not the others. Those three involved the pilgrimage to "the place "which the LORD thy God shall choose" (Deut: xvi. 6, 11, 15, 16), and that does not apply to any of the other days including the Day of Atonement. Deuteronomy only notices those seasons which are affected by the law of the permanent Central Sanctuary.

"**That it** [the law of the Day of Atonement] **is *not* included** "**in the covenant made in the land of Moab admits of but** "**one explanation; the author of Deuteronomy knew no-** "**thing of such a law.**" IP. 120.

Consider what this "**one explanation**" involves. The author of Deuteronomy in the 7th century BC. knows nothing of this law: the editor of H, "**towards the closing years of the monarchy**" knows nothing of it (Lev: xxiii. 26–32 being attributed to P): Ezekiel knows nothing of it, for he too never mentions it. At the earliest, then, it must be later than 570 BC. In 444 the law appears, ascribed to a Divine command given to Moses at an early period of the Wanderings (after the death of Nadab and Abihu, Lev: xvi. 1). Yet there was no one to recognize it as an innovation; or to chal-

lenge its Mosaic authority; or to point out its absence from the "Book of the Law," received as Divine nearly two centuries earlier. Instead, the institution is unquestioningly accepted, and the Day has become the most important in the Jewish calendar, so that scarcely any Jew, however lax he may be in other matters, will venture to neglect it. What kind of probability is there in all this?

Is this "**explanation**" quite as reasonable as the other, viz: that the Day of Atonement is not mentioned in Deuteronomy because it does not come within the immediate scope of the author's purpose, and was moreover too well known to need mention?

Again, it is asserted that the differences concerning the *Cities of Refuge* show that D must have been ignorant of P. These differences relate to (i) the number of cities; (ii) the tribunal; (iii) the language used; (iv) the reason for the law.

(i) *The number of cities.*

"**Three cities only are specified in Deut. xix. 2, 7; with "a proviso that 'if the Lord enlarge thy border' three more "cities should be added. Num. xxxv. 13, 14 fixes the "number at six, three on each side of the Jordan. The "six cities are set apart by Joshua (Josh. xx). The same "writer would not enjoin six cities, and within a few months "speak of them as three.**" IP. 121.

Num: xxxv. 13, 14 directs that six cities are to be "appointed" [*lit:* given], three on each side of the Jordan. Deut: iv. 41–43 asserts that Moses himself "separated" [*lit:* divided] the three cities on the east of the Jordan. Deut: xix. 2, 7, (part of a subsequent address), enjoin "Thou shalt separate [or 'divide,' the "same word as in iv. 41] three cities for thee in the midst of thy land "which the LORD thy God giveth thee to possess it" (v: 2), i.e. on the west of the river. If the three cities on the east had already been "separated," how could the later passage specify more than the remaining three, those that had yet to be separated on the west side?

The critics maintain that c: iv. 41–43 is a later interpolation of $D_2$, but the question under discussion is, Can Deut: xix be by the "**same writer**" as Num: xxxv? and the answer is, Yes, certainly, if Deut: iv. 41–43 is also by the same writer. On this view (which is the traditional) there is no discrepancy at all; the three passages exactly fit together; and the mention of three cities in Deut: xix is not merely justified but absolutely required. It is the critical analysis which, by assigning Deut: iv. 41–43 to a later writer causes even an appearance of discrepancy. Then the critics ought not to use the discrepancy they themselves have created to prove that Deut: and Num: are by different writers.

Josh: xx. 2 conveys the command to "assign" the cities of refuge without specifying the number; v: 7 mentions the three

cities on the west of Jordan, and v: 8 the three on the east, but there is a significant difference. The three on the east are "assigned" (the same word as "appointed" in Num: xxxv): those on the west are "set apart" (RVm, "Heb: sanctified"). Is it not possible, then, that the *assigning* of the cities on the east is merely the recognition of the "dividing" due to Moses, while the *setting apart* on the west marks a new consecration? In that case, it is not accurate to say, **"The six cities are set apart by Joshua."**

Deut: xix. 8, 9 has the **"proviso,"**—"If the LORD thy God en-"large thy border, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee "all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers; if "thou shalt keep all this commandment to do it, which I command "thee this day, to love the LORD thy God, and to walk ever in his "ways; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, besides "these three."

The land promised to Abraham was to be "from the river of "Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen: xv. 18, J), a great deal more than Western Palestine. In Deut: xix. 8 the possession of "all the land which he promised to give unto thy "fathers,"—the enlarging of "thy border,"—is declared to be contingent on the fidelity of the people. In the event of their deserving and receiving the full grant, the provision which would be enough for Canaan would not suffice for so large a territory, and in that event the addition of yet another three cities is sanctioned.

On the traditional view that all are by the same writer the statements of JE, D, and P harmonize absolutely: on the critical theory, the whole is an unintelligent combination of contradictory documents. Which is the more likely?

(ii) *The tribunal.*

**"In Deuteronomy 'the elders of his city' are to send and "fetch the murderer *from* the city of refuge, to deliver him "to the avenger of blood for death. Some investigation "of the case is here supposed: and the course of fetching "him from the city of refuge would be adopted only if he "were judged guilty. As no mention of any other authority "is made, it would seem that the judgement was pronounced "by 'the elders of his city.' Elders are often represented "as exercising judicial functions (cf. Driver, *Deut*, pp. 200, "233). But in Num. xxxv. 12 the judgement rests with "the 'congregation,' an expression frequently occurring "in P, but not in D or JE. Apparently 'the congregation' "is that of the city of refuge."** IP. 121.

Simply because there is no mention of **"any other authority"** in Deut: xix, the critic assumes that **"the judgement was pro-"nounced,"** (and presumably the investigation conducted), **"by "'the elders of his city'"**; and, without even that much show of reason, also assumes that the **"congregation"** is that of

**" the city of refuge."** On this double assumption, he founds a charge of discrepancy between the two accounts. Yet neither assumption is warranted.

It is more probable that " the congregation " (as in Num: xxvii. 16, 17) means " the congregation of the LORD," i.e. the whole nation. Not, of course, that the investigation would be conducted by the nation collected together, but that so serious a matter should be decided by a tribunal representing the whole nation, and not by a mere local court which might be influenced by prejudice. If this national tribunal decided that the manslayer was innocent of intentional homicide, then " the congregation shall deliver the " manslayer out of the hand of the avenger of blood, and the con- " gregation shall restore him [*lit:* cause him to return] to his city " of refuge, whither he was fled " (Num: xxxv. 25); language which, surely, implies that " the congregation " was outside of and independent of the city of refuge. If, however, the circumstances,—the weapon used, previous malice, or a lying in wait,—showed deliberate premeditation, then the manslayer was to be sentenced to death; " the avenger of blood shall himself " put the manslayer to death " (Num: xxxv. 16–21). Deut: xix,—saying nothing about how the investigation was to be conducted, or who was to pronounce judgment,—adds a further precaution against mere private revenge:—**" if he were judged guilty "** (IP. 121), then " the elders of his city " were charged with fetching the culprit from the refuge, and delivering him to the avenger of blood (v: 12). Even after the guilt of the homicide was established, the procedure was to be formal and official, not the private action of the avenger, and the death penalty inflicted in " his city," not in the city of refuge. The " elders of his city " are the officials appointed to see that the sentence is duly carried out, and not the judges to pronounce it.

The provisions of Deut: xix supplement those in Num: xxxv, and do not contradict them.

**" If this were so,"** says Mr. Chapman (IP. 122), **" it is strange " that Deuteronomy makes no reference at all to ' the " ' congregation.' "** Why should it be strange if the full instructions of Num: xxxv were issued only a few months previously? If D followed P, then the provisions of Deut: xix complete those of Num: xxxv, clearing up a point previously left obscure: if P followed D, then the instructions in D are incomplete and inexplicable.

(iii). *The language used.*

**" The version in Numbers contains many expressions " characteristic of P, e.g. the introductory formula ' Speak " ' unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,' ' soul ' " (*nephesh*) in the sense of person, ' throughout your genera- " ' tions,' ' in all your dwellings ' (v. 29). None of these are " found in Deuteronomy."** IP. 122.

Of these four instances, the first, "Speak unto the children of "Israel, etc:" would be out of place when Moses was actually speaking to the people: the third and fourth (really a single expression) are in the one verse 29, "these things shall be for a statute "of judgement unto you throughout your generations in all your "dwellings," a verse quite appropriate in the original laying down of a law, and quite superfluous in a subsequent allusion. The characteristic expressions can hardly be so very numerous if these are the best that can be produced out of 26 verses.

But there is one more :—**"Accidental homicide is described "in Num. xxxv. 11, 15 as done in ignorance (Heb: "*bishegagah*, *unwittingly* RV.), a word regularly used in P "(Lev. iv. 2,22, 27; v. 15; xxii. 14; Num. xv. 24, 26–29). "Deuteronomy has *bibheli da'ath*, *unawares* RV (iv. 42;* "xix. 4 *ignorantly* AV.)."** IP. 122. What does this amount to? In the formal enunciation of laws, (purporting moreover to be quotations of Divine utterances), a technical term is used; when addressing the people in his own words, Moses uses a paraphrase conveying exactly the same meaning. Is there never any difference between the terms of a legal enactment, and the phrases of a speech alluding to it?

**"The time of sojourn in the city of refuge 'till the death of "'the high priest, which was anointed with the holy oil' "(Num. xxxv. 25) is expressed in terms peculiar to P. "Deuteronomy does not indicate any limit to the sojourn."** IP. 122.

In other words, the account in Deuteronomy is again not complete. The very fact that important points are left undefined in Deut: would suggest that fuller instructions were already known.

**"The descriptions given, and especially the illustrations "distinguishing accidental from intentional homicide are "entirely different in the two passages. With the exception "of the words 'manslayer' and 'flee thither,' no similarity "can be traced between them."** IP. 122.

The definitions in Numbers are far more explicit, and more particularly with regard to wilful homicide: in Deuteronomy (xix. 5) a popular illustration of a mere accident is given, and that an exception to the general rule of Num: xxxv. 16 that "an instrument "of iron" would afford presumption of wilful homicide. The differences are quite consonant with the difference in the character of the books. To the verbal similarities, at least the phrase "the "avenger of blood" should be added, but there is another similarity, not merely verbal, and that is the whole scope and intention of the two passages.

* Deut: iv. 42 is here quoted as belonging to Deuteronomy; when it was a question of the number of cities, the passage was ignored as belonging to a different writer (see above, p: 321).

(iv) *The reason for the law.*

**"In Deuteronomy, the object stated is 'that innocent "'blood be not shed in thy land'; in Numbers, the idea "that 'the land wherein Jehovah dwells in the midst of "'the children of Israel' should not be defiled, is one which "lies at the base of P's legislation."** IP. 122.

Num: xxxv. 31–34.

(31) Moreover ye shall take no ransom for the life of a manslayer, which is guilty of death: but he shall surely be put to death. (32) And ye shall take no ransom for him that is fled to his city of refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land, until the death of the priest. (33) So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood it polluteth the land: and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. (34) And thou shalt not defile the land which ye inhabit, in the midst of which I dwell: for I the LORD dwell in the midst of the children of Israel.

Deut: xix. 9–13.

(9) . . . "then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, besides these three: (10) that innocent blood be not shed in the midst of thy land, which the LORD thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and so blood be upon thee. (11) But if any man hate his neighbour, and lie in wait for him, and rise up against him, and smite him mortally that he die; and he flee into one of these cities: (12) then the elders of his city shall send and fetch him thence, and deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die. (13) Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt put away the innocent blood from Israel, that it may go well with thee.

The reason given in Numbers is not a reason for the institution of cities of refuge, but a reason for not taking a "ransom," i.e. the blood-money which is still often demanded in the East. A money payment is not sufficient "expiation" for blood: the wilful murderer must be put to death, and the accidental homicide remain in exile till the death of the high priest.

Deut: xix. 10 gives the reason for providing more cities of refuge in an extended territory, viz: that the "innocent blood" of the accidental homicide should not be shed by the avenger ("lest the avenger of blood pursue the manslayer, while his heart "is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long, and smite him "mortally; whereas he was not worthy of death"; v: 6):—v: 13 gives the reason for not sparing the wilful murderer, viz: that the "innocent blood" of the victim should be "put away" from Israel, i.e. expiated.

Mr. Chapman concludes his whole argument by saying (IP. 122),

**"The reader may be left to form his own judgement whether "it is probable that these two passages were both written "by the same person."** Agreed.

**"Had a code as extensive as P is, been in force when "Dt. was written, it is difficult not to think that allusions "to it would have been both abundant and distinct, and that, "in fact, it would have determined the attitude and point "of view adopted by the writer in a manner which is cer-"tainly not the case."** LOT. 137.

Here once more is the assumption that **"Dt. was written,"** and not (in the first instance) spoken. To a considerable extent, it must be a matter of opinion how far allusions to such a code as P is may be expected in such a discourse as D professes to be. There is at least room for the opinion that just in proportion as the code was well known, a speaker would for the most part take it for granted without distinct allusion. But are there no allusions at all?

(1) Where the "Book of the Covenant" only mentions burnt offerings and peace offerings, Deut: xii. 6 enumerates in addition tithes, heave offering, vows, freewill offerings, and firstlings. No details are given about any of these: they are simply named as things already well known. All of them are fully treated in the Levitical laws.

(2) Deut: xxiv. 8 is the injunction, "Take heed in the plague of "leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that "the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I commanded them, "so ye shall observe to do." There is no definition of leprosy, nor direction as to what is to be done; only a reference to a command already given to the priests, who would direct the people accordingly. In Lev: xiii, xiv (P, not H) the whole subject is treated minutely: instructions are given as to how leprosy is to be recognized, and what is to be done, both while it lasts, and after recovery; and it is the priest who is to decide and act. Here is just such a command as is required by the brief allusion in Deuteronomy.

In both these cases, as in the case of the cities of refuge (see above, p: 323), if P was earlier than D and well known, the brief references in Deuteronomy are accounted for: if D came before P, the gaps in the provisions of Deuteronomy can only be filled in by conjecture.

(3) In Deut: xiv. 4–20 there is an instruction as to what animals may or may not be eaten, closely corresponding to Lev: xi. 3–23;— **"a long passage in great measure verbally identical in "Dt. and Lev."** (LOT. 145). The chief differences are given in a footnote, LOT. 176;—**"xiv. 9, 10, 20,** [of Deut:] **are *briefer* "than Lev. xi. 9–12, 21–22; xiv. 4$^{b}$–5 is not in Lev."** These are, on the same page, styled **"immaterial differences,"** but they will repay examination.

Lev: xi. 9–12 (what might or might not be eaten " of all that " are in the waters ") differs from the corresponding Deut: xiv. 9, 10 in that the definitions in Leviticus are considerably fuller and more precise, and the condemnation of what is unlawful much stronger. This, of course, may be looked upon as being in Leviticus an expansion of an originally brief law, but also it may just as reasonably be regarded as the difference between the precision of a formal law, and the less exact wording of an allusion to that law in a subsequent speech.

In Lev: xi. 21, 22 permission is given to eat certain " winged " creeping things," specifying four kinds of locusts. This is not found in Deuteronomy. On the other hand, Deut: xiv. $4^b$, 5 gives a list of ten kinds of animals which might be eaten. This is not in Leviticus, Lev: xi. 3 only giving a general definition which is also found in Deut: xiv. 6. That is to say, Leviticus permits the eating of locusts, which might be desirable in the desert when the flesh of larger animals was scarce, and says little about the larger food animals :—Deut: specifies the animals which would be available in Palestine, and disregards the locusts, which there would be of no importance. Is it likely that the post-exilic **" priestly author (or editor) of P "** (LOT. 46) could have thought of making this subtle but highly significant variation ? Yet it fits in precisely with the traditional view that the rules in Leviticus were framed for the desert ; those in Deuteronomy with a view to the conditions prevailing in Canaan.

Also it is exactly in accord with the professed character of Deuteronomy that, while little is said about sacrificial details, the rules about lawful food (a matter which touched daily life) are given in full, with just those variations from the Levitical rules which would be suitable for the new life which lay before the people.

Dr. Driver considers that, as regards the two passages here considered, **" a critical comparison of the two texts makes it " probable (p. 46) that both are divergent recensions of a " common original "** (LOT. 145) which, as well as the law of leprosy, is referred to a **" collection of priestly *Tôrōth* "** (i.e instructions or directions) which **" was in existence when Dt. " was written."** There is, however, no independent evidence that there ever was such a collection (see later on, pp: 479–495); its existence is only conjectured to account for passages like these, and the view that has to be eked out with conjecture is not to be preferred to the view which needs no such support.

On a full review of this part of the subject, it is submitted that the reasons given (apart from the history) for

(A) assigning late dates to the " sources " ;
(B) maintaining the sequence JE, D, P,

are far from convincing. Yet unless both of these are satisfactorily established independently of the history, the alleged confirmation of the literary analysis by the evidence of the history falls to the ground.

# PART II.

## Objections to Critical Methods and Results.

### (A) METHODS.

# XXXIV.

## PRELIMINARY OBJECTIONS.

If the evidence does not *compel* a belief in the critical theory that the Pentateuch is composite, but is (to say the least of it) patient of a different interpretation, we are at liberty to consider some of the general objections which tend to make that theory improbable. If the evidence in favour of the theory were indeed **"incontrovertible,"** then mere improbabilities would have to be disregarded. But if the evidence be even ambiguous, then all improbabilities must be given their full weight.

(a) *Novelty of the Theory.*

Mr. Chapman says (IP. 26), **"Jewish writers of the middle "ages drew attention to certain passages in the Pentateuch "which seemed to be of post-Mosaic date"**; but he only instances **"Ibn Ezra († 1167),"** and that only with regard to the one phrase, "the Canaanite was then in the land." Even adopting Mr. Chapman's somewhat hazardous interpretation of Ibn Ezra's enigmatic words, that would only amount to a suggestion of a late interpolation, not of composite authorship.

Then, only broken by a vague reference to the criticism, **"mainly "negative,"** of the 15th and 16th centuries, comes a leap forward of 500 years to Father Simon in 1678. **"He has been called "'the founder of Biblical criticism,' and justly deserves "remembrance under this title; for his two literary tests, "(a) the existence of *duplicate accounts*, (b) diversity of *style*, "have since his time been applied to the whole Pentateuch "and to the book of Joshua, as well as to other books of "the OT."** (IP. 28). Father Simon may have suggested these two tests, but his application of them seems to have been confined to the first nine chapters of Genesis, and as yet no definite theory of the composite nature of the Pentateuch is put forward.

Nearly three quarters of a century elapse before we come to Astruc who in 1753 **"divided the whole of Genesis and the "first two chapters of Exodus (certain portions excepted) "into two 'Principal Memoirs'"** (IP. 29), the Elohist and the Jehovist, and also admitted that even these might be subdivided.

This, then, may be taken as the true beginning of the modern theory, which is therefore little more than 160 years old.

The belief that the Pentateuch is the work of a single author is at least as old as Philo in the early part of the 1st century, and was therefore undisputed for 15 centuries. That, of course, would not in itself prove that the belief was right, but it is fair to remember that it is not a question of fresh evidence having been brought to light. All the evidence that the critics rely on has been available all the time, and has been studied by many acute minds, both Jewish and Christian, with infinite care and minute scrutiny. Yet for a millenium and a half, the "difficulties" urged were unperceived, and the conclusions now confidently insisted on were never even faintly suspected.

The comparatively modern origin of this interpretation of familiar facts justifies an attitude of cautious reserve.

(b) *Complexity of the Theory.*

The traditional view of the origin of the Pentateuch is at once simple and adequate. The critical requires a multiplicity of authors and a lengthy series of processes of combination, for all of which no external evidence exists. *Prima facie,* the simpler theory is the more credible. But this is not all; the growth of the critical theory has to be taken into account. It began with the very simple division into Jehovist and Elohist, but this was soon found to be inadequate to account for the phenomena, and a second Elohist had to be introduced. As the theory has developed, so further elaborations have been made. J is suspected to be not "**homogeneous,**" but divisible into $J_1$, and $J_2$;—even more than that, it is now said of J and E, "**It is becoming more and more evident that we must understand these initials to represent schools of writing rather than individual writers**" (Dr. Cooke, in the *Guardian,* March 6, 1914);—there is a "**Deuteronomic editor,**" $D_2$ as well as the original D; P has been resolved into $P_1$, $P_2$, $P_3$, besides H. All this subdivision involves a multiplication of combiners and redactors. There must have been some one to combine $J_1$ with $J_2$, and some one else to combine the combined narrative with E, and yet another to combine the whole with D. There was a redactor, $R^H$, to fit the "Law of Holiness" into its "**parenetic framework,**" and then H had to be incorporated with P, and that again with $P_2$ and $P_3$. Lastly, there was the final redactor to interweave the whole in the intricate manner required by the present critical theory. It has become nearly as complicated as the Ptolemaic system.*

*** "A striking parallel to such hypothetical constructions is "afforded by the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. Given the geocentric hypothesis, and given also liberty to add epicycle to epicycle "*ad infinitum*, the most intricate movements of the heavenly bodies "could be 'explained' in accordance with the Ptolemaic presupposi-**

Nor is this all;—serious modifications have been made from time to time in some of the leading critical conclusions. For instance, P was once considered the earliest of the sources; it is now said to be the latest. This in its turn has required further modifications in the theory: the existence of a large body of traditional usages, and of a collection of priestly *Toroth* has to be assumed in order to account for allusions in the pre-exilic history, and for some legislation corresponding to that of P.

A theory which has thus had to be altered, modified, amended, elaborated, and yet again elaborated, in order to account for the phenomena with which it deals, is thereby rendered open to grave suspicion.

(c) *Analysis of other books.*

The analysis of the Pentateuch does not stand alone. The same methods have been applied to many other parts of the Old Testament (and indeed of the New as well) with very similar results. A considerable proportion of the other books are now pronounced to be more or less composite. The very fact that this method of analysis produces results so remarkably alike when applied to materials so widely different is enough to engender a suspicion that the method itself cannot be altogether relied on; that in fact the edge of the critical scalpel is somewhat too trenchant.

This suspicion is further deepened when attention is paid to

(d) *The nature of the method employed.*

The critical theory, based on internal evidence, rests primarily on what are believed to be variations in style. The critics contend that different parts of the work in question are written in styles so different that they cannot be due to one author. It is only after the work has been thus analysed by the test of style that other criteria (such as duplicate narratives, or inconsistencies in legislation) are brought in to confirm the conclusions arrived at.

It is obvious that this method, at the best, must largely depend on subjective estimates of what constitutes difference of style, and of how far variety of style is consistent with unity of authorship. There is reason for doubting whether such a method can be absolutely reliable.

As, however, it is desired to be perfectly fair in considering this question, it must be said that one test of the reliability of the critical method which has been proposed seems quite unsatisfactory. More than one writer against the Higher Criticism has suggested that the works of Messrs. Erckmann-Chatrian, and of Messrs.

**" tions; but we know now that in spite of the ingenuity and coherence " of these 'explanations' the geocentric theory was fundamentally " untrue."** OSSP. 403.

Mr. Williams is here referring to a theory of Wendling, but the whole of the section from which this is quoted might be applied, with a few verbal changes, to the critical theory of the Pentateuch. The sentence in the text, however, was penned long before the publication of these essays.

Besant and Rice are known to be works produced by collaboration, and has challenged the critics to prove their ability to detect differences in style by analysing these works. The test proposed is not suitable for three reasons.

(1) It is not positively known how far these authors collaborated in the actual writing of the works. It is possible, for instance, that one sketched out plot, incident, and characters, while the other did the work of composition. In that case there would be no varieties of style to work upon.

(2) Analysis of this kind can only be effected by long, patient, and laborious examination and comparison. The works in question are not of sufficient intrinsic value to warrant the expenditure of a lifetime in analysing them, and no one could be expected to undertake a task of such magnitude simply to refute adverse criticism. It is only the supreme value of the Old Testament writings which justifies the immense expenditure of time, patience, and skill which has been lavished on their study and analysis.

(3) Even if the task were undertaken, the result would probably be indeterminate, since it is doubtful whether any means exist for ascertaining whether the conclusions arrived at were correct or not.

On the other hand, it may be permissible to quote an instance showing that, even in judging modern writings, an estimate of a well-marked style may be quite mistaken. In the Preface to *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels* (1896), Preb. Miller writes (p: vii), **"A curious "instance of a fate like this has been supplied by a critic "in the *Athenæum*, who, when contrasting Dean Burgon's "style of writing with mine to my discredit, quotes a passage "of some length as the Dean's which was really written "by me."**

In any case it is quite legitimate to require that the analysis should be strictly impartial, based on a full and fair survey of the whole evidence, and supported only by arguments that are unimpeachably sound.

Whether this has always been the case in the critical analysis of the Pentateuch is the next point to be considered.

# XXXV.

## TREATMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT.

SINCE the text is here the evidence, the first point of inquiry will be, How has this been dealt with by the critics ?

(A) *Critical treatment of the text.*

The critics have allowed themselves a large freedom in deciding what is or is not to be considered the true original of the text, frequently alleging (a) interpolation ; (b) displacement ; (c) corrupt readings.

(a) *Interpolation.*

Many passages, varying in length from a mere word or two to whole sentences or even paragraphs, are said to be interpolations. Occasionally these assertions are supported by independent reasons of more or less weight, such as, for instance, the absence of certain passages from the LXX. Often, however, the assertion is without any confirmatory evidence. Thus, the combination " LORD God " in Gen: ii, iii, does not agree with the critical theory as to the use of the Divine appellations. The critics therefore say that originally only " LORD " was written, and " God " has been inserted afterwards, but there is no scrap of evidence to prove this. It is simply asserted in the interests of the theory.

A number of these " interpolations " are attributed to the combination of different sources, e.g. the insertion in Exod: vii. 17 of the words " with the rod that is in mine hand " from E in a J account. How far this kind of assertion is legitimate will be more fully discussed later on (see c: xxxviii. p. 358). Many others, however, are attributed to the redactor, usually as **" harmonizing " insertions,"** (e.g. the words " Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, " the captain of the guard " in Gen: xxxix,1.), and there seems to be a tendency to multiply the number of these **" redactional additions "** Thus in LOT (p: 31) the whole of Exod: xxiii is attributed to E, but in BE no less than six passages in this chapter ($9^b$ ; 13 ; 15 ; 17 ; 23–$25^a$ ; $31^b$–33) are now marked $R^J$ . Sometimes the passages said to be insertions are by way of explanatory comment (e.g. Exod: xxiii. $9^b$, " for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing " ye were strangers in the land of Egypt "), but where they are said

to be "**harmonizing,**" this involves the further assertion that two *discordant* accounts have been combined.

As a specimen of this, take Exod: xviii. 2–4, "And Jethro, "Moses' father-in-law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent "her away, and her two sons; of which the name of the one was "Gershom; for he said, I have been a sojourner in a strange "land: and the name of the other was Eliezer; for *he said*, The "God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword "of Pharaoh." This is said to be, "**In all probability an addi-"tion of the compiler, made for the purpose of harmonizing "the statement in v. 5 that Moses' sons (in the plural) "and his wife were with *Jethro*, with ii. 25 * (J) which "mentions the birth of Gershom only, and iv. 25 (J) which "implies that Moses had no other son, and with iv. 20[a], "24–26 (also J), where it is stated that Moses took Zip-"porah back with him to Egypt.**" BE. 163.

According to this view, J knew only of one son, Gershom, and implied there was no other, and stated that this son and Zipporah went down with Moses into Egypt: E in Exod: xviii. 5 represented that Zipporah and her sons (in the plural) were, when the Israelites reached the wilderness, with Jethro in Midian, and therefore had not been with Moses in Egypt: the zealous but not over scrupulous compiler notices the discrepancy when combining the narratives, and inserts three verses, in which he invents a sending back of Zipporah to Jethro, and invents the birth of a second son (with a specially significant name), solely for the purpose of "**harmoniz-"ing**" the discordant narratives.

As a matter of fact, the J narrative does mention "his sons" in the plural (Exod: iv. 20), only the critics think that, because ii. 22 only mentions the birth of one son, and because iv. 25 has "her son" in the singular "**which implies that Moses had no "other son,**" therefore in iv. 20 "**we should read *his son*, "the plural being an alteration due to an editor or scribe "who thought that account should be taken of xviii. 2–4.**" (BE. 30). Here we have conjectured a further "**harmonizing**" alteration of the text, consequent on xviii. 2–4, and therefore later still. What meddlesome folk these editors and scribes must have been, and not too clever in their meddling either. When this editor or scribe was changing singular into plural at v: 20, why did he not, while he was about it, do the same in v: 25, and thus completely harmonize the two accounts? Was he too stupid? or was he too considerate to deprive the critics of a clue to a discrepancy?

Of course, the narrative of the birth of Moses' firstborn son in Exod: ii. 22 in no way precludes the possibility that another son was born to him afterwards, which would account for the plural

* This should be ii. 22.

" his sons " in iv. 20 without requiring any scribal alteration. So, too, it is more than probable that the incident in v: 25 only affected the firstborn, and the writer was merely accurate in specifying " her " son," without in the least implying that Moses had no other son. Nor is there any improbability that Moses, having started for Egypt with his wife and sons, may have decided on second thoughts to send them back to Jethro, either because of the incident at " the " lodging place," or because the danger of his mission to Egypt weighed heavily upon him, though this is not mentioned in the fragmentary account of c: iv. Nor is it unheard of for a writer, when about to make a statement which might seem to conflict with an earlier one, to insert an explanatory paragraph, mentioning some circumstance previously passed over. Read in this way, the whole account is perfectly consistent, and there is no need to brand Exod: xviii. 2–4 as an interpolation.

In the absence of confirmatory external evidence, assertions that such and such passages have been interpolated are unauthorized interferences with the evidence, and too often are merely attempts to make the evidence of the text agree with the theory which it is sought to maintain.

(b) *Displacement.*

In a good many places it is asserted that portions of the text have somehow got dislodged from their original position, and inserted in a wrong context. The assertion is generally made on the ground that the substance of the passage does not accord with what precedes and follows it in its present position, but a good deal of this depends on the estimate of what the writer ought to have written, or is likely to have written. A few instances may be examined.

(i) In Num: xvi. 7 occurs the phrase " ye take too much upon " you, ye sons of Levi." Dr. McNeile, assigning the passage to P, (Dr. Driver assigns the words to $P_2$, LOT. 63), considers that **" These words cannot be addressed to Korah's company, " since they are laymen who are objecting to the claims of " the Levites. They must be addressed by Korah's com- " pany to Moses and Aaron, and have fallen out of their " right place, which was probably at the end of v. 3."** BN. 87.

Observe, the only reason for concluding that the words are out of place is that they conflict with the view that Korah's company consisted of laymen without any Levites among them. The narrative does not say that all the 250 were **" laymen "**; it does not represent them as **" objecting to the claims of the Levites,"** but as disputing the personal supremacy of Moses and Aaron; it does represent that the leader Korah was himself a Levite,—only Dr. McNeile considers that the **" genealogy of Korah from Levi in v. " 1 "** belongs to the later insertions (BN. 85). There is every probability that among the 250 " princes of the congregation " there would be some Levites, and, if the leader was himself a Levite, these would al-

most certainly be among his foremost supporters. There would be, then, a peculiar appropriateness in Moses retorting upon these Levite ringleaders their own accusation made in v: 3, *Rav lakhem*,—"Too much to you,* ye sons of Levi." But no; the words "ye "sons of Levi" in this position would negative the critical view: therefore they must have **"fallen out of their right place"**!

(ii) Of Exod: xviii it is said, **"There are strong reasons "for thinking that this episode stood originally at a later "point in the narrative"** (BE. 162). The reasons given are 1st, that "the wilderness . . . at the mount of God" (v: 5) can only be the wilderness of Sinai, which is not reached until xix. 1;—and 2nd, that Deut: i. 9–18 places the appointment of the judges, narrated in this chapter, at the close of the stay in Horeb. These may be strong reasons for believing that the incident occurred later in the order of events, but what proof are they that this account **"stood originally at a later point in the narrative"**?

There is reason to think that the histories are not all placed in chronological order. Num: vii and ix are both ascribed to periods earlier than the date given in i. 1. Even modern historians do not always narrate events in their precise chronological order, but occasionally group them according to their connection with one another. We need not expect that ancient historians would do otherwise. **"An orator does not necessarily adhere exactly "to chronology. His aim being to move men's minds, "not to produce an exact record of events, he naturally "adopts whatever means may seem to him most suited to "his purpose. A historian also may deliberately prefer a "topical order to a chronological."** EPC. 122.

It is quite possible that there was some connection in Moses' mind between the visit of Jethro and the victory over Amalek, as for instance that this victory, noised abroad as it must have been among the desert tribes, was the immediate occasion for Jethro hearing "all that God had done for Moses" (xviii. 1); and that therefore he placed the accounts of the two incidents together, though Jethro's visit was not actually paid till a year later.

(iii) Akin to the above is the assertion that the entire section Exod: xxix. 1–37, **"though it stands here, must have been "*written* after the regulations of Lev. i–vii had been long in "force; for in the directions for the cakes, &c., for the burnt-, "the sin-, and (largely) for the installation-offering, "it *presupposes* both the phraseology of Lev. i–vii, and also "the sacrificial usages there codified."** BE. 315.

Exactly. There is sufficient reason for thinking that this section (and the whole history) was *written* a good many years after the Levitical regulations came into force. There is no reason for supposing that Moses recorded the events at the very time they occurred.

* Dr. McNeile's rendering **"Enough to you!"** is hardly strong enough.

Quite probably he wrote towards the close of the Wanderings, 30 years or more afterwards. That would be no proof that this section did not originally stand in the position it now occupies.

And, pray, why should not the directions in Exodus resemble those in Leviticus, in phrase and as to the rites ordered, if both came from the same mind (even if that were only the mind of Moses)? Had it been the other way, had Exodus differed notably from Leviticus in either language or substance, would not the critics at once have seized on this as proof that they came from different authors ? Is likeness to prove displacement of text, and unlikeness to prove diversity of authorship ?

These assertions that considerable portions of the text are misplaced tend to produce a belief that the text has been carelessly preserved or violently disturbed, and is therefore unreliable. They ought not to be made without something like substantial proof, and certainly ought never to be made when the only objection is that the passages in their present position conflict with the critical theory.

(c) *Corrupt readings.*

The assertion that in Gen: xvii. 1, xxi. 1, " God " was originally written, and " LORD " has been mistakenly substituted by a copyist is obviously made solely because the occurrence of " LORD " in these places would upset the critical theory.

Of less importance are the suggestions that in Gen: xxxi. 45 " Jacob " should be " Laban " ;—that in v: 52 the word *yarithi* (thrown up) should be *harmithi* (set up), though this affects the guess that " Behold this heap and " is a gloss ;—that in Gen: xxxvii. 21 " Reuben " ought to be " Judah," though this also has some bearing on the analysis ;—and that in Num: xvi. 1, the words " and On " are really a corruption of the last 3 letters of " Eliab " accidentally repeated, while " Peleth " is a corruption of " Pallu " (BN. 86). Yet even these show how light-heartedly the critics are ready to take it for granted that the text is unreliable, and that they are at liberty to " amend " it whenever they think fit.

One more instance must suffice. In Exod: xxiii. 33 (RV) we read, " They shall not dwell in thy land, lest they make thee " sin against me : for if thou serve their gods, it will surely be a " snare unto thee." Dr. Driver (BE. 251) points out that the literal translation of the 2nd clause would be " *for* thou *wilt* serve " their gods, *for* it will become a snare unto thee," and avers that **" There must be some fault in the text."** He suggests that the simplest change would be to read (with the LXX,* Peshitto, and as in Deut: vii. 16 [b]), " And thou shalt not serve," but adds that this is **" not easy palæographically."**

* Dr. Swete's edition of the LXX gives no other reading than " for if " thou shalt serve."

What need is there for any change ? The verse makes perfectly good sense as it stands. The Israelites are bidden to drive the Canaanites out (v: 32): they, the Canaanites, are not to " dwell in " the land, lest they make thee sin against me : for " (if they are allowed to remain) " thou wilt serve their gods, for it " (their remaining) " will become a snare unto thee."

The critics are averse to anything like prediction, so let us call it foresight on the part of Moses. He knew the character of the people he had to deal with ; he knew their propensity to be attracted by false forms of worship ; he knew the fatal effect that intercourse with the Canaanites and familiarity with their idolatrous cults would be certain to have on them. He can therefore positively affirm that, if the Canaanites should be allowed to remain, " thou " wilt serve their gods."

As for the LXX rendering " if thou shalt serve," that can easily be accounted for. The Alexandrian translators would not like the warning of the text because it implies a slur on the national character. Therefore, quite in higher critical fashion, they "amended" the text, and softened down the warning into a conditional statement. Whereas, if the text was originally a conditional statement, a Jewish scribe would have no inducement to alter it into the solemn warning it now is. The Peshitto reading may have been influenced by the passage in Deuteronomy.

It is submitted that a method which so often resorts to various forms of modification of the text (which in this case is the evidence) without sufficient justification is not a sound and reliable method of dealing with evidence.

(B) *Critical interpretation of the text.*

Critical arguments and conclusions are often based on strained or doubtful interpretations of some passage in the text, e.g. Dr. Driver's interpretation of the " rod of God " as meaning a rod **" specially given him by God "** (see above, p: 76) ;—Dr. McNeile's interpretation of " a land that eateth up its inhabitants " as meaning a land **" so unfertile that its inhabitants have not " enough to live upon "** (see above, p: 87) ; Mr. Chapman's assertion that " they of old time " in Deut: xix. 14 implies **" a long " occupation of the land "** (see above, p: 301), and many more.

Another instance deserves attention, since it affects an important point.

On Exod: xxxii. 29 Dr. Driver comments (BE. 354, 355) :—

**" 29. The Levites are invited to qualify themselves to " receive the priesthood as a reward for their zeal.**

**" *Fill your hand* to-day to *Jehovah*] i.e. (see on xxviii. " 41), Provide yourselves with sacrifices, that you may " be installed into the priesthood.**

**"*for* every man (*is*) against, &c.]. That is the spirit "which you have shewn to-day, and which is demanded for "the priesthood (Di). . . .**

**"that he may, &c.] The 'blessing' is the privilege of "officiating as priests."**

The verse on which these comments are made runs, "Consecrate "yourselves [Heb: fill your hand] to-day to the LORD, yea, every "man against his son, and against his brother, that he may bestow "upon you a blessing this day." It follows on the account of the Levites avenging the sin of the Golden Calf, concerning which Dr. Driver says, **"For the zeal thus displayed on Jehovah's "behalf, they are rewarded with the priesthood."** BE. 354.

Even from the critical point of view these comments seem strange, for the narrative is attributed to J, and the critics maintain that under the JE law **"any Israelite"** might and did offer sacrifice (BE. 206). How then could J represent that the Levites **"were rewarded with the priesthood"**? The priesthood of the Levites is said to be the Deuteronomic view: to be consistent, then, ought not this verse to be referred to D or $D_2$?

The above interpretation, however, depends entirely on the meaning of the phrase "fill your hand," for the words "that he "may bestow upon you a blessing" are altogether indeterminate, though Dr. Driver refers them so positively to **"the privilege of "officiating as priests."**

Commenting on Exod: xxviii. 41, where "fill your hand" is used of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, Dr. Driver gives (BE. 311) a number of references to Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, **"(all P),"** where the phrase is used of the Aaronic priests, to 2 Chron: xiii. 9 (another priestly work), and to Jud: xvii. 5, 12 where it is used of Micah's priest. He marks as figurative Exod: xxxii. 29 (the verse now under discussion), 1 Chron: xxix. 5, 2 Chron: xxix. 31, and Ezek: xliii. 26.

1 Chron: xxix. 5, "Who then offereth willingly to consecrate "himself [Heb: to fill his hand] this day unto the LORD?"

To this appeal (vv: 6–8) the princes, captains, and rulers respond by giving gold, silver, brass, iron, and precious stones.

2 Chron: xxix. 31, "Hezekiah answered and said, Now ye have "consecrated yourselves [Heb: filled your hand] unto the LORD, "come near and bring sacrifices and thank offerings into the house "of the LORD."

To this "the congregation" respond, and certainly the Chronicler did not represent them as **"installed into the priesthood."**

Ezek: xliii. 26, "Seven days shall they make atonement for the "altar and purify it; so shall they consecrate it [Heb: fill the hands "thereof]."

In the first of these three passages "fill his hand" cannot mean "provide himself with sacrifices," and in none of the three does the

phrase refer to installation to the priestly or any other office. Why must the equally " figurative " verse in Exodus be interpreted differently ?

Further, in the passages which do refer to the priesthood, the context makes this plain ;—e.g. Exod: xxviii. 41, " sanctify " them that they may minister unto me in the priest's office " ; 2 Chron: xiii. 9, " whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a " young bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of *them that are* no gods."

The probability, therefore, is that in Exod: xxxii. 29, where there is no such determining context, the meaning of " Fill your hand " is simply " Bring offerings," without specifying of what kind, and that " a blessing " means a blessing also undefined. Yet Dr. Driver asserts four times over, and in the most unqualified manner that the **" priesthood "** is intended.

Of similar import is the tendency of the critics to read into the text more than is actually stated. The description of Abraham's laughter as **" in incredulity "** (BG. 188) ;—of the Tent of Meeting as **" an ordinary nomad tent which Moses could himself carry "** (BN. 2) ;—of the Israelites as **" nomad serfs "** (BE. 427) ;—and the suggestion that " went before them three days' journey " in Num: x. 33 means that the Ark went **" three days' journey in " advance "** (on which Dr. McNeile founds yet another charge of corruption in the text, BN. 55), are specimens of these unwarranted glosses. Even more serious is the assertion that in Lev: vii. 22–27 **" the slaughtering of animals for food is freely permitted,"** when slaughtering for food is not even mentioned (see above, p: 204) ; and Dr. Driver's comments on Ezek: xliv. 6–16 (LOT. 139) contain a whole nest of these arbitrary representations of the meaning of the text, (see above, pp: 209–211).

A method which in any degree relies on doubtful interpretations of the evidence is open to grave suspicion.

# XXXVI.

## TREATMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF THE EVIDENCE.

THE critics claim that their main conclusions are founded on **" in- " controvertible "** evidence ; **" upon such a wide and varied " induction of facts that they may be accepted as practically " certain, and as deserving to be called the assured results " of criticism."** Dr. Driver, HC. p: 40.

In the first instance, the evidence consists of the text of the writings under consideration, since the critical conclusions are almost entirely based on internal evidence ; differences of style, duplicate narratives, inconsistencies in the laws, and the like. It has been shown that the critics have used a considerable amount of license, often alleging interpolation, displacement, and corrupt readings ; and affixing their own interpretations on the text they do admit. The same mode of procedure is observable when " evidence " is taken in a wider sense.

(A) *Critical treatment of the evidence.*

Just as the critics consider themselves at liberty to decide what is or is not the original text, so they consider themselves free to decide what is or is not admissible as evidence.

(1) Deut: xii. 8, " Ye shall not do after all the things that we " do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes," can be interpreted in accordance with the critical theory by referring it to the existence and use of local sanctuaries. It is therefore accepted as evidence, and arguments are based upon it (see above, p: 314). The very next verse (9) says, " Ye are not as " yet come to the rest and to the inheritance, which the LORD your " God giveth thee " ; and the words " when ye go over Jordan " in v: 10 imply that the Israelites were still in Moab. These verses are inconsistent with the critical theory, and are therefore rejected and ignored.

(2) The evidence of 2 Kings xxiii as to the reform of Josiah is essential to the critical theory : it is unhesitatingly accepted. The evidence of 1 Kings xi. 27 would show that worship was centralized at Jerusalem in Rehoboam's time : it is therefore set aside as due to Deuteronomic prejudice.

(3) The book of Judges repeatedly affirms that the practice of that period was altogether irregular and abnormal. This is tacitly disregarded, and incidents from that history (e.g. Micah's image and Levite priest, and the sanctuary at Dan) quoted as illustrations of the normal practice of the people.

(4) Josh: xxii. 9–34, the altar of Ed, would show that in Joshua's time only one altar for sacrifice was recognized. That is denied to be part of the original text, and is said to be either a narrative of P "**combined with elements from another source,**" or the work of "**a distinct writer, whose phraseology is in part that "of P but not entirely.**" LOT. 113.

(5) 1 Sam: xiii. 9 represents Saul as offering sacrifice. This is adduced as an instance of a layman offering sacrifice in the earlier history, but Samuel's reproof to Saul for venturing to do so (vv: 13, 14) is passed over in silence.

(6) The books of Chronicles represent that the priestly ritual was duly observed long before the Exile. The critics dismiss the whole of this evidence as "**idealized,**" i.e. falsified.

(B) *Critical interpretation of the evidence.*

As the critics attach a particular meaning to various passages in the text, and on that interpretation build their conclusions, so also with the evidence.

(1) Various passages show that the "high places" were used for worship from the time of Solomon to the time of Hezekiah. The critics assume that therefore they were recognized as legitimate, which is not the only possible, and perhaps not even the most probable interpretation.

(2) The history speaks of Micah and the Danites using images (*pesilim*); of Michal having *teraphim*; of Jeroboam making golden calves. There is no reason why all these should not have been exceptional and unlawful; yet they are quoted in support of the assertion that "**Yahweh was universally worshipped in "Israel with images.**" BEM. lxi.

(3) Exod: xxxiii. 7–11 gives an account of a "Tent of Meeting" which was outside the camp. The critics insist that this was the only Tent of Meeting recognized in JE, and that therefore the P account, in which the Tabernacle is placed in the centre of the camp, is "**unhistorical.**" To maintain this they have to give a special interpretation to the narratives of Num: xi. 16–30, xii. 4–5, and Deut: xxxi. 14, 15.

Further, the full import of the evidence is not always recognized.

(4) In the narratives of the Plagues, the critics notice and lay stress on the use of two different words for "harden": they do not take into account the striking arrangement of the order in which these words are used.

(5) Dr. Driver notices the fact that "**on several occasions, "a phrase describing originally one incident *is applied in***

"***Dt. to another***" (LOT. 81), but does not account for it. He also notices (p: 84, note) "**the curious transition in i. 37 from the "2nd to the 40th year of the Exodus, and back again to the "2nd year in i. 39,**" (which, by the way, is not the only instance of departure from chronological order ; see Deut: ix. 22, 23 ; x. 6–9), but offers no explanation beyond a somewhat hesitating suggestion that the reference may be to "**some incident of the second year "recorded in JE, but not preserved in our existing Penta-"teuch.**" He fails to perceive that these phenomena are perfectly natural in a spoken discourse, and not in a carefully, written document.

(6) As a proof that the "Law of Holiness" in its present form is of late date, Mr. Chapman urges the similarity between it and the prophecies of Ezekiel, and in particular the close connection between Ezekiel and Lev: xxvi.

"**Of the 43 verses (Lev. xxvi. 3–45) which form the con-"cluding exhortation, 25 show either verbal identity or "close affinity with verses in Ezekiel, and supply nearly "50 expressions common to this chapter and the writings "of the prophet, some of which occur only in Leviticus "and Ezekiel.**" IP. 253.

"**If Ezekiel were familiar with the whole Pentateuch, "and regarded it as a venerable document of great anti-"quity it is difficult to explain why he should have selected "one portion, and especially one chapter as a model for his "discourses.**" IP. 254.

It is a pity that Mr. Chapman did not go one step further, and take into consideration the nature of that "**one chapter**" to see if that would not furnish an explanation of his difficulty. Lev: xxvi. 3–45 contains the promises of blessing if the people were faithful, and the threats of punishment if they were unfaithful, and especially of the final penalty of exile (vv: 32–45). What chapter in the whole Pentateuch would furnish material anything like so suitable for the meditation and study of the exiled Ezekiel ? Deut: xxviii also denounces severe punishments on unfaithfulness, but lays comparatively little stress on the exile as compared with other inflictions (only 5 verses out of 54), and makes no allusion to repentance and consequent restoration to favour, as does Lev: xxvi (40–42, 44, 45). It would be exactly on those gleams of hope that Ezekiel would desire to dwell (see Ezek: xx. 35–44 ; xxxiv. 25–31).

Moreover, the fact that Ezekiel selects Lev: xxvi in preference to Deut: xxviii rather tells against the critical theory. He was admittedly familiar with Deuteronomy, and must have known that it had been accepted as of Divine authority in 621. Why should he pass over the utterances of that accredited volume in favour of a recent production, the work of one almost his own contemporary

(**" The two writers cannot be far removed from one another " in point of time, or in respect of place."** IP. 253) ? The fact that Ezekiel chooses Leviticus as a **" model for his dis- " courses "** must surely imply that he regarded that book (or at least that portion of it) as equal in authority to Deuteronomy.

(7) A kindred subject is the relation between Deuteronomy on the one hand, and Jeremiah and the books of Kings on the other. A great deal is made of this as pointing to the conclusion that Deuteronomy must have originated about the period in which the writers of those books lived. In arriving at that conclusion, two considerations have not been allowed sufficient weight ;—(1) that Deuteronomy contains the rules for conduct in the Promised Land ; (2) the impression made by the discovery of the " Book of the Law."

The account in 2 Kings xxii conveys a vivid idea of the profound impression made on Josiah's mind by Hilkiah's discovery. Hardly less profound must have been the effect on the minds of the people in general produced by the solemn reading of the book in public, and the renewal of the covenant, described in xxiii. 1–3. It is clear that this impression was due to the belief that the newly found book contained the ancient Divine law, long neglected and forgotten.

What then must have been the effect on Jeremiah, **" a sus- " ceptible, deeply emotional nature "** (LOT. 273), and on the compiler of Kings, **" a man likeminded with Jeremiah, and " almost certainly a contemporary who lived and wrote " under the same influences "** (LOT. 199) ? It is almost inevitable that the thoughts and writings of such men would be deeply coloured by the teachings and the very phrases of the book so recently and dramatically brought into public notice. Now even if Hilkiah's roll contained the whole Pentateuch, Deuteronomy is precisely the part which would most engage their attention.

On the other hand, the earlier prophetic writings (before Josiah's time) would not be under the same influence. When due allowance is made for the circumstances, both the Deuteronomic colouring of Jeremiah and Kings, and the absence of that colouring from earlier writings are amply accounted for without the hypothesis that D was a product of that age.

(C) *Critical presentation of the evidence.*

An even more serious matter is that the critics do not always present the whole of the evidence fully and fairly.

By this it is not intended to convey any charge of wilful misrepresentation or bad faith against the critics whose writings are under consideration. Writers of the character of Drs. Driver and Kirkpatrick are above any suspicion of the kind. Only in their intentness on the evidence which they believe proves their case, they have sometimes overlooked or omitted to produce all the evidence available.

(1) The fact that the thirteen chapters Gen: xl–Exod: ii are almost exclusively Elohistic, even in the parts attributed to J, is evidence of considerable significance as to the use of the Divine appellations. In his argument on this (BG. xi) Dr. Driver only alludes to four of these chapters (see above, p: 11).

(2) In connection with the same subject, Mr. Chapman remarks on the rare occurrence of *Elohim* after Exod: vi, **" about 30 times " as the name of the Deity "** in 155 chapters (IP. 68). He does not notice that of these 30 no less than 25 occur in connection with Jethro and Balaam (see above, p: 14).

(3) In the account of the making of the Ark, Deut: x. 1–5, the passage is to a great extent **" verbally identical "** with that in JE, but there are three statements about the Ark which are not found in Exod: xxxiv. In his comparison of the two passages (IP. 82–84), Mr. Chapman has dwelt on the resemblances, but has taken no notice of the differences (e.g. that in Deut: x there is nothing to correspond to Exod: xxxiv. 5–27) which show that the account in Deut: is not an exact reproduction of the account in Exodus; and has not taken into consideration the whole of the passage in Deut: which does not really end till v: 11 (see above, pp: 100–103).

(4) In Deut: i. 19–45 there is a short account of the Mission of the Spies. Mr. Chapman lays stress on the omission of Num: xiv. 26–39, alleged to belong to P, but says nothing of the omission of Num: xiv. 11–22, part of the JE account (see above, pp: 103 f).

(5) On Exod: xxiv. 12, Prof. Driver notes that 'the " tables of " stone " are mentioned **" remarkably enough, by different " expressions, corresponding to the three principal Pent. " sources : ' in xxxi. 18[b] E, as here, says " tables of stone " ; " ' P says " the two tables of the testimony " (xxxi. 18[a], " ' " xxxii. 15[a], xxxiv. 29) ; J and Dt. say " the two tables " ' " ' of stones " (xxxiv. 1, 4, Dt. iv. 13, v. 22 [Heb: 19], ix. " ' 9–11, x. 1–3) ' (Di.)."** BE, 255.

From this statement (for which Prof. Dillmann is in the first place responsible), who could ever guess that the evidence, apart from simple mentions of " the tables," stands thus :—

(a) Exod: xxiv. 12. " I will give thee the tables of stone." (E)
(b) xxxi 18. " the two tables of the testimony, | tables " of stone."* (P ; E)
(c) xxxii. 15. " the two tables | of the testimony | in his hand." (E ; $R^P$ ; E)
(d) xxxiv. 1. " Hew thee two tables of stones | like unto " the first." (J ; E)

* It is worth noticing that the passages which speak of " tables of stone " (in the singular) refer to the first tables, not to those made by Moses.

(e) xxxiv. 4. { "he hewed two tables of stones | like "unto the first. . . ." (J ; E)
{ "and took in his hand two tables of "stones." (J)

(f) xxxiv. 29. "the two tables of the testimony in "Moses' hand." (P)

(g) In the Deut: passages, "the two tables of stones."

Thus (b) combines the expressions said to be distinctive of P and E ; (c) has the P expression in the middle of an E passage ; (d) and (e) have, along with the J expression, the words "like unto the first," which would identify it with the "tables of stone" in xxiv. 12 (E). Four out of the six Exodus passages have to be cut up before the distinction can be maintained. It would be "remarkable enough" if the three expressions did not correspond to the three sources when the evidence has been so trimmed to suit the theory.

(6) In quoting Josephus (LOT. ix) Dr. Driver has stopped just short of a sentence which clearly shows that Josephus knew nothing of extensive compilation and interpolation :—in quoting Ezekiel (LOT. 139) he has omitted v: 12, which shows that the Levites who were being denounced were guilty of actual idolatry, without any mention of "high places." Mr. Chapman also (IP. 165) omits the greater part of this verse.

(7) In his Introduction on the growth of the Canon, Dr. Driver asserts (LOT. i) that **"On the authorship of the Books of "the O.T., as on the completion of the Canon of the O.T., "the Jews possess no *tradition* worthy of real credence or "regard, but only vague and uncertain reminiscences, "intermingled often with idle speculations."**

He proceeds to cite, as **"the earliest and principal passages "bearing on the subject,"**—(1) The Proverbs of Jesus, the son of Sirach ;—(2) the Second Book of Maccabees ;—(3) the Fourth Book of Ezra ;—(4) the Talmud, "Baba Bathra" ;—(5) Josephus.

Dr. Driver's argument is mainly concerned with the formation of the Canon, but as to the **"authorship of the Books of the "O.T.,"** however it may be with regard to other books, it is certain from Philo (who is not cited), from Josephus, and from the New Testament that the Pentateuch was believed to be of Mosaic origin early in the 1st century AD. That belief has been handed down ever since, unquestioned before the middle of the 17th century. Is not that a **"tradition"** ? Why should it not be **"worthy of real credence or regard"** ? Why is it never even mentioned ? That belief certainly did not originate with iv Ezra **"written, as is generally agreed, towards the close of the "1st cent. AD"** (LOT. iv), or with "Baba Bathra" which is **"late in date"** (LOT. vii). The passages cited by Dr. Driver are not, as regards the authorship of the Pentateuch, the **"tradi-**

"**tion,**" nor the source from which it came, but only witnesses to a tradition which existed before they were written.

(8) The evidence of the Septuagint, "**our oldest authority "for the text of the O.T,**" (IP. 273), is often appealed to.

(a) On Exod: xxiii. 33, Dr. Driver refers the reading "thou "shalt not serve "(instead of "for thou wilt serve ") to the LXX among others. The Vatican MS reads ἐὰν γὰρ δουλεύσῃς, "for "if thou shalt serve," and there is no various reading.

(b) In Josh: xx. 1–9 are some passages which exhibit "**points "of contact with Dt. It is remarkable, now, that just these "passages are *omitted in the LXX.*"** LOT. 112.

(c) 1 Kings viii. 1–5 "**speaks of priests and Levites, and "uses other phrases characteristic of P. This is true as "far as the present text is concerned. But it is almost "certain that these phrases are no part of the original "account. The LXX . . . does not contain the phrases in "question.**" IP. 273.

The chief authorities for the text of the LXX in both these places (b and c) are the two great uncial manuscripts, A (the Alexandrine) and B (the Vatican). Of these, B omits the phrases in question: A includes them. Is it quite fair to assert, without qualification, that "**the LXX**" omits them?

Probably it will be urged that the Vatican MS is the earliest and best authority for the text of the LXX, while the Alexandrine is little more than a transcript of the 5th column of Origen's Hexapla, which is admittedly interpolated.

Yet Dr. Swete (*Intro: to the Old Test: in Greek,* p: 488) says that it would be a "**still graver error to treat the text of B as "necessarily representing everywhere the original Septua-"gint**"; and on the next page adds, "**A is very far from being, "even in the earlier books, a mere reproduction of the "Eusebian recension. It has been extensively hexaplarized, "but it possesses a large element of ancient readings which "are not Hexaplaric, and which it shares, to a great extent, "with the Lucianic family. Moreover, as we have already "seen, the citations of the LXX in the N.T. and by Christian "writers of the first three centuries, often support the "readings of A with a remarkable unanimity.**"

The evidence of so venerable a witness ought not to be passed over in silence as if it did not exist, and the reading of the Vatican MS ought not to be quoted as "**the LXX**" without even a hint that the other great authority does not agree with it.

Conclusions based on (A) evidence arbitrarily limited, (B) evidence arbitrarily interpreted, or (C) on an incomplete presentation of the evidence, cannot be relied on unquestioningly.

# XXXVII.

## BASIS AND CHARACTER OF CRITICAL ARGUMENTS.

I. *Basis of Critical Arguments.*

The critical arguments are often based on (A) slender evidence; (B) silence; (C) assertion.

(A) *Arguments from slender evidence.*

When one comes to examine the grounds on which the critical theory rests, it is astonishing to find on what meagre evidence some of the most confidently urged assertions are based.

(1) That P represents the patriarchs as ignorant of the Name *Jehovah* has an important bearing on the question of the analysis, and is laid down as emphatically as if it were indubitable. It is only vouched for by the one verse, Exod: vi. 3.

(2) That the law till the time of Josiah sanctioned a **" plurality " of altars "** as contrasted with the **" centralization of worship "** in D is of immense importance to the critical theory. That depends on the half-verse Exod: xx. 24[b].

(3) The correlative proposition that Josiah abolished these **" local sanctuaries "** in favour of the law of the Central Sanctuary **" in its exclusiveness "** is one of the mainstays of the theory and a leading argument for the late date assigned to Deuteronomy. It depends on 2 Kings xxiii. 8.

(4) An argument for the late date of the Pentateuch, on which Mr. Chapman lays stress, is that " prophets " were not known by that name in Israel till the time of Samuel. The only evidence for that is 1 Sam: ix. 9.

(5) A good deal turns on the sweeping generalization that, until the time of the Exile, the priesthood was **" open to every member " of the tribe of Levi "** (LOT. 138). The proof of this consists of (a) the expression " the priests the Levites " in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah; (b) the phrase " the priests the Levites *even* all the " tribe of Levi," Deut: xviii. 1; (c) " a Levite," Deut: xviii. 6; and (d) " the Levites," Ezek: xliv. 10.

(6) The still more amazing contention that originally the Levites were a **" caste or profession "** and not a tribe, has no support except a few words in Jud: xvii. 7, and Exod: iv. 14.

Even if the critical interpretation of these passages were correct (and that is not admitted), it would be startling to find such huge inferences drawn from premises so minute. It is something like trying to balance a pyramid on its apex.

(B) *Arguments from silence.*

(1) Simeon is not mentioned in Gen: xlii. 38–xliii. 10, xliv. 18–34. Therefore it is concluded that the J narrative knew nothing of Simeon's detention, and two mentions of Simeon in J passages are adjudged to be interpolations.

(2) Levites are seldom mentioned in the earlier histories. From this is drawn the conclusion that Levites **" as an inferior body "** to the priests (BN. xv) were unknown before the Exile.

(3) The " Tent of Meeting " is not mentioned at the passage of the Jordan. This is put forward as one of the proofs that the Tabernacle of P is unknown to the history.

(4) The Day of Atonement is not mentioned in Deuteronomy: therefore **" the author of Deuteronomy knew nothing of such " a law."** IP. 120.

(5) The account of the Dedication of the Temple in 1 Kings viii does not mention the Sin Offering: it is therefore concluded that this kind of sacrifice had not yet been prescribed.

Reasons for thinking that silence as regards these matters is no proof that they were unknown have already been given earlier in this work. These instances are only quoted here to show how often this precarious argument is used.

(C) *Arguments based on assertion or assumption.*

Many critical statements are not based on evidence but on unsupported assertion.

(1) Mr. Chapman (IP. 181–186) gives a **" sketch of the prob- " able steps in the formation of the Pentateuch "**; he owns that **" there must be a conjectural element . . . as the " historical data are imperfect,"** but offers his sketch **" as an " attempt to supply an answer in accord with the facts " of the history, so far as they are known "** (p: 181).

It can only be said that the **" conjectural element "** figures very largely in what follows. As examples take the following assertions: —**" all the non-priestly parts of the Hexateuch were united " into one book,"** which with Judges, Samuel, and Kings **" formed " the law book and history of the people for the first ninety " years after the Return, and until the introduction of the " Priestly Code "** (p: 184);—when that Code **" had been ac- " cepted by the people, steps would be taken to incorporate " it with the already existing book formed out of JE and " D,"** and **" the book of Joshua was at this stage separated " from the preceding books "** (p: 185).

What **" facts of the history "** vouch for any one of these steps? Even if the critics are absolutely right as to the origin and

dates of the various sources, what is there to show that JE and D were united before the introduction of the Priestly Code? What is there to show that anything but D was the "**law book**" of the people? Or again, what is there to show that the book read by Ezra was not the entire Pentateuch already combined? On the critics' own grounds, the whole work of combination might have been done either before or after 444. What is there in the history to suggest that Joshua was separated at this or any other stage? It cannot be said that these are more "**probable steps**" than others equally possible. As for "**historical data,**" they are something more than "**imperfect**"; they are altogether lacking.

(2) It is asserted that the Decalogue "**is not in any part of "Ex. made the basis of a covenant**" (BE. 374). That rests upon the assertion that the Decalogue "**which the people had "heard themselves cannot be included in the terms used**" in Exod: xxiv. 3; and on the even less warrantable assumption that it was not included in "all the words of the LORD" which Moses wrote in "the book of the covenant" (vv: 4, 7).

(3) In the same way, since the text does not show any separation between the "judgements" of Exod: xxi. 2–xxii. 17 and the laws which follow, the elaborate distinction between "**words**" and "**judgements**" (BE. 202) rests solely on the authority of the critic.

(4) On points of Hebrew Grammar, Dr. Driver speaks with all the weight of an acknowledged authority. Yet even so it is a little peremptory to lay it down, without any qualification, that in Gen: ii. 19 "**the rendering '*had* formed' is against idiom**" (BG. 42); a dictum which not all Hebrew scholars would endorse.

(5) Some critics maintain that the Passover did not originate at the Exodus, but that "**Among the ancient nomad Hebrews "it had been the practice on special occasions, for protec- "tion against pestilence and the like, to sprinkle the dwell- "ings with the blood of a sheep**" (BE. 411). In like manner they hold that the Feast of Unleavened Bread had nothing to do with either Passover or Exodus, but was borrowed from "**the "agricultural Canaanites,**" who had a custom of consecrating the firstfruits of the corn at the beginning of harvest, "**and of "celebrating a *ḥag*** [pilgrimage] **in this connection.**" BE. 412.

There is no evidence that the blood-sprinkling custom existed among the Hebrews before the Exodus, nor of the spring agricultural festival among the Canaanites. If there were it would be no proof that the Jewish Passover and Feast of *Maẓzoth* were derived from these, and not from the circumstances of the Exodus. It really seems as though some critics made a point of dismissing any statements about Israelite institutions in the only history we possess, as unworthy of credence, and devising an account of their own of how these institutions might have originated.

(6) There is nothing to warrant the assumption that the "ledge" round the altar of Exod: xxii. 5 was meant for the "**priests to "stand upon"** (BE. 292), yet on this is founded a charge of inconsistency with Exod: xx. 26.

(7) Many of the arguments against the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy are really founded on the assumption, met with again and again, that the book was a deliberately written document, and not (as it professes to be) the report of a series of spoken discourses; or else on the other assumption, as frequently met with, that it contains a complete code.

II. *Character of Critical Arguments.*

The critical arguments are not always logically sound.

(1) Remarkable words and phrases alleged to be peculiar to P are also found in passages ascribed to JE. It is taken for granted that these have been interpolated from P, but that begs the question whether these are really distinctive of P, or are common to both sets of passages. A good deal of the argument from style is in fact vitiated by this *petitio principii.*

(2) Narratives are found presenting some marked similarities though differing in details, such as those of Abraham and Isaac in Gerar, or the commissions of Moses in Midian and in Egypt. These are at once put down as discordant versions of the same incident; yet that would not hold good unless there be granted the questionable premise, Two different incidents so much alike cannot have actually occurred. On this faulty assumption much of the argument from "**duplicate narratives**" depends.

(3) Num: xxxv. 14 prescribes the setting apart of six Cities of Refuge: Deut: xix. 2 mentions only three. It is argued that this "discrepancy" shows that these passages must be due to different authors. But the main question between the critical and traditional views is whether the Pentateuch is composite or the work of one author. If the traditional view is right, there is no discrepancy at all, for Deut: iv. 41–43 shows that three of the six cities had already been set apart before c: xix was uttered, and only three remained to be mentioned. The appearance of discrepancy is entirely due to the critical assertion that Deut: iv. 41–43 does not belong to the original text. How then can a discrepancy which is caused by the critical hypothesis be used to prove that the hypothesis is true? Is it not rather the other way? The fact that one view of the evidence *creates* a discrepancy which the other does not, raises a presumption that the former is wrong and the latter right. To use the analysis to manufacture an inconsistency, and then to urge that inconsistency to prove that the analysis is right, is to argue in a circle.

(4) An important part of the critical argument is that the historical books from Judges to 2 Kings show that the regulations of P were unknown. In those books are allusions to usages sanc-

tioned by P, but it is maintained that these do not prove the existence of P, because P has already been proved to be of late origin on "**independent grounds**" (IP. 189, note), viz: the conclusions drawn from variations of style, inconsistencies of legislation, etc: These conclusions are first used to strike out a considerable part of the evidence of the history, and then it is claimed that the evidence of the history confirms the conclusions. Circular reasoning again.

(5) The flaw most frequently found in the critical arguments is the substitution of "must" for "may."

It is one thing to show that the Pentateuch *may* have reached its present condition by an extensive process of editorial correction, interpolation, and combination: it is quite another thing to assert that this has actually been the case.

The critics would be justified in saying that such and such a passage which conflicts with their view may be a "**gloss**" or a "**harmonizing addition**": in the absence of independent evidence, they have no right to say, "This is a gloss." The most they would be justified in saying would be, "This must be a gloss if "our theory is correct."

A further illustration of this kind of argument is found in the way in which critics reply to some of the objections raised against their theory by showing that these objections may be accounted for consistently with their theory.

(a) It is urged that allusions to P institutions in the historical books and in the papyri are accounted for by pre-existing usages, and priestly *Toroth* afterwards incorporated in P. As there is no evidence that these usages and *Toroth* ever existed independently of P, the critics are not justified in assuming that they did so exist. At most, they have only shown how the allusions may possibly be accounted for: they have not shown that the allusions did actually so originate.

(b) It is argued at considerable length that the Samaritans might have received their Pentateuch after the publication of the Priestly code. It is not, and cannot be, shown that they did so receive it: it is only what conceivably may have been the case.

(c) It is contended that Christ in appealing to the Pentateuch as the law of Moses was only adopting the current language of the period, and not endorsing the opinion that it was actually Mosaic. The questions whether He could have been ignorant of the truth in such a matter, or whether, knowing the truth, He would have seemed to acquiesce in error, are purposely not touched on here. All that is urged is that this amounts to no more than what may have been, not what must have been.

Now, of course, the critics are quite within their rights in showing that, granting certain possibilities, the evidence may be accounted

for in accordance with their theory: what they have no right to do is to assume that the possibilities were actual facts. Yet they persistently write and argue as though the priestly usages and *Toroth* were known to have existed; as though it were certain that the Samaritans only received their Pentateuch after its completion by Ezra; as though our Master unquestionably used popular language not to be pressed too literally.

They have translated "may have been" into "must have been."

III. *Relevancy of Critical Arguments.*

The critical arguments are not always addressed to the real point at issue.

(1) Some of Dr. Driver's arguments against the historical existence of the P tabernacle are not strictly relevant. For instance, even if the statistics of the number of the Israelites, and therefore of the amount of metals contributed by them (BE. 427), should be found to be wholly incredible, that would not prove that such a structure as is described in P never existed. It would only prove that in some way the figures have been greatly exaggerated.

So too the movements of the Ark from the time it was taken from Shiloh and captured by the Philistines till it was brought by David to Zion (BE. 429) prove nothing as to the original existence of the Tabernacle. At the very most they would only show that *during this period* no Tent of Meeting was in existence. That would not prove that the Tabernacle had not existed in the Wilderness. For instance it might be true that the Tent of Meeting was (as is asserted, Josh: xviii. 1) set up at Shiloh, and was there in the days of Eli (1 Sam: ii. 22), but that it was soon after destroyed when Shiloh was desolated.

(2) Dr. McNeile (BN. xv) in arguing that Levites "**as an "inferior body**" were unknown before the Exile, not only cites the phrase "the priests the Levites" in Deuteronomy as "**showing "that the writer considered priests and Levites were identi- "cal**" (an unsound inference, since it need not mean more than that he looked upon the priests as invariably of Levite origin), but further refers to the "**solemn promise**" in Jer: xxxiii. 18. This runs, "neither shall the priests the Levites want a man before "me to offer burnt offerings, and to burn oblations, and to do "sacrifice continually." Whereon the critic adds "**And these "were precisely the privileges which were denied to the "post-exilic Levites.**" No doubt, but as the promise applies definitely to the *priests* the Levites, that does not show that in Jeremiah's time these privileges were possessed by any but priests.

(3) Mr. Chapman devotes a page and a half (IP. 6, 7) to an argument in defence of the term "Hexateuch." He begins by contending that "**The first stage in the history of God's "dealings with His chosen people ends with their settlement "in the Promised Land, rather than with the death of Moses,**"

and that therefore the record of the Pentateuch **" is incomplete " without the book of Joshua in which the fulfilment of " the promises is recorded."**

This is beside the point, for (apart from the somewhat arbitrary definition of the **" first stage "**), the real issue is this ;—the critics by the term " Hexateuch " claim that the six books have a common origin, a compilation from various sources ; the traditional view is that they have not a common origin, the Pentateuch being (substantially) written by Moses, and the book of Joshua by some other writer. Necessarily the work written by Moses must terminate at his death, whether the subject was complete or not. That the subject is taken up, and carried on to the completion of a **" first stage "** in another volume is no possible proof that this other volume is due to the same author (or authors) as the preceding five, any more than the fact that Judges continues the history from the close of Joshua is a proof that Judges also was due to the same writer.

Mr. Chapman next urges that **" Combinations of the books " of the Pentateuch with other books of the O.T. were not " unknown in the Christian Church. The name Heptateuch " was given to the first seven books of the Bible, and these " books together with the book of Ruth were designated " the Octateuch "** ; instancing Latin and Greek MSS, a quotation from Ambrose and certain lists and versions.

Again the question is, Does this grouping as Heptateuch or Octateuch imply or suggest a common origin of authorship ? If so, are the critics prepared to maintain that Judges and Ruth are also compilations from JE, D, and P ? If not, how do these groupings justify the critical use of the term " Hexateuch " ?

**" No ancient precedent has yet been found for the name " Hexateuch, but a close relationship between the Penta- " teuch and the book of Joshua is implied in the words " of the Talmud (*Nedarim* 22), ' If Israel had not sinned, they " ' would be reading only the five books of the Law and the " ' book of Joshua.' The ideal Israel has the Hexateuch for its " Bible."**

Why, this very quotation from the Talmud separates the book of Joshua from the five books of the Law, and thus maintains the distinction which the critics would obliterate by their use of the term " Hexateuch."

The truth is that all these arguments are beside the mark. It is not the word " Hexateuch " that is objected to, but the theory underlying the critical use of it. If the critics in speaking of " the Hexateuch " meant no more than that these six books are closely connected in subject matter, no one would quarrel with them. But they do mean more. They use the word to connote **" the " literary whole formed by the Pentateuch and the Book of**

"**Joshua**" (LOT. 5, 6), and this involves the whole critical theory of a common origin of authorship. It is this which is objected to, and this is exactly what Mr. Chapman's arguments do not touch.

A theory supported, even partially by arguments which are (i) based on very slender evidence; (ii) not logically sound; (iii) not strictly relevant to the point at issue, cannot command unhesitating acquiescence.

# XXXVIII.

## SHORT PASSAGES DETACHED FROM THEIR CONTEXT.

No one who has looked at all into the critical analysis of the Pentateuch can fail to have noticed the frequency with which short passages are detached from their context, and assigned to a different writer. Sometimes a verse or a half-verse embedded in a long section is thus detached : sometimes a whole section is cut up into small fragments assigned alternately.

It is not always easy to determine on what principle this has been done. For instance, the few words, " Now Sarai Abram's " wife bare him no children " (Gen: xvi. 1[a]) are marked P, but there does not seem to be any marked peculiarity to distinguish them from the J passages which precede and follow. Usually, however, there is a change in the Divine appellation, a peculiarity of style or diction, or an allusion to some previous history (e.g. Gen: xxv. 11[b] is taken from P and given to J because of the mention of the well Lahai-roi, an allusion to the J history, xvi. 14) to account for the separation.

Sometimes similar reasons have determined the point at which a long section begins or ends. A marked instance of this is found in Gen: ii. 4, where it is of the essence of the analysis theory that the J narrative commences. But the opening words of the verse, " These are the generations," are considered to be one of P's characteristic formulæ. Therefore the verse must be cut in half, regardless of sense, and the first part,—" These are the generations " of the heaven and of the earth when they were created,"—tacked on to the previous P section ; while the latter part of the sentence, —" in the day that the LORD God made earth and heaven,"—handed over to J.

A similar division occurs in Gen: xxxvii. 2, dissected thus,

(P) " These are the generations of Jacob. Joseph being seventeen years old | (J) was feeding the flock with his brethren.

Now what does all this mean, looked at simply as evidence ?

The evidence, stripped of all theorizing, is that sometimes a single verse exhibiting certain peculiarities is found in the middle of a long section characterized by other peculiarities ; sometimes

these varying characteristics alternate with startling rapidity; and sometimes a single sentence will exhibit both. This points to one of two things:—

Either (1) fragments from different writers have been pieced together somewhat arbitrarily; or (2) a single writer has made use of varying peculiarities of style.

Of course the critics take the former conclusion because it suits their theory, but the other, which tells against their theory, is equally sound, and ought not to be disregarded. More than that, when a so-called P section is followed by a J verse, and that by a P verse, and that again by a J section, while the sense runs on smoothly, the probabilities are certainly increased that the varying peculiarities are the work of one hand. Take, for instance, the following passage, Gen: viii. 12–14;—

J. "And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the "dove; and she returned not again unto him any more.

P. "And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in "the first month, the first day of the month, the waters "were dried up from off the earth:

J. "And Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, "and behold, the face of the ground was dried.

P. "And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth "day of the month, was the earth dry."

Who that read this passage in an ordinary book would dream of its being anything but a consecutive narrative? Yet it is divided up as indicated. And what possible reason is there for the division except the preconceived idea that all precise dates must belong to P and not to J?

The narrative of the passage of the Red Sea, again, (Exod: xiv. 19–31) is apportioned thus:—

$19^a$, E; $19^b$, J; $20^a$, E; $20^b$, J; $21^a$, P; $21^b$, J; $21^c$–23, P; 24, 25, J; 26, $27^a$, P; $27^b$, J; 28, 29, P; 30, 31, J. This is followed by a passage marked E in LOT, but J in BE (xv. 1–18), another instance of how uncertain the critics are as to what really belongs to J, and what to E.

It might fairly be argued that the unbroken current of sense is better evidence of unity than varying peculiarities are of diversity of authorship, but at least it holds good that the evidence of such passages is ambiguous. The occurrence of A characteristics in a B passage may mean that a short passage from A has been interpolated, but it may mean that these expressions are also used by B; are therefore not peculiar to A; and must accordingly be struck out of the list of A's distinguishing characteristics.

From this follows an important consequence. No peculiarities occurring in short passages thus detached from their context ought to be used to establish the analysis theory. An impartial judge considering the evidence would surely say,—The testimony

of these peculiarities is at best indeterminate: it may be used either for or against the case which is sought to be proved. It cannot be used to establish the case.

But this would rule out a large part of the evidence relied on by the critics to prove the composite nature of the Pentateuch. One instance among many may be taken. Among words characteristic of P, Dr. Driver gives (BG. ix; cf. LOT. 132), "**17. *Substance, goods*, (*Rekhoosh*): Gen: xii. 5, xiii. 6[a], xxxi. 18[b], "xxxvi. 7, xlvi. 6; Num: xvi. 32 *end*, xxxv. 3. Else-"where (not P): Gen. xiv. 11, 12, 16 *bis*, 21, xv. 14; and "in Chr. (8 times), Ezr. (4 times), Dan. xi (3 times)."

These are marked as being all the passages in the Old Testament in which the word occurs.

Of the passages referred to P, Gen: xii. 5 is in a verse and a half cut out of a J chapter; xiii. 6 is in the middle of a J section; xxxi. 18[b] is a half-verse in the middle of an E section; xlvi. 9 follows immediately on an E section; and Num: xvi. 32[b] is a half verse in a J section. Five instances out of seven are doubtful.

Not only that, but there are six instances "**not P**"; five in c: xiv attributed to a "**special source,**" and one in xv. 14 marked J. So in four consecutive chapters (xii–xv) the word occurs eight times, of which 2 are assigned to P, 5 to SS, and 1 to J; yet the word is cited as "**characteristic of P**"! Would it not be more reasonable to conclude that the occurrence of this unusual word no less than eight times in four chapters shows that all four are by the same hand?

To detach short passages containing a remarkable word or phrase from a JE context and attribute them to P, and then to cite these words or phrases as "**characteristic of P,**" or even as "**found "only in P,**" seems hardly candid. It certainly savours of arguing in a circle. Why is such a word a P characteristic? because it occurs only or chiefly in P passages. Why are such and such verses in a JE context assigned to P? because of that characteristic word!

Suppose that two men are looking at a field some little distance away. One maintains that the soil of that field is partly clay, partly sand, and in support of his assertion points out the presence of thistles, "which," he avers, "only grow in clay, and not in "sand." The other retorts, "I do not admit that thistles never "grow in sand; and, look, there is a clump of them growing in the "middle of what you yourself admit to be sandy ground."

"Oh! yes," replies the first, "but those thistles are growing in a "small patch of clay."

"How do you know there is any clay there?"

"Because of the thistles."

Would any one be willing to accept this as sound argument?

The case of historical and other allusions is precisely parallel

to that of verbal peculiarities. Mention has already been made (p: 358) of Gen: xxv. 11[b], where the critics maintain that the words, " and Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi " must be an interpolation from J in the P passage, vv: 7–17, because it alludes to a narrative they have assigned to J. But evidently it would be quite as fair to argue that the writer of 7–17 was aware of the narrative in c: xvi, and of the further mention of Beer-lahai-roi in xxiv. 62, only 11 verses earlier.

Similar instances are found in Gen: xxv. 26[b] where a half-verse mentioning Isaac's age is taken from a J context and given to P ; and in Gen: xxxiv. 25 where the words " two of " and " Simeon " and Levi, Dinah's brethren " are taken from a P context and given to J, because they conflict with the critical view that **" in P the " entire transaction is on a much larger scale than in J "** (BG. 302).

It cannot be too strongly urged that the evidence of short passages containing words or allusions supposed to be foreign to the writer of the context may just as fairly be taken to show that the writer of the context does use them, and that therefore these words or allusions are no proof of diversity of authorship. This is, if anything, understating the case, for the occurrence of a markedly peculiar phrase or allusion in the middle of a narrative or continuous passage may fairly be considered evidence that the whole passage comes from the same author as any other passages in which that peculiarity is found.

Akin to all this are the cases where the " Redactor " is alleged to have altered the text, or inserted additions.

In Gen: vii. 9 R is supposed to have inserted " two and two " and " male and female " in a J passage to harmonize it with P ;—in Gen: xxi. 32, 34 he is supposed to have inserted " the land of the " Philistines " to harmonize E with J ;—in xxvi. 1 a half-verse to make J agree with P ;—in xxxix. 1, another half-verse to make J agree with E ;—and in xl. 3, 5, 15, xli. 14, sundry fragments to reconcile E with J.

In all these instances (and the list is not exhaustive of the instances in Genesis alone), no evidence is adduced (e.g. from MSS or Versions) that the text has been altered or added to. Short fragments containing expressions said to be characteristic of one source, or tending to show agreement where the critics allege divergence, are found in passages attributed to another source, and forthwith these (not being easily attributable to a combination of sources) are put down to the perverse ingenuity of a Redactor whose very existence is only inferred. But, in the absence of evidence, these assertions are in reality nothing more than conjectures to account for the present state of text in accordance with the critical theory, and therefore tantamount to admissions that the text, as it stands, conflicts with that theory. In other words,

the critics are not interpreting the evidence, but modifying it to suit their contentions.

In his paper on "The Criticism of the Hexateuch compared "with that of the Synoptic Gospels," the Rev: W. E. Addis writes (OSSP. 377), **"Nor do we think that critics need apologize "for assigning one half-verse to one document, and another "half-verse to another document. True it is sometimes "difficult to make an accurate and complete separation "between J and E; but if we find a half-verse in the style of "J or E followed by another half which deals with the same "subject in the spirit and style of P, there need be no diffi-"culty in assigning each half-verse to its proper source."**

Perhaps not, when such cases are found, (though even then there would remain the question whether the distinction between **"the "style of J or E"** and **"the spirit and style of P"** has been rightly drawn), but how many instances are there of such an easy dichotomy as this? In Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers (Leviticus being entirely P and H is not here in question) there are some 46 instances * where it is alleged that a half-verse has been interpolated, not counting those attributed to R. Of these, there are 33 which are alleged to be insertions from JE into P, and only 13 from P into JE, less than ⅓ of the total number.

These thirteen instances are:—

(a) Gen: vii. 5, (J) "and Noah did all that God commanded him. | "(6, P) And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of "waters was upon the earth. | (7, J) And Noah went in, and his "sons," etc:—

(b) Gen: xiii. 5, (J) "And Lot also, which went with Abram, "had flocks, and herds, and tents. | (6, P) And the land was "not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their "substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. | "(7, J) "And there was a strife between the herdmen," etc:—

(c) Gen: xvi. 1, (P) "Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no "children: | (J) and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose "name was Hagar."

(d) Gen: xxi. 1, (J) "And the LORD visited Sarah as he had "said, | (P) and the LORD did unto Sarah as he had spoken."

(e) Gen: xxi. 2, (J) "And Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham "a son in his old age | (P) at the set time of which God had "spoken unto him." (The 3 verses following are P).

(f) Gen: xxv. 26, (J) ". . . and his name was called Jacob | "(P) and Isaac was threescore years old when she bare them."

(g) Gen: xxxi. 18, (E) "and he carried away all his cattle, | "(P) and all his substance which he had gathered, the cattle of

* Counting in some verses so short as to be fairly reckoned as half-verses. If these were omitted, the proportion of P to JE insertions would be even less favourable.

" his getting, which he had gathered in Paddan-Aram, for to go to " Isaac his father unto the land of Canaan." (vv: 19 ff, E).

(h) Gen: xxxv. 14, (J) " . . . and he poured out a drink offering " thereon, and poured oil thereon. | (15, P) And Jacob called the " name of the place where God spake with him, Beth-el. | (J) and " they journeyed from Beth-el," etc:—

(i) Gen: xlix. 1, (P) " And Jacob called unto his sons, | (J) " and said: Gather yourselves together," etc:—

(k) Exod: viii. 15, (J) " When Pharaoh saw that there was " respite, he hardened [made heavy] his heart, | (P) and hearkened " not unto them; as the LORD had spoken." (vv: 16–19, P).

(l) Exod: xii. 36, (E) " . . . and they spoiled the Egyptians. | " (37, P) And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to " Succoth, | (J) about six hundred thousand on foot," etc:—

(m) Num: x. 33, (J) " . . . the ark of the covenant of the LORD " went before them three days' journey, to seek out a resting place " for them. | (34, P) And the cloud of the LORD was over them " by day, when they set forward from the camp. | (36, J) And " it came to pass when the ark set forward," etc:—

(n) Num: xiii. 21, (JE) " So they went up, | (P) and spied out " the land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, to the entering " in of Hamath." (vv: 22 ff. JE).

To these may be added,

(o) Deut: xxxiv. 1, (JE) " And Moses went up | (P) from the " plains of Moab unto Mount Nebo, | (JE) to the top of Pisgah " | (P) that is over against Jericho. | (JE) And the LORD " shewed him all the land," etc:

(p) Deut: xxxiv. 5, (JE) " So Moses the servant of the LORD " died there in the land of Moab, | (P) according to the word of the " LORD." (v: 6, JE).

In how many of these can the P fragment be said to deal **" with " the same subject "** as the half-verse which precedes? Possibly in (d) and (g), though even in these there is no mere repetition, and in the case of (d) it is not easy to discover anything of **" the " spirit and style of P."** It is doubtful whether in the whole Pentateuch there is more than one instance (if there is even that) exactly answering to Mr. Addis' description; and some of the instances—notably (c) and (i)—would bear a little explanation, or even apology.

# XXXIX.

## DOUBLETS.

**"The great argument for the severance of documents is "the occurrence of doublets. Why, for example, does St. "Matthew repeat twice our Lord's dicta on the sign of "Jonah (xvi. 4, xii. 39), on bearing the cross (xvi. 24, x. 38), "on divorce (xix. 9, v. 32)? Why does St. Luke repeat "twice over the saying about the setting of a light upon a "candlestick (viii. 16, xi. 33), the maxim 'He who hath, to "'him it shall be given' (viii. 18, xix. 26), etc:? The answer "is plain when we find that the words in question or their "equivalents also occur in St. Mark, so that we are led "naturally to the conclusion that St. Matthew and St. Luke "repeat themselves, because they used or remembered first "one and then another source in which the words are given."** OSSP. 383.

Here the word "**doublet**" is referred to the occurrence in different parts of a history of the same phrase, or of phrases strikingly similar. Phenomena of this kind are also found in the Old Testament (e.g. Moses' disclaimers of eloquence, Exod: iv. 10, vii. 30 ;—see above, p: 66), and a like conclusion drawn from them.

The argument is somewhat naïve in assuming that the explanation offered is the only possible, or at least reasonable, solution ;—in disregarding the possibility that, under different circumstances, a pregnant utterance may have been intentionally repeated (do preachers and teachers nowadays never repeat themselves, even in the same discourse?) ;—in attributing to the Evangelists a somewhat unintelligent use of their materials ; and in quietly taking it for granted that they were not faithful historians, simply recording the actual facts.

But it will be sufficient to set against this critical dictum the argument of another critic in the same volume. In the very next essay, Mr. Williams, discussing Wendling's theory that there are three strata in St. Mark, says that this theory "**seems to be based "on the assumption that every genuine utterance of Christ "and every genuine incident of His Life must necessarily "have been unique**" (OSSP. 405) ;—a remark which, *mutatis*

*mutandis*, might very well be applied to various bits of Old Testament criticism.

A few pages further on, however, Mr. Williams gives an instance of what he considers a "**genuine doublet,**" viz: the two accounts of feeding the multitude, St. Mark vi. 35–44, viii. 1–9. Here the term is used to indicate two narratives professing to be accounts of separate incidents, which the critics consider to be only varying forms of the tradition of a single incident. Of this kind of "**doublet**" there are said to be a good many instances in the Pentateuch. Sometimes they are said to be given separately (as in the histories of Abraham and Isaac in Gerar), sometimes interwoven (as in the history of Joseph); but these have been already discussed (see Part i. A, cc: iii–x).

There is yet a third use of the term "**doublet**" which calls for some consideration; where a statement is immediately, or almost immediately, repeated in different terms. A few examples may be examined.

(a) On Gen: xxxi. 45–54 Dr. Driver comments, "**The narrative is clearly composite; for, if examined closely, it will be seen to be confused, and also to contain doublets. Thus v. 46$^b$ is parallel to v. 54, v. 47$^b$ to v. 48$^b$, v. 48$^a$ to vv. 51, 52$^a$.**" BG. 287.

The accusation of confusedness does not now concern us, but what are the alleged doublets?

(i) v: 46, "And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; "and they took stones and made an heap; and they did "eat there by the heap."

v: 54, "And Jacob offered a sacrifice in the mountain, and called "his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and "tarried all night in the mountain."

The only two points in common between these two verses are the words "his brethren" and "they did eat." It is by no means clear that one and the same meal is referred to. In v: 46 the eating is connected with the casting up of the heap, and, as Laban seems to have come up with Jacob early in the morning (vv: 24, 25), it is not unlikely that the heap was completed by noon. The eating then would be simply taking their ordinary midday food. Then when the terms of the treaty with Laban were arranged, and confirmed with an oath, Jacob offers a sacrifice (v: 54), and calls his kinsmen to join in the sacrificial feast, not improbably in the evening about sunset, which would account for the notice (which immediately follows) of their spending the night there. Possibly also the words "by the heap" in v: 46, and "in the mountain" in v: 54 may indicate a difference of place. At any rate, the slight resemblance between the two verses is hardly enough to warrant the conclusion that the one is a variant of the other.

(ii) v: 47, "And Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob "called it Galeed."

v: 48, "And Laban said, This heap is witness between me "and thee this day. Therefore was the name of it "called Galeed."

The calling of the heap "Galeed,"—the heap of witness, is repeated, but not in identical terms. Indeed v: 47 records the fact that the name was given, while v: 48 explains why that name was chosen; and as Dr. Driver himself, in BG, attributes both verses to J, he does not treat this as an indication of diverse authorship.

(iii) v: 48[a], "And Laban said, This heap is witness between "me and thee this day."

v: 51, 52[a], "And Laban said to Jacob, [Behold this heap, "and] behold the pillar, which I have set betwixt me "and thee. [This heap be witness, and] the pillar be "witness. . . ."

It is suggested by the critics that the clauses bracketed in 51, 52 are glosses which have crept into the text. If so, the **"doublet"** would disappear; but, without having recourse to any such expedient, it is clear that these verses are a considerable amplification of the statement in v: 48. That only gives briefly the reason for the name Galeed: these narrate how Laban took both heap and pillar to be the "witness," the silent token, of the covenant that neither he nor Jacob would pass this boundary "for harm" (v: 52), i.e. to injure the other. There is no mere repetition, but a much fuller statement.

(b) **"It has been argued, as we venture to think rightly, "that Gen. xxvii is composite, because the blessing of Jacob "by Isaac occurs twice in verses 23 and 27."** OSSP. 375.

Isaac's suspicions being aroused **"by the voice of Jacob"** (BG. 257), he bids Jacob come near that he may make sure of his identity by the sense of touch, and (v: 23) "he discerned him "not because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands: "so he blessed him." Not quite satisfied, Isaac puts the explicit question, "Art thou my very son Esau?" and, receiving an emphatic affirmative, eats the food provided, and tells Jacob to come near and kiss him. Then (v: 27) "he smelled the smell of his rai- "ment, and blessed him and said," and the full wording of the blessing follows.

V: 23 notes that the false evidence of the hairy hands is the primary cause of Isaac being deceived, and therefore of the blessing being eventually conferred. The subsequent verses go on to give the details of all that passed, and the actual words of the blessing. The words "so he blessed him" are anticipatory of what follows.

Would any other narrative be suspected of being **"composite"** on such slender grounds as these? Dr. Driver, at any rate, seems

to have had little hesitation in ascribing the whole narrative to J.

(c) In Exodus, it is asserted (LOT. 26), **"By the side of "ix. 34[b], v. 35[a] would seem to be superfluous,"** and accordingly in BE (p: 77) the former is marked J, and the latter E.

Vv: 34, 35, "When Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail and "the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened "[made heavy] his heart, he and his servants. And the heart of "Pharaoh was hardened [was strong], and he did not let the "children of Israel go."

There may be some show of reason in arguing (as the critics do) that the use of different verbs for "harden" indicates a difference of authorship, but surely not also that the latter statement is superfluous. The word used there conveys a different idea from that used in v: 34; is the stronger word, indicating wilful defiance; and therefore provides a climax to what has gone before. Again we have the critics crediting the supposed compiler with a strange lack of intelligence in first extracting a statement from one source, and then immediately adding a **"superfluous"** repetition from the other. As to the difference in the words, see above pp: 73–74.

(d) On Exod: xxxiii it is asserted (LOT. 38), **"xxxii. "34–xxxiii. 6 exhibits traces of a double narrative: thus "v. 5[b] the people are commanded to do what, according "to 4[b], *they had already done*—which confirms the *prima "facie* view that v. 5–6 is a doublet of v. 3[b]–4."** Also BE. 358, **"The people are here told to do what they have already "done (v. 4[b]), a clear proof that two narratives have been "combined."**

In xxxiii. 1 the LORD commands Moses to depart with the people, commencing the journey to the Promised Land, and promises (v: 2) to send an angel before them, but (v: 3) "I will "not go up in the midst of thee; for thou art a stiffnecked people: "lest I consume thee in the way." On hearing these "evil tidings" (v: 4) the people "mourned: and no man did put on him his "ornaments." Evidently the mourning, and the refraining from wearing ornaments as a sign of mourning, was intended to appease the wrath of the LORD, consequent on the sin of the Golden Calf (made out of ornaments).

That is not sufficient. The LORD bids Moses tell the people (v: 5), "Ye are a stiffnecked people: If I go up into the midst of "thee for one moment, I shall consume thee." This is more than the condemnation of v: 3, where it is announced that the LORD would not go up in their midst, lest He should consume them "in the way,"—on the journey. Now He says that if He came into their midst for a single instant (the words "one moment" are by their position very emphatic) He would utterly consume them. In spite of their mourning, they are characterized as still perversely obstinate, and a further test of the sincerity of their

penitence is imposed. "Therefore," the command continues, "now "put off [*horeyd*, cast down] thy ornaments from thee, that I may "know what to do unto thee." The test is accepted, and (v: 6) "the children of Israel stripped themselves [*yithnatzloo*] of their "ornaments from mount Horeb onwards."

In v: 4 they refrain from wearing ornaments: in v: 5 they are bidden to abandon them altogether: in v: 6 they strip themselves of them permanently (and, it may be added, these very ornaments furnish the gold for the Tabernacle, xxxv. 22).

The people in v: 5 are not told to do **"what they have already "done,"** but to make a still greater sacrifice.

The critical view not merely finds an unmeaning **"doublet"** where really there is a steady progression of thought, but by the analysis (giving vv: 1–4 to J, a part of v: 5 to $R^{JE}$, and the remainder to E), entirely ruins the force of a highly significant passage.

(e) On Num: xxii. 3 the comment (BN. 124) is, **"The two "halves of the verse appear to be doublets from E and J "respectively."**

V: 3, "And Moab was sore afraid of the people, because they were "many (E); and Moab was distressed [*marg*: abhorred] because "of the children of Israel" (J).

Can there be any doubt that the second clause expresses a much stronger feeling than the first? Once more, there is no mere repetition.

Even if these alleged **"doublets"** were clearly repetitions, however, would this prove diversity of authorship?

Consider Exod: xiv. 17, 18, ". . . I will get me honour upon "Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon "his horsemen. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the "LORD, when I have gotten me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his "chariots, and upon his horsemen."

This is surely a clearer instance of repetition than any of the foregoing, yet it is all attributed to P, and special attention is called (LOT. 30) to **"the *repetitions* (in the manner of P) in v. 17 f."**

So, too, on Exod: vi. 27 Dr. Driver remarks (BE, 49), **"The "diffuseness and repetitions (v. 26, 27) are in P's style: cf. "Gen: ix. 16, 17 (repetition of v. 13–15), xvii. 26, 27 (repe-"tition of v. 23), xxiii. 20 (see v. 17, 18)."**

So also Mr. Chapman on Gen: i. 27 (IP. 58), which is quoted as an instance of **"redundancy of style"** characteristic of P passages, says, **"The second clause repeats with slight variation in "form what has already been said in the first. This repeti-"tion is somewhat akin to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, "and imparts a stateliness of description to the account."**

In some parts, then, actual repetitions are a characteristic of style, and even something of an adornment: in other parts what look something like repetitions are proofs that the narrative is composite!

# XL.

## WANT OF CONNECTION.

In the case of "**doublets**" it is alleged that the compiler in combining accounts from different sources has occasionally placed a statement from one of his authorities in close proximity to an almost identical statement derived from the other. With similar want of perception, it is alleged that the combining of narratives has been so carelessly done that a passage introduced from one authority does not fit its new context. Thus in Exod: iv "**vv. "17–18, 20$^b$–21 are assigned to E on account of their imper-"fect connexion with the context.**" BE. 29.

As this passage has been already discussed (see pp: 62, 63) we pass on to other instances.

(a) Gen: xxxii, "**22–32. Jacob's wrestling with the angel at "Penuel. The narrative does not attach well to either "v. 13$^a$ or v. 21$^b$; the statement that Jacob 'lodged that "'night' at a given place being hardly followed consistently "by the statement that 'he rose up that night' and proceeded "elsewhere.**" BG. 294.

Jacob has sent messengers to Esau (v: 3) who return with the news that Esau is coming with 400 men (v: 6); Jacob is greatly afraid and distressed (v: 7), and prays for protection (9–12). He lodges there that night (13), and sends forward a present for Esau (19, 20). Then (v: 21), "So the present passed over before him: "and he himself lodged that night in the company," i.e. "**in the "*camp*.**" The meaning evidently is that, while the present and its escort crossed the stream to march through the night, Jacob remained behind in the encampment "**with his wives and "children and the main bulk of his possessions**" (BG. 204). On this follows (v: 22) "And he rose up that night . . . and "passed over Jabbok."

The critics hold that "rose up that night" is inconsistent with "lodged that night." Evidently the writer (or the compiler if it is a compilation) saw no such inconsistency, for he has placed the two phrases close together.

The inconsistency can only be made out by taking the phrase "lodged that night" to mean "spent the whole night."

Jacob has encamped for the night, but, being greatly disturbed

and alarmed at the prospect of Esau's arrival, suddenly determines to follow more closely on the present he has sent forward. He therefore breaks up his camp much earlier than usual, while it is still night, and sends it forward, himself remaining behind alone till daybreak. What inconsistency would there be in this? The placing "rose up that night" almost immediately after "lodged "that night" suggests a sudden change of plan, and vividly indicates Jacob's perturbation.

**"It is also hardly possible that the whole of v. 22, 23 can be "by the same hand: for Jacob and his family having crossed "the ford in v. 22, his family is sent across again in v. 23 "(the Heb. for *sent over* is properly *made to pass over*), "and v. 24 implies that he himself remained behind alone."** BG. 294.

Dr. Driver seems to have changed his mind about the analysis, for in 1898 he assigned vv: 13b–21 to E, 22 to J, 23 to E, and 24–32 to J (LOT. 16), but in 1903 he has marked the whole passage J, only bracketing a few words in 22, 23, the omission of which, he says, **"renders the narrative much clearer."** Presumably he considers them a later interpolation.

The passage then runs,

(22) "And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and "his two handmaids, and his eleven children, [and passed over the "ford of Jabbok. (23) And he took them,] and sent them over "the stream, and sent over that he had."

The omission of the bracketed words would certainly obviate the objection quoted above, but is there any need for it? The objection is that the text as it stands states that Jacob made his family pass over the stream *after* they and he had already crossed over. But that depends on reading v: 23 as if it must be a description of what followed after v: 22; as though "And he took them" must mean "And *then* he took them, and sent them over." The letter which in Hebrew usually stands for the conjunction "and" is not used so strictly as all that, as no one knew better than Dr. Driver. What follows it need not be the sequel of what precedes, but its fuller explanation. V: 22 states the general fact that they passed over Jabbok:—vv: 23, 24 give the order of their going in detail (see Driver, *Heb: Tenses*, p. 81. § 75, 3rd Ed.).

In both these objections the appearance of inconsistency is produced by unduly pressing the meaning of a word or two:—

1st, "he lodged that night" is taken to mean "he lodged *through-* "*out* that night":—

2nd, "and he took them" is taken to mean "and *after that* "he took them."

(b) Exod: xix is said to show marks of similar faulty combination.

**"In xix. 3a Moses 'goes up' into the mountain, but in v. 3b he is apparently below, and the natural sequel to 'went**

**" 'up' in v. 3[a] would be, not 'came' in v. 7, but 'went " 'down' in v. 14."** BE. 168.

V: 3, "And Moses went up unto God (E), and the LORD called " unto him out of the mountain " (J).

Surely it is pressing the phrase " out of [or, from] the mountain " too far to make it imply that Moses was **" apparently below."** Would it not be sufficient if, for instance, Moses were somewhere on the side of the mountain, or on one of the lower spurs, and the LORD called to him from the summit ?

In v: 3 Moses goes up " unto God," and the LORD gives him a message to the people, promising that, if they will obey, they shall be His " peculiar treasure " (**" i.e. a *special possession* "** BE. 168). In v: 7 Moses " comes " and delivers the message to the elders, and in v: 8 the people promise obedience, and Moses " re- " ports " (carries back, *yasheb*) the people's words to the LORD. In v: 9 the LORD assures Moses that He will so communicate with him that the people may hear, and believe him for ever, and Moses " tells " (*yaged*, declares) * the words of the people. In vv: 10–13 Moses is given another message bidding them prepare for the third day after. Then (v: 14) " Moses went down from the mount unto " the people."

The alleged inconsistency is that " came " in v: 7 is not the correlative of " went up " in v: 3. It might be argued that this is an over-punctilious insisting on precise accuracy of language, but is it not possible that the use of this word indicates a real distinction ? that in v: 7 Moses did not descend to the people, but " came " (or went) to a place from which he could " call *to* " the elders ? The Hebrew would allow of this, and then the sense would be perfectly clear. Moses ascends the hillside, and, while he is on his way, the LORD calls to him from the heights : he goes to a point overlooking the plain, calls down to the elders, and takes back their reply to the point where he received the first message. Then when he has received the second message bidding the people prepare, he descends to the plain, and sanctifies the people (v: 14).

**" V. 13[b] is isolated, and not explained by anything that " follows."** BE. 168.

In vv: 12, 13[a] strict injunctions are given that no man or beast is even to touch the mount on pain of death. This however is limited by 13[b], " When the trumpet (**' the ram's horn . . . " ' not the word rendered " trumpet " in v. 16, 19, xx. 18,'** " BE. 172) soundeth long they shall come up to the mount " (**" *they* " (emph.) *may* come up *into* the mount."** BE. 172).

The prohibition of 12, 13[a] is, then, not to be permanent ; it is only to last until a signal is given by a long blast on the ram's

* The difference in meaning between the verbs of 8[b] and 9[b] does away with any need for considering the latter clause **" a misplaced variant of " 8[b] "** (BE. 172). " Reported " is not here an equivalent for " told."

horn: then it will cease to be in force. Where is the isolation here? The limitation of $13^b$ is a necessary part of the previous injunction. That the giving of the signal on the ram's horn is not afterwards recorded is no possible proof that this limiting of the prohibition was not actually given.

**"Vv. 20–25 interrupt the connexion between v. 19 and "xx. 1; the preparations for the theophany are complete, " and it has indeed already begun (vv. 14–19), when Moses "is called to the top of the mountain, and fresh directions "are given for the behaviour of the people;"** BE. 168.

Apparently the objection is that when the Theophany had once begun, fresh instructions as to the behaviour of the people would be out of place, and as these verses **"interrupt the connexion"** between v: 19 ("God answered him by a voice") and xx. 1 ("and "God spake all these words"), the whole passage must be from another source.

Now the passage is marked J, and in J (v: 18) the Theophany has already begun, and therefore whatever interruption to the Theophany these **"fresh directions"** may be, already existed in J, and is not a question of combined narratives.

Further, the objection assumes that nothing intervened between God answering Moses with a voice (xix. 19), and God speaking "all these words" (xx. 1), but what is there to justify this assumption? The narrative asserts that after "the LORD came down "upon mount Sinai" (xix. 20), He called up Moses, and bade him go down to the people, and again warn them against breaking through;—that Moses pleaded that this was not possible as bounds had already been set;—none the less he is bidden to go down and deliver the reiterated warning. The critics seem to consider such an interruption to the Theophany incredible, but why? How can we say that God would not have prefaced the utterance of the Decalogue with a renewed and more emphatic injunction not to trespass? Can we even pronounce it unlikely?

Dr. Driver finds another inconsistency in that in these verses the warning is **"to check the too eager curiosity of the people"** (BE. 174), who are represented as **"not timid, but inquisitive"** (BE. 168), whereas in v: 16 (E) **"the people, so far from evincing "any desire to trespass upon the mountain, are in alarm, "and 'tremble.'"** BE. 174.

Are the two conditions incompatible? How do crowds usually behave in the presence of some strange and startling visitation? At first fear will predominate, especially if the sights and sounds are violently disturbing. But gradually, as the novelty wears off, and no actual harm is experienced, and no new danger is threatened, fear will give place to a desire to examine the phenomena more closely. To begin with, a few of the bolder spirits will advance, but they will be followed by others, and soon the whole crowd will

be pressing eagerly forward. It was a real knowledge of human nature which foresaw that the multitude, at present alarmed and trembling, would need serious warning against the danger of a "**too eager curiosity**" later on. It is noteworthy that the narrative does not attribute this foresight to Moses. He is represented as thinking the bounds already set a sufficient precaution: it is the LORD who requires him to charge the people, "lest they "break through unto the LORD to gaze."

"**in vv. 22, 24 directions are given relating to the priests "and Aaron, which if the chapter had been a unity, would "have been expected earlier;**" BE. 168.

If anything, this would be an argument against the unity of the J account, for it is this account which places the directions to the priests after the descent on Sinai, whereas the directions to the people were given two days before (vv: 12, 13).

What, however, is the real force of this bit of evidence? No doubt, if the writer had been constructing an "**ideal**" history, we should "**expect**" to find the instructions to the priests among the earlier directions for preparation. But if he was recording an actual occurrence, he would place the instructions where they were given, regardless of probabilities. The very fact that the order here is not what "**would have been expected**" is rather an indication that the writer is honestly recording what happened, and not inventing.

"**v. 25 'and *said unto* them' (not 'and *told* them') should "be followed by a statement of the words said, and is quite "unconnected with xx. 1;**" BE. 168. "**The paraphrase "'told' is illegitimate. The word always means to 'say'; "and is followed regularly by the words said. The narra- "tive is here broken off in the middle. What originally "followed must have been the substance of the commands "given in vv. 21–24.**" BE. 175.

If "**what originally followed**" was the substance of the foregoing commands, what induced the combiner to break off his extract from the J document at an incomplete phrase? Is that more likely than that a writer should for once have used a verb in anomalous fashion? At most, this would only leave what he said unto them to be inferred from what has gone before.

That this is "**quite unconnected**" with the verse that follows would then simply mean that the narrator, having ended his account of the episode in xix. 20–25, passes on to the next event.

"**on the other hand xx. 1 is the natural continuation of "xix. 19.**" BE. 168.

In other words, if verses 20–25 were omitted, xix. 19 would run smoothly on into xx. 1. Is every parenthetic statement necessarily an interpolation? If so, then a good many modern narratives must have been "combined."

(c) A similar charge of "**imperfect connexion**" is made with regard to Exod: xxxii–xxxiv. There are several counts in the indictment, but at present it may be enough to consider the first and most important.

"**As Di. points out, 'The want of connexion both back-**
"**'wards and forwards is most remarkable in xxxiii. 7–11:**
"**'why the Tent of Meeting is here suddenly introduced,**
"**'is not explained, and can only be conjectured, and v. 12**
"**'goes on as if vv. 7–11 or vv. 4–11 were not there at all.'**"
BE. 346.

"**The sudden introduction of this notice of the Tent of**
"**Meeting is extremely surprising; and it is difficult to**
"**explain it except by the conjecture mentioned on v. 6,**"
which is that the ornaments stripped off by the Israelites "**were**
"**to be used in the construction or decoration of the Tent**
"**of Meeting.**" BE. 358, 359.

As Dr. Driver marks vv: 5, 6 as (mainly) belonging to E, his view seems to be something like this :—

In v: 4 the J narrative has a mention of the people refraining from ornaments. To this the combiner of J and E tacked on a notice of the people stripping off their ornaments, from E. Originally this was followed by an account of the Tent of Meeting, (in the construction or decoration of which the ornaments were to be used), but the compiler $R^P$ has omitted this because he "**pre-**
"**ferred that of P (chs. xxv–xxvii)**"—BE. 358. Omitting the account of the Tent, he left untouched the sequel to it (vv: 7–11, describing the use of the Tent) without anything to explain its connection with the ornaments of v: 6. At the end of the E extract, the combiner of J with E returned to the J narrative, and continued it from the point at which he left it, as though nothing had been introduced.

Thus the "**want of connexion both backwards and for-**
"**wards**" was produced by the independent action of two different men, (a) the combiner of J and E, who introduced the E extract, and never thought of connecting v: 11 with v: 12; and (b) the compiler who combined JE with P, who cut out the E account of the Tent of Meeting, (an account whose very existence is only a matter of conjecture), and never noticed that this left an "**ex-**
"**tremely surprising**" gap between v: 6 and v: 7.

Truly these methods of combination seem to have been very much of the "scissors and paste" order.

Is the text capable of no better explanation than this complicated "combining" by men of little perception?

C: xxxii is the narrative of the people's apostasy in making the Golden Calf, ending with the mention of a Divine punishment inflicted because of that sin. C: xxxiii begins with the LORD commanding Moses to depart and proceed on the journey to Canaan,

but refusing to go up among them Himself, that refusal being due to the people's forsaking His service. This is communicated to the people who mourned when they "heard these evil tidings" (v: 4). Again (for we have already had occasion to notice that vv: 5, 6 are no mere "**doublet**" of 3, 4; see p: 367) the LORD condemns the people's perversity, but permits a test of their sincerity by bidding them abandon their ornaments (v: 5). This too is communicated to the people, and they obey (v: 6).

So far, we have more than one communication from the LORD to Moses, which he in turn conveys to the people.

From v: 12 to the end of the chapter, Moses is in intimate colloquy with the LORD, interceding for the people. How was this possible? The notice of the Tent of Meeting, where "the LORD spake unto "Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend," supplies exactly the explanation needed. The means of ready and frequent communication are supplied without any necessity for Moses to "go up unto the LORD" (xxxii. 30). There is a real connection of thought "**both backwards and forwards,**" but a kind of connection most unlikely to be obtained by piecing together fragments from separate documents.

(d) In Num: xi. 4–34 three subjects are dealt with:—(i) The Manna and Quails;—(ii) the burden of the people too heavy for Moses;—(iii) the Spirit of ecstasy upon the elders.

"**It will be seen,**" says Dr. McNeile (BN. 57), "**that the "narratives** (ii) **and** (iii) **have no real connexion with** (i)," and he therefore divides the passage thus:—

"**(i) vv. 4–10; 13; 18–24[a] (to 'the words of the Lord');**
"**31–34.** J
"**(ii) vv. 11, 12, 14, 15;** J
"**(iii) vv. 16, 17[a], 24[b]–30.**" E

To make this out he has to conjecture that "**in the process of "compilation two sentences have been lost,**" (viz: "And "Moses said unto Jehovah," from the beginning of v: 13; and "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Say thou," from the beginning of v: 18); and also that 17[b],—"and they shall bear the burden of "the people with thee, that thou bear it not thyself alone," (which directly connects iii with ii),—is "**probably not part of the "original narrative. It seems to have been added by a later "writer who thought that the inspiration of the elders was "the answer to Moses' complaint of the burden of the people.**" BN. 62.

Here again, then, a certain amount of guess-work is needed to make the text agree with the critical theory.

Further, it will be noticed that J must first have mixed up two unconnected narratives (i and ii), and that afterwards the combiner of J and E must have introduced yet a third. Why should

this have been done unless it was believed that the narratives were really connected ?

The question then arises, Is there **" no real connexion "** ?

The main subject of (i) is not **" The Manna and Quails,"** but the persistent complaining (weeping, vv: 4, 10, 13, 18) of the people. Why may not this account for the burden being too heavy for Moses to bear ? Why should not the burden being too heavy for Moses account for the giving of the spirit that was upon him to the 70 elders ?

To the former of these two questions Dr. McNeile gives no answer : indeed, he disregards the murmuring, and only discusses the manna and the quails. To the latter question there is a twofold reply (BN. 58).

**" (1) the spirit is not represented as being a spirit of " wisdom and understanding, but merely of ecstasy or " frenzy, which enabled them to ' prophesy ' as in the case " of Saul and his messengers at a later time (1 S. xix. 20 f, " 23 f)."**

The sole ground for this assertion is v: 25, " when the spirit " rested upon them, they prophesied." There is no word of ecstasy or frenzy in the whole chapter. Even if the prophesying of Saul and his messengers was of the nature of ecstasy or frenzy, that does not determine the nature of the manifestation on this occasion, unless we assume that *all* prophesying was ecstatic or frenzied.

Besides, how are we to understand the passages, " I will take " of the spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them " (v: 17[a]), and " the LORD . . . took of the spirit that was upon him, and " put it upon the seventy elders " ? Was the spirit upon Moses a spirit of " ecstasy or frenzy " ? Was it in no degree a **" spirit " of wisdom and understanding "** ? The fact that the spirit imparted to the elders was " of the spirit that was upon " Moses surely points to the conclusion that it was to enable them to share his work.

**" Moses' answer to Joshua (v. 29) as well as the express " statement that the inspiration was purely temporary " (v. 25) quite preclude the idea that the elders were to help " him in bearing the burden of the people."**

Moses' answer to Joshua (v: 29) is, " Art thou jealous for my " sake ? would God that all the LORD'S people were prophets, that " the LORD would put his spirit upon them ! " Does that look as if Moses considered the spirit to be one **" merely of ecstasy or " frenzy "** ? and that **" purely temporary "** ? Is it not rather manifest that he wished for the people a **" spirit of wisdom and " understanding "** ? If that were granted, there would no longer be any burden for him to bear.

The **" express statement "** of v: 25 is " when the spirit rested " upon them, they prophesied, but they did so no more." The mean-

ing of the last clause is obscure, the two Hebrew words signifying "and they added not." In any case it must refer to some cessation of action on the part of the 70 and not of the spirit. It is at least possible that the meaning is, When the spirit first rested upon them, they began to prophesy, but they did not continue to do so; i.e. that the prophesying was temporary, not the gift of the spirit. If the taking of the spirit that was upon Moses, and putting it upon the elders was nothing more than imparting to them a **"purely "temporary"** access of a spirit of **"ecstasy or frenzy,"** and that for no particular object, the whole incident becomes utterly meaningless. Looked at as an imparting to them of the spirit that was upon him, to enable them to share his burden, it is full of beauty and significance.

**"(2) Moses' complaint of the burden is closely similar "in thought and language to Ex. xxxiii. 12–xxxiv. 9. . . . "It is far from improbable that (ii) has been displaced "from Exodus. xxxiii. Because the people had sinned, "Jehovah said that He would not go to Canaan with them: "Moses therefore would have to bear the burden alone; "and he was overwhelmed with the thought."** BN. 58.

Here the argument is that (iii), the imparting the spirit to the elders, can have nothing to do with (ii), the burden too heavy for Moses, because it is **"far from improbable"** that (ii) belongs to quite a different part of the history.

That (ii) does belong to that other period is no better than a guess, founded on an alleged similarity of thought and language. Even if the similarity were much closer than it is, that would be no proof that Num: xi. 11, 12, 14, 15 really belong to Exod: xxxiii. 12–xxxiv. 9. It would simply mean that at somewhat similar crises Moses thought and expressed himself in much the same way. Actually, however, it may be doubted whether there is any close similarity. There is a ring of something like passionate despair about the appeal in Numbers which is wholly absent from the intercessions in Exodus.

It is doubtful whether any of the cases of alleged **"want of "connexion"** that have been discussed can be rightly so called. But there is a further consideration. An apparent lack of connection may be really due to our failing to appreciate the peculiar turn of thought of the author. It is, for instance, a well known peculiarity of St. Paul to dash off, as it were at a tangent, from a word, and introduce a parenthetic clause or even chapter (see Eph: iii), afterwards returning to his main subject. Why may not such passages as Exod: vi. 13–30 (ascribed to $R^P$) and Exod: xxxiii. 7–11 be similar instances of parenthetic digression? The Western logical, matter-of-fact mind may easily at times miss the subtler links of connection quite patent to Oriental thought.

## XLI.

## THE ARGUMENT FROM STYLE UNRELIABLE.

EVEN if the analysis were made with the strictest impartiality, the method would still be open to grave doubt.

For the strongest evidence for the critical analysis is to be found in the difference of style alleged between the passages assigned to P and those assigned to JE ;—the one "**stereotyped, precise, "formal"**; the other "**free, flowing, and picturesque.**" That this is not sufficient to prove diversity of authorship may be inferred from the results obtained by trying the same test on other works.

Take, for instance, one of Shakespeare's plays, say *The Merchant of Venice*. Here we find passages of the loftiest poetry, distinguished by deep pathos or delicate fancy. Intermingled with these are whole scenes, baldly prosaic, devoid of rhythm, vulgar in diction, and chiefly remarkable for a broad and even coarse humour. This divergence is surely more marked than the extremest difference between P and JE. If the critical test were valid, we should have to conclude that the play was formed by the combination of the writings of two authors ;—the one, a poet of the highest genius ; the other, little better than a low buffoon. Have even the supporters of the Baconian theory gone so far as this ?

Or take the writings of Sir Walter Scott. Without insisting on the wide difference between books of different scope,—such as *The Talisman* and *The Legend of Montrose*—we find great variety in a single work. In *Waverley*, *Guy Mannering*, or *The Antiquary*, there are passages of great romantic beauty or dramatic power, interwoven with descriptions whose long-winded details are prosaic almost to tediousness, and with other passages in the broadest of dialects whose humour is none too refined. Nor do these last occur only where Scottish dialect is employed, for there are similar passages in *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, and *Woodstock*. Yet it would be indeed a hardy critic who would venture to contend that the Waverley novels are due to the collaboration of three authors.

One more instance will suffice to indicate the unreliability of

the critical method, and this shall be furnished by a work whose unity of authorship will not be disputed.

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**The Composite Nature of LOT,**
an Essay in Higher Criticism, by A. Hoffmeister, Ph: D,
Professor of Englische in the University of Naauwodorp.
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All who are interested in the fascinating study of the ancient civilization of the once famous territory of Llondone, the chief principality of the "Heptarchy," or congeries of states ("counties") known as Brighton, or Briton, are familiar with the interesting discoveries made by Prof. Felsmann, the well known Englolgist. It will be remembered that in exploring the vast ruins of the "Brightish Museum," or rather that part of it known as the "Boodleian," * the learned Professor was fortunate enough to discover some few fragments of books which, in spite of the perishable nature of the material ("piper") on which they were printed, had survived their sepulture of many ages.

Among these interesting relics of a bygone age were a few leaves of a volume entitled *The Book of Genesis*, and on one of them (marked "v,") was found a reference in a footnote, "See LOT "105 (112)," and at first it was naturally concluded that this was connected with the mention of "Lot" at the top of the page, though certainly the connection seemed imperfect. Further search among the fragments resulted in the discovery of another page, partly mutilated, marked xix, containing this allusion, "*LOT*. S. R. Driver, Introduction to the Liter——" (the page is here torn).

Quite recently our indefatigable archæologist has recovered a considerable portion (nearly 160 pages) of a volume entitled

"An Introduction
"to the
"Literature of the Old Testament,
"by S. R. Driver, DD.,"

and there can be no doubt that this must be the work referred to in the *Genesis* fragments above quoted.

The question however arises why this work should be referred to as "LOT."

* Some good authorities maintain that the "Boodleian" was distinct from the Brightish Museum, and situated in a different "county" called "Oxford." But we have distinct evidence that the "Boodleian" was a great library, and its position marked by a dome or cupola. Since then the building disinterred by Prof. Felsmann was undoubtedly covered by a dome, and contained a large collection of books, and moreover a mural tablet bearing the inscription OXFORD ST. was found *in the immediate vicinity of that building*, the identification may be pronounced incontrovertible.

A few scholars have maintained that these are simply the initials of "**L**iterature-**O**ld-**T**estament," but we must be careful not to be led away by what possibly may be only a fortuitous coincidence. A little consideration will, I venture to think, serve to show that this conclusion is a somewhat hasty generalization, based on an imperfect estimate of the data. It is scarcely necessary to point out that this hypothesis neglects the important words "An Intro-" duction to the"; and, moreover, if the initials of the latter part of the title were intended, they must have stood "LOTOT."

More reasonably, others have connected these letters with the obsolete word *lot*, signifying quantity or number, (as in the phrase, derived from the "Slang" dialect of Englische, "a lot of people"), and hence have suspected that the work in question was a collaboration by several authors.

My learned colleague, Dr. Schongeist, has made an acute suggestion that the name "Driver" itself conveys a similar intimation. He has thoughtfully observed that in the body of the work several names of Teutonic origin are mentioned, such as König, Wellhausen, Delitzsch; and that a Teutonic phrase, "*Das Heiligkeitsgesetz*," actually occurs on p: 48. He therefore argues that the name "Driver" is also Teutonic, and that probably its original form was "Drei-vier" which in the archaic "Deutsche" language would signify "three-four," thus indicating at least three, and possibly as many as seven, authors.

Without entirely accepting or endorsing these conjectures, reasonable as they are, the writer has made a careful, though necessarily somewhat hasty, examination of this "Introduction," and has come to the conclusion that its composite nature can be readily established by an overwhelming weight of internal evidence.

The most cursory glance at the pages of this curious document reveals a highly significant phenomenon, viz: that characters of different sizes have been employed. In some places, long passages (e.g. pp. 86–95) are in comparatively bold type; in others (e.g. pp. 14–17) a much smaller type is used; and in others again the two kinds of characters alternate. This raises a presumption that here we have excerpts from different authors, combined by a third hand, who distinguished the different sources by the use of different types. The symbol "LOT" may then be an anagrammatic indication of this prcoess; L standing for Large (type), O for Ordinary, and T for the Typographer who combined the two sources into a composite work.*

The first point to be observed is that the large type sections, (which for the future we may conveniently designate L), if read by themselves, form a tolerably complete and connected examination, in seven sections, of a work entitled *The Hexateuch*. The small

* In this connection, it is interesting to note that those whom we now call "typographers" were in ancient times denominated "compositors."

type sections (O) form an almost equally complete analysis of the same work. They are thus *parallel* to one another; they go over the same ground, and there are *repetitions*. For instance, on pp: 73–75 O has an elaborate synopsis showing the relation of "Deuteronomy" to "JE" on the one hand, and "P (including "H)" on the other: on pp: 82–84 L deals with many of the same passages. A comparison of these two sections will show that, while the subject is the same, the methods of dealing with it and the styles differ widely. L is, for the most part, broad and general in his statements: O enters into minute detail. O consistently sets out his material in tabular form: L never does this, though in some instances (e.g. p: 23) he sets out much the same assertions as O, but in narrative and consecutive form. L delights in long, ornate, and even rhetorical periods: O is usually curt, dry, so condensed as to be obscure without reference to the text he is examining, and, as a rule, his sentences are much shorter. O frequently, especially in the "Literature" sections, refers to a number of other writers on the subject: L seldom does this, preferring to state his own conclusions.

L's vocabulary abounds in polysyllables;—e.g. *homogeneous* (pp: 5, 10, 12, 26); *theocracy* (pp: 6, 31, 77, 128, 129 *bis*), and *theocratic* (12, 39, 92 *bis*, 98 *bis*, 137; once in O, 141), and *theophany* (32, 85; once in O, 16); *phraseological* (13 *bis*, 102 *bis*, 147; once in O, 18); *ethical* (52, 77, 78, 118, 120), and *theological* (88 *bis*, 97); *ethical and theological reflexion* (118, 120); *ethical and religious* (77, 78); *circumstantiality* (94, 127, 130); *anthropomorphic* (120, 128, 129, 140); *anthropomorphisms* (121, 140, 141; once in O, 123); *anthropopathic* (129); *approximately* (87, 103, 117, 136); *reformulates* (91 *bis*, 92) and *formulates* (120, 142). There are also several unusual words occurring only once;—*historiographer* (5); *ethnographical* (7); *topographical* (104); *concomitant* (10); *redactional adjustments* (20; O has *redactional additions*, 30); *juxtaposition* (116), and *archæological* (152). None of these characteristic expressions are found in O, except as noted above.

O has a few words peculiar to himself; e.g. *ancillary* (44); *pentads* (52); and *epexegetical* (107).

L also uses Latin phrases;—*origines* (10, 103); *ex hypothesi* (83); *terminus ad quem* (123); *terminus a quo* (123); *prima facie* (135); *a priori* (135); *status quo* (140); *verbatim* (76); *passim* (93).

O has only *verbatim* and *passim* in one passage (66; see below).

O frequently gives words in the Hebrew character: L does so occasionally, but not nearly so often. On the other hand, L gives some Hebrew words in Roman characters;—*Mazzoth* (28 *bis*, 29, 54 *ter*, 55 *note*, *bis*); *Toroth* (31, 151 *bis*); *Torah* (103, 153 *note*); *Mazzebah* (89 *bis*): O has only *Mazzoth* once (68).

Then there is the question of footnotes, which abound. As they

are in smaller type, it would be natural to assign them all to O, and certainly many, perhaps the majority, of them are in O's curt, decisive style. There are some, however, which resemble L's style in diffusiveness, and contain some of L's characteristic expressions. Thus the footnote on p: 19 has *historiographical* (allied to *historiographer* of L) and *phraseological criteria*, which occurs elsewhere only in L (13). Again, the note on p: 55 has the transliterated *Mazzoth* ; and 153 note has *Torah*, elsewhere only found in L. Again, on p: 149 the note contains *theocratic* and *parenetic* (to be discussed presently). These phenomena suggest the probability that the original works of L and O contained footnotes explanatory of the text, and that, in combining the sources, T has excerpted notes, sometimes from one, sometimes from the other, without distinction of type.

Akin to these is the long addendum in smaller type, pp: 157–159. Its style is remarkably consonant with the characteristics of L, and it contains the notable words *homogeneous*, *phraseological*, *theological*, the Latin phrase *ignoratio elenchi*, as well as *hypotheses* (related to *ex hypothesi* of L). This may therefore be one of L's footnotes printed in footnote type, but perhaps more probably a passage from L which the combiner has himself worked over, and for that reason has not printed in the distinctive L type.

The word *parenetic* now claims our attention. It occurs in L no less than 13 times (pp: 35, 36, 47, 48 *ter*, 49, 71, 91, 99, 102, 149, 151), besides once in the L footnote on 149. It occurs, however, also 8 times in passages of O type (40, 51 *bis*, 52 *bis*, 53 *bis*, and 123), but it will be noticed that of these no less than *six* occur on the three pages 51–53, four times in one passage of ten lines (51, 52), and twice in another. As these also resemble L in general style, there can be little doubt that T has here erroneously printed a couple of L passages in O type. Possibly this may have occurred elsewhere as in the short passage on p: 66 which contains the words *passim* and *verbatim*, whereas Latin is conspicuous by its absence from all other O passages. If this view be correct, then *parenetic* occurs 20 times in L, and only twice in O, and may therefore be safely added to the words characteristic of L.

A further examination of the broad characteristics of the documents we have now disentangled leads on to an interesting and important conclusion as to the *relation* between them. The abrupt, concise nature of the diction of O has already been noted, but many of the passages read more like extracts from a notebook or commonplace book ; mere lists of references to chapter and verse, a mass of bare statistics. L, on the other hand, philosophizes, draws conclusions from these elementary statements of fact, describes and contrasts the characteristics of authors, compares codes of legislation. Clearly therefore L is *dependent* on O, and therefore O was *written earlier*.

It may be a confirmation of this conclusion that O in several places alludes to a writer called "Bacon," and in one passage (p: 27) seems to imply that he was a contemporary. Now we know that among the very early Englische writers there was one who bore this name, remarkable for a terse and condensed style, and a distinguished scientist (having invented the crude form of explosive called "gunpowder"), who was therefore accustomed to research and scientific clearness of statement. O's simple unornate style, and his bald matter-of-fact lists of statistics would accord well with the age of such a writer; while the more elaborate constructions, the flowing and eloquent phraseology, and philosophical inductions of L would point to a much later development of literary activity.

Owing to the comparatively recent discovery of this most interesting relic of the past, it has not been possible to make a thoroughly exhaustive analysis of its contents, but the facts advanced above are beyond dispute, and no doubt a fuller investigation would bring further confirmatory evidence to light. For the present, it seems to be established beyond possibility of question that the portions of this ancient document which are distinguished by difference of type, differ also essentially in *character of style*, in *method of treatment*, in *vocabulary*, and in *aim*. It can hardly, therefore, be reasonably doubted that in LOT we have a composite document, in which O did the pioneer work of amassing the materials, L clothed the dry bones of mere statistics with the living flesh of literary form and philosophical thought, and the two were happily combined by the industry and discernment of T.

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Although the above is written in something of an ironical strain, it must not be supposed that it is intended to hold up critical writings to ridicule. A serious purpose underlies the (as the writer trusts) harmless satire, and that is to show that critical methods applied in critical fashion to a modern work may produce results precisely similar to those obtained in the analysis of the Pentateuch. A method which leads to false conclusions in dealing with a work whose authorship is known, cannot be relied on in dealing with works whose origin lies so far away in the past.

## XLII.

# THE CRITICAL SPIRIT AND TEMPER.

**"The word 'critic' means *able to distinguish*, and 'criti-**
**"'cism' means the *power* or *art of distinguishing*."** Prof. Driver, HC, p: vi.

The definition is not altogether satisfactory, for words must be estimated not so much by their etymological derivation as by the force they have acquired in actual use. **"Thus 'knave' meant "once no more than lad (nor does 'knabe' now in German "mean more)"**—Trench, *On the Study of Words*. Yet nowadays it would not do to call some one a knave, and then, as a defence in an action for slander, to explain that "knave" originally meant "lad."

Now when we speak of a literary critic, or an art critic, we are understood to be speaking of one who, either to his own circle of friends or to the general public, pronounces with some authority on the merits or demerits of books or pictures. It does not follow that such an one is really **"able to distinguish,"** for there have been incompetent critics both in literature and art, who yet have been listened to because for the time they have been held in repute. On the other hand, a man may be fully **"able to distinguish,"** but if he does not use that ability, he is not entitled to be called a critic in any sense, or if, using that ability, he kept his conclusions to himself, he is not a "critic" in the ordinary sense. To some extent, we are all of us **"able to distinguish"**: we are not therefore all of us "critics." It is not uncommon to hear people say, "I do not pretend to know much about painting or music, but "I do know what I like; and I do like this, and I do not like that." Such folk certainly distinguish: it would be misleading to call them critics. In ordinary usage, then, a critic is one who (rightly or wrongly) claims, in virtue of some special knowledge, to be able to distinguish good from bad, truth from untruth, and to pronounce a more or less authoritative decision. His function approaches that of a κριτής, a judge.

Modifying the above definition, however, we may say that a *good* critic is one who, being really **"able to distinguish"** rightly, uses that ability for the guidance of others less skilled. He will

need to have special qualifications for his task, such as a real knowledge of the subject, acuteness to detect differences, and (it may be added) a certain amount of sympathy with the kind of work to be judged. For instance, a Western musician will find much of the music of the far East utterly meaningless and harsh, where an Eastern audience would acknowledge varying degrees of excellence; and they in turn would wholly fail to appreciate the grandest of operas or oratorios. Yet even with these qualifications, the critic's decisions will not always be unimpeachable, for there are some influences which tend at times to distort the judgment of even the most capable of critics. One of the commonest of these is the tendency of criticism to degenerate into hyper-criticism, a tendency which is rather fostered by a frequent use of the critical faculty. There are critics who seem to think that their chief office is to censure, and, rather than fail in so doing, will discover blemishes on the slightest pretext. A "critical spirit" is too often synonymous with a desire to find fault.

What then of the Biblical critics? Their qualifications for the work may be freely admitted. Their knowledge and erudition is often profound, their acuteness indisputable, their industry and honesty of purpose beyond question. Are, then, their conclusions to be implicitly accepted? or are there indications of influences at work which should make us hesitate to accept unquestioningly the pronouncements of even judges so well qualified as these?

Take first this very matter of a tendency towards hyper-criticism.

(1) It has already been shown (p: 350) on what a slender basis of evidence some of the most important critical conclusions really rest, but there is something more than this. In a good many instances there seems to be a distinct inclination to treat as serious discrepancies matters which in an ordinary narrative would pass unnoticed, or at most considered of slight importance. In the history of Joseph, for instance, what real ground is there for considering that the account given by the brethren to Joseph's steward of the finding the money in the sacks (Gen: xliii. 21) is a divergent account of what is stated in xlii. 35? Or that the evidently condensed account of Joseph's interview with his brethren in Gen: xlii. 9–13 precludes the possibility of his having asked the questions mentioned in xliii. 7? Why should Moses' saying "I made an "ark" (Deut: x. 3) be looked upon as inconsistent with the account in Exodus according to which Bezaleel made it under Moses' direction? Is it really sound to lay down authoritatively that the rod in Exod: iv. 18 cannot be the one mentioned a few verses earlier, merely because v: 18 mentions the "signs," while of the three signs given in vv: 2–9 only one is actually performed with the rod? There is a similar straining of the precise letter of what is written when it is insisted that "at that time" in Deut: ii, iii must mean more than 6 months ago; and that "Come out" in Num: xii.

4 must mean "Come outside the camp," when it need not mean more than "come forth from your tents."

One more instance must suffice. In the "Ordeal of Jealousy," Num: v. 24 directs the priest to "make the woman drink the "water of bitterness": vv: 25, 26 direct him to take the meal offering, present it before the altar, and burn a handful, and "afterward shall make the woman drink the water." On this Dr. McNeile comments (BN. 30), **"strictly interpreted this "is a second draught which the woman is made to take. "But a second draught is very improbable,"** and on this founds a charge of **"accidental disarrangement of the text."**

Why should there be anything of the sort? V: 24 directs that the woman is to be made to drink of the water, but does not say when; v: 26 prescribes the exact point in the cenemony at which the draught is to be administered. There is not the slightest need to conjure up an imaginary **"second draught."**

If modern works were interpreted as **"strictly"** as this, it would be possible to make out a good many flaws in them.

It would be easy to multiply instances of what can only be called something of a carping spirit in dealing with the evidence, but we must pass on to another point.

(2) Another important qualification of sound criticism is that it should be strictly accurate as to matters of fact.

Dr. Driver has a reputation for minute accuracy, yet even he is not quite blameless. It is not accurate to say that in Gen: xxvii. 46–xxviii. 9 Rebekah is represented as influenced **"by a different "motive from that mentioned in xxvii. 42–45"** (BG. iv): it is not accurate to say **"in P (vii. 13) and J (vi. 1)"** of Exodus **"the same point has thus been reached"** (BE. 53; see above, p: 67): it is not accurate to say that in Ezek: xliv. 6–8, **"the "Israelites are rebuked for having admitted foreigners, un-"circumcised aliens, into the inner Court of the Temple "to assist the priest when officiating at the altar"** (LOT. 139; see above, p: 210).

Mr. Chapman asserts (IP. 44) that in Lev: xviii. 25 **"the verbs "are taken as prophetic perfects"** (i.e. as future) in the English versions: both AV and RV have present tenses. He also asserts (IP. 194) that **"Frequent mention is made of the ark from "the time of its capture by the Philistines to the time when "it was brought by David to Mount Zion"**: the Ark is not once mentioned from 1 Sam: vii. 2 (when it was deposited at Kirjath-jearim soon after its capture) to 2 Sam: vi. 2 (when David brought it away). He also asserts (IP. 143) that **"According to the "traditional view, Deuteronomy is a *repetition* of laws "already promulgated at Sinai and elsewhere"**: this is not a correct statement of the traditional view (see above, p: 318).

The three assertions, (1) that **"the words 'and Moses gat**

**" him into the camp '** [Num: xi. 30] **imply that he returned " after having gone out to the Tent,"** IP. 85 ; (2) that Deut: xix. 14 implies **" A long occupation of the land,"** IP. 140 ; and (3) that Elkanah presented himself **" *once* a year before the Lord " in Shiloh, "** IP. 151, are none of them warranted by the Hebrew. Mr. Chapman seems to have trusted too much to the English rendering.

In the narrative of Isaac in Gerar, Rebekah is not taken by the second Abimelech (Gen: xxvi. 8–11), nor is it accurate to allege that in this account Beersheba received its name from the oath sworn by Isaac, for it is called Beersheba in v: 25 before the swearing of the oath. Yet Prof. Sayce (EHH p: 64) urges that it does not seem very possible **" that each of them** [the two Abimelechs] **" should have taken the wife of the patriarch, believing her " to be his sister ; or that Beersheba should twice have " received the same name from the oaths sworn over it."** Two (out of three) of the Professor's arguments are founded on inaccuracies. That is bad enough, but what are we to say of Dr. Driver and Mr. Chapman who both emphatically quote this passage with evident approval (BG. 254, IP. 100) without ever noticing the mis-statements ? They appear to have adopted an argument which seemed forcible without attempting to verify its accuracy.

In much the same sort of way, Dr. Driver gives the number of times that the personal pronoun *Ani* occurs in P as **" nearly " 130 times "** as compared with its occurrence **" in Ez. 138 " times,"** and in a footnote refers to **" the instructive com- " parative table of the usage of E, J, D, P, H, in Strack's " *Einleitung* "** (LOT. 135), where these very figures are found. Yet the true figures are (about) 120 times in P, and 168 in Ezekiel.

Dr. Swete in his *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p: 236, dealing with Exod: xxxv–xl, says, **" That the translation " of these chapters was not made by the same hand as " the rest of Ex. has been gathered from the fact that the " Heb. technical terms which are common to xxv-xxx and " xxxv–xl are in certain cases differently rendered in the " two contexts."** Dr. Driver (BE. 378) says, **" the renderings " of many of the technical terms of the Hebrew differ from " those in chs. xxv–xxxi (see examples in McNeile, p. 226),"** and draws the same inference about the difference of the translators. Dr. McNeile, in the passage referred to, makes a similar assertion, and gives a list of 17 examples of these different renderings.

The learned writers can hardly have examined the matter for themselves, for while it is true that the renderings differ in the two contexts, it is also true that the renderings of these technical terms frequently vary *in the same context,* so that the variations from one set of chapters to the other prove nothing at all. As an instance, take one of Dr. McNeile's examples :—c: xxv. 17 has

ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα for the Mercy Seat: xxxviii. 5 has ἱλαστήριον alone. True, but each of the five verses which immediately follow xxv. 17 has also ἱλαστήριον alone, and ἐπίθεμα in this connection is found nowhere else. Or again, xxxi. 4 has ἐργαζέσθαι where xxxv. 32 has ποιεῖν. Yes, but xxxi. 6 translates the same verb by ποιήσουσι; and xxxv. 10 has ἐργαζέσθω. In this case the mere statement of fact,—that the renderings vary in the two sets of chapters,—is accurate, but the inference drawn is hopelessly at variance with the evidence as a whole. Yet here are three authorities of great repute repeating it one after the other.

(3) Arguments ought always to be fairly and consistently applied, no matter in what direction they tell.

This is not always the case with the critical arguments.

(a) Anthropomorphisms are said to distinguish J from P, yet pronounced anthropomorphisms found in P are explained away, are barely mentioned (see above, p: 37).

(b) Duplicate narratives are confidently put forward as a sure indication of a variety of authors, yet Gen: xii. 10–20 and xxvi. 1–11 are both ascribed to J.

(c) Gen: xxviii. 22 gives a "**second explanation of the name "'Bethel,' different from that in v. 17**" (BG. 267), yet both verses are assigned to E though the differing explanation of names is frequently put forward as a sign of composite narrative.

(d) We are assured that it is only J who represents the Israelites "**as living apart in Goshen**" (BE. 56), yet when it is a question of the number of the Israelites in P, it is claimed that the figures are incredible because they are not consistent "**with the limits of "Goshen**" (BE. 101).

(e) The readings of the LXX are often quoted when they happen to support a critical contention; they are quietly ignored when they bear witness against the critical theory (see above, p: 45, note).

(f) We are told that "**Textual criticism declares the** [Massoretic] **text to be seriously corrupt**" (HC.5), and the critics frequently propound conjectural emendations, yet they also found arguments on the precise consonants, and sometimes even on the vowel points, of the Massoretic text.

There remains one more supreme requisite for criticism to be wholly reliable, and that is that the critic should be unbiassed, and altogether without prejudice, but the consideration of this will be too long to be included in this chapter.

# XLIII.

## PREJUDICE.

THE critics claim for themselves that their investigations are unprejudiced, and that opposition to their views springs largely, if not wholly, from prejudice.

The Dean of Ely, Dr. Kirkpatrick, affirms (HC. 7) that "**Many "students of the Old Testament, probably a majority of "them, have found themselves compelled to go further, "to accept critical principles,**" (and with them a good many of the critical conclusions). "**They have done so, not in obedi- "ence to any *a priori* philosophical or theological theories, "but as the result of a careful and unprejudiced examination "of the facts in the light of modern critical methods and "enlarged knowledge.**"

As regards the opposition, Dr. Driver says that the main conclusions of critics "**upon any neutral field of investigation "would have been accepted without hesitation by all con- "versant with the subject: they are opposed in the present "instance by some theologians, only because they are "supposed to conflict with the requirements of the Christian "faith.**" LOT. Preface, viii.

Taken by itself, the last clause might mean that only some few of the opponents were "**theologians**" whose opposition was based on prejudice, but as the learned doctor goes on to class the critical conclusions with "**conclusions which satisfy the common "unbiassed and unsophisticated reason of mankind,**" and has just asserted that on a neutral field they would have been accepted without hesitation, it seems clear that he considered *all* opposition as being based solely on theological prejudice, and as confined entirely to "**some theologians.**"

It might fairly be asked whether the writings of (for instance) Dr. Baxter, Prof. Orr, Prof. Green, Wilhelm Möller, and Mr. Wiener are dictated by nothing but theological prejudice, but the question now to be asked is in the opposite direction:—Can it be said that the reasonings of even the most moderate of the critical school are wholly free from bias and prepossession?

I. *As to Inspiration.*

The proposition, "**It is a fatal mistake to approach the "Bible with a preconceived theory of inspiration, or a theory "formed irrespectively of the facts which it is called upon "to explain**" (HC. 30), will serve as a convenient starting point for our investigation.

"**The term inspiration,**" says Dr. Driver (HC. 27), "**is "derived, of course, from the well-known passage in which "St. Paul speaks of Scripture as θεόπνευστος.**"

The term "inspired" applied to a writing may be derived from this passage, but the idea of inspiration of persons is surely conveyed by such passages as Num: xxiv. 2, "and the spirit of God came "upon him" (Balaam); Acts ii. 2, 'they were all filled with the "Holy Spirit"; St. Mark xii. 36, "David himself said in the "Holy Spirit"; 2 St. Pet: i. 21, "men spake from God, being "moved by the Holy Spirit"; Rev. i. 10, "I was in the Spirit on "the Lord's day"; and many others.

Further on (HC. 33) Dr. Driver gives this definition;—

"**By inspiration I suppose we may understand a Divine "afflatus which, without superseding or suppressing the "human faculties, but rather using them as its instruments, "and so conferring upon Scripture its remarkable mani-"foldness and variety enabled holy men of old to apprehend "and declare in different degrees, and in accordance with "the needs and circumstances of particular ages or occa-"sions, the mind and purpose of God.**"

The use of the word "**afflatus**" is not wholly satisfactory, since it suggests a mere influence rather than the direct action of a personal Spirit; and, further, the passage suggests some inward prompting of the mind rather than the external utterance which seems to be required by such passages as "the LORD spake unto "Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend," (Exod: xxxiii. ii); "I heard the voice of the LORD, saying," (Isai: vi. 8); "But the LORD said unto me," (Jer: i. 7).

Still the definition does recognize that the impulse was "**Divine,**" and not self-originated;—and that what was declared was "**the "mind and purpose of God,**" and not the mere opinion or belief of the speaker or writer.

Further, Dr. Driver specially emphasizes (HC. 26), "**the exist-"ence of a *double element* in Scripture, a human not less "than a Divine element, and the extreme importance . . . "of recognizing *both* of these.**"

That can be agreed to heartily, but *both* must be recognized, and the human element must not be so insisted on as to obscure or ignore the Divine. Are the critical writings wholly free from this kind of one-sidedness?

(i) Dr. Driver quotes (HC. 30) with approval, "**Men argue**

**" that since the Bible is God's word it must be free from all " imperfection. The argument is equally valid that since " it is man's word it cannot be thus free."**

Here is that very fallacy of failing to recognize the **" double " element."** If the Bible were *only* **" man's word "** it could not reasonably be expected to be free from imperfection and error. But if it be **" God's word "** transmitted through men, or even if it be no more than the utterance of men enabled to **" apprehend " and declare . . . the mind and purpose of God "** there is no reason why **" it cannot be thus free."** The argument loses sight of even the idea of guidance. The human mind, left to itself, is apt to fall into errors manifold : it will escape them unconsciously if guided by Divine Wisdom.

(ii) In dealing with many passages of Scripture, the critics constantly and as a matter of course estimate them and treat them as products of unaided human intelligence, without considering for a moment the possibility that the human instrument may have been guided by a higher Mind. A few illustrations will show what is meant.

(a) The **" minute specialization "** of P, and **" the more " elaborately organized civil community "** of D are urged (LOT. 85) as reasons for considering that these must be separated from JE by a considerable interval, even as much as **" some cen- " turies."** Yet it is evident that this argument takes it for granted that the development was due only to the ordinary course of human progress. Once admit the possibility that the elaboration, either in worship or in civil organization, might be part of a Divinely conceived plan imparted to the minds of men, and the whole argument becomes worthless.

(b) It is argued that the directions of Exod: xxix **" must have " been *written* after the regulations of Lev. i–vii had been " long in force "** (BE. 315), because they **" presuppose "** the phraseology and sacrificial usages of those chapters. If the rites of Lev: i–vii were ordained by Divine will as part of a Divinely planned worship, what is there to hinder the issue of the Exodus directions, even in the self-same phrases, a few months earlier ?

(c) Deut: xvi. 22 forbids the erection of a *Mazzebah* near the LORD's altar, as being a thing " which the LORD thy God hateth." The critics assert that **" Had Isaiah known of this law he " would hardly have adopted the *mazzebah* as a symbol " of the conversion of Egypt to the true faith "** (LOT. 89). No doubt Isaiah would not so have adopted it on his own responsibility, but if it were **" the mind and purpose of God "** that the once heathen symbol should hereafter be consecrated to a Divine use, how could the prophet help declaring the purpose he had been enabled to apprehend ?

In each of these cases, the critic has disregarded the possibility

that there is a Divine element in Scripture, and has treated it as without inspiration, even according to his own definition of the term.

II. *As to Prophecy.*

The same ignoring of a Divine element is noticeable when the critics come to deal with Prophecy.

**"We should place its evidential value now far more in its "moral force than in its predictions, though this element "must not be denied or minimised,"** says the Dean of Ely (HC. 11); and it is significant that in a lengthy discussion on **"The Law and the Prophets"** (IP. 174–181) Mr. Chapman dwells entirely on the **"prophetic teaching,"** and makes no allusion to prediction.

This pronounced preference for **"moral force"** over prediction is eminently characteristic of the critical school. Most of those who belong to it represent the prophets as little more than preachers of righteousness **"inculcating moral truth"** (IP. 175). The reason is fairly obvious. Moral force can be largely attributed to human insight and character: prediction (save in the most limited sense) can only be Divine.

It is of course true that the office of a prophet was to declare the will of God, and that this necessarily included a great deal of moral teaching. Yet it is also true that Scripture itself lays great stress on prediction. A large proportion of the prophetic utterances is of the nature of prediction;—the test of a false prophet is that what he predicts is not fulfilled (Deut: xviii. 22);—God Himself (according to Scripture) challenges those who are called gods to "declare "the things that are to come hereafter" (Isai: xli. 23), and says, "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do "I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them" (Isai: xlii. 10). The critical estimate of the value of prediction is not quite the Scriptural.

But, besides this lowered estimate of its value, is the element of prediction at all **"minimised"** by the critics?

(i) As far as possible, they reduce the instances of prediction to the lowest limit. What else but this accounts for the constant tendency to assign late dates to utterances claiming to be ancient simply because they bear some reference to the conditions or events of a later age? Let us take some illustrative instances.

(a) With a little ingenuity, some of the allusions in Jacob's blessing (Gen: xlix) can be made to look like references to conditions that existed at a later period. Therefore **"The present "with which the Blessings contained in Gen. xlix are con-"nected is not the age of Jacob, but the age of the Judges, "or a little later; and this accordingly is the period in which "they must be supposed to have originated."** BG. 380.

(b) Lev: xxvi. 20 threatens the destruction of "high places" and "sun images." Therefore **"This, it seems clear, must have**

**" been written at a time when Israel had *already* worshipped " at ' high places,' and erected sun-pillars."** LOT. 147

(c) The Law of the Kingdom (Deut: xvii. 14–20) forbids some of the things which Solomon did. Therefore that law must be **" coloured by reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon."** LOT. 87, 88

(d) The worship of the " host of heaven " appears to have been introduced into Judah by Manasseh. Therefore the allusions to this form of idolatry in Deuteronomy **" seems to point to the " middle period of the monarchy."** LOT. 88.

(e) Deut: xiii contains a series of warnings against being enticed to idolatry by a false prophet, or by relatives. These details **" imply the prevalence of idolatry, with its votaries active " in drawing aside the people after them."** IP. 138.

(f) The law of the One Sanctuary in Deut: xii. 5–28 is inculcated with much **" intensity of feeling."** Therefore this indicates that **" a real conflict is pending, and that men are then and there " contending with their brethren for a purer form of worship,"** (IP. 138), and it is more than suggested that this chapter should be **" considered as a retrospect of the past."** IP. 189.

It will be seen that in all these instances it is taken for granted that the passages in question could only have been penned after the conditions had actually arisen. They are not allowed even a moderate amount of human foresight or sagacity ; still less is any allowance made for any Divine element.

(ii) Not only are the instances of prediction discounted as much as possible, but the nature of prediction is in like manner depreciated. Thus according to the critics,

(a) Prediction must not be too precise. Lev: xxvi and Deut : xxviii are said to be post-Mosaic because the description of woes in them **" is so full " of detail as to suggest that some calamities of a similar " kind had already befallen a part of the nation."** IP. 45.

**" To determine beforehand minute details, geographical " or political, about a distant future does not fall within " the office of prophecy."** BG. 380.

(b) Prophecy admits of human fallibility. **" There is often a " large poetical, or imaginative, element in the prophecy, " to which nothing corresponds in the fulfilment."** HC. 24, note.

**" Unfulfilled prophecies need no longer perplex us."** HC. 13.

(c) Prediction is attributed to the natural capacity of the prophet. In cc: ii–v, **" Isaiah dwells in greater detail on the judgement " which he sees imminent upon Judah."** LOT. 207.

**" Jeremiah at once grasped the situation : he saw that " Nebuchadnezzar was destined to achieve further successes ; " he greeted him with the ode of triumph in c: xlvi, and**

**"declared that the whole of W. Asia would fall under his "sway."** LOT. 248.

(d) Prediction is limited to the near future. **"The prophets, "as the study of their writings sufficiently shews, start in "their predictions from the circumstances of their own "time; they look out into the future from the standpoint "of their own present; even their more ideal visions of the "future are largely conditioned by the relations of their "own age; in their temporal predictions it is events of the "immediate or proximate future which they foretell."** BG. 380.

**"The minuteness of the predictions** [in Daniel], **embracing "even special events in the distant future, is also out of "harmony with the analogy of prophecy. Isaiah, Jeremiah, "and other prophets unquestionably uttered predictions "of the future; but their predictions when definite (except "those of Messianic import, which stand upon a different "footing), relate to events of the proximate future only."** LOT. 509.

The justice of these assertions as to the limited range of prediction is not under consideration now. It is only desired to point out how completely they disregard the possibility of any Divine element being involved. Predictions of the near future, especially such as can be attributed to shrewd political sagacity are allowed: those that relate to a more distant future must be **"general "and indefinite in their terms"** (LOT. 510), and are referred to **"ideal visions"** or **"lofty hopes,"** largely tempered by a **"poetical, or imaginative, element,"** to which nothing corresponded in the fulfilment. The idea that Divine Omniscience might enable human minds **"to apprehend and declare . . . "the mind and purpose of God"** regarding the distant future, even in precise details, is simply left out of the question.

It may further be said that some of these pronouncements as to prediction show some disposition to lay down what prophecy is or ought to be, and then trim the evidence to suit the dictum, which is to form a theory **"irrespectively of the facts which it is "called upon to explain."**

III. There is a distinct tendency, even in the writings of the most moderate critics, to eliminate as far as possible the supernatural from the history.

(a) Concerning the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, Dr. Driver writes (BG. 202), **"It is a plausible suggestion that the "physical cause of their destruction was an eruption of "petroleum, caused by an earthquake"**; and (while not himself endorsing this view) admits the possibility that the narrative **"is in fact a legend, intended primarily to account for the**

**"desolate and stricken appearance of parts of the shores "of the Dead Sea."** BG. 203.

(b) Of Jacob's vision, the same writer says (BG. 264), **"In his "dream, the natural features of the locality (v. 11) shape "themselves into a 'ladder,' or flight of stone steps, rising "up to heaven."**

(c) The accounts of the Ten Plagues are spoken of as **"tradi-"tions current among the Hebrews,"** concerning which we may feel sure that there is some basis of fact, **"and yet not feel "sure that they describe the events exactly as they happened"** and Dillmann is quoted, **"As the original nucleus of fact we "may suppose that at the time of Israel's deliverance, Egypt "was visited by various adverse natural occurrences which "the Israelites ascribed to the operation of their God."** BE. 57.

Thus the First Plague is **"an intensification of a natural "phenomenon of annual occurrence in Egypt"** (BE. 62) viz: the reddening of the waters;—the Ninth is **"a *sandstorm*, pro-"duced by the hot electrical wind called the *Ḥamsîn*"** (BE. 82);—the Tenth is ascribed to a malignant epidemic, and Dillmann is again quoted, **"The particular form of the tradition "(*Sage*) evidently first arose partly through the influence of "the Isr. spring offering of the Passover, partly through "that of the Isr. custom of dedicating the first-born which "together brought into the tradition the sparing of the "houses and first-born of the Israelites, and transformed "the Egyptians who perished in the plague into first-born."** BE. 99.

(d) As to the Pillar of Fire, it is said (BE. 113) that **"as in "other cases, the symbolism had no doubt some natural "basis,"** such as **"the variously attested custom of a brazier "filled with burning wood being borne along at the head "of a caravan of pilgrims, or an army."**

(e) On the blossoming of Aaron's rod, Dr. McNeile comments (BN. 93), **"stories of the vegetation of dried sticks are not "uncommon in legend."**

(f) On Balaam's history;—**"The speaking ass is to be "considered not as a fable—in the sense in which the word is "applied, for example to Aesop's Fables—but as a detail of a "fabulous nature which attached itself, during the course of "Israel's early traditions, to a narrative which may have had "a historical basis."** BN. 129.

Throughout these (and many more) comments, there is plainly evident a desire to account in a "natural" manner for incidents which modern thought is inclined to reject as "supernatural." Events which, as recorded, would have to be considered miraculous, are explained to be merely **"natural occurrences"** magnified

or distorted into miracles by the mists of tradition. When explanation of this kind is impossible, the narratives are simply dismissed as legendary or fabulous.

Certainly some of the Old Testament miracles are represented as brought about by the employment of what we are wont to call natural forces. The dividing of the Red Sea is attributed to "a strong east wind" (Exod: xiv. 21), and there is no reason to doubt that it was an earthquake which swallowed up Dathan and Abiram. The miracle in these cases consists in the **"natural "occurrences"** taking place just when and where they are represented to have occurred, showing that they were not fortuitous, but were according to **"the mind and purpose of God."** But the critical explanations go far beyond this acknowledgment of the use of natural forces in the carrying out of God's purposes. They make out that events which in themselves were simply and solely natural have been (as in the case of Dillmann's explanation of the final Plague) transformed by tradition into miraculous interpositions. In regard to events, then, as in regard to inspiration and prediction, the critics show the same reluctance to admit the possibility of Divine interposition.

What reason is there for this disinclination to recognize a Divine element? It is certainly not required by the evidence. There can be no evidence to show that God has never been pleased to disclose details of a distant future to His servants, or to work wonders in order to accomplish His purposes, while there is a good deal of evidence which claims that He has been pleased to do both. Nor is this critical attitude a necessary consequence of accepting the analysis. The Pentateuch might have been combined from various sources, and yet those sources might have contained genuine revelations of the future, and true records of miraculous events. It is not even a necessary consequence of a belief that these sources were of late origin. If the records were only committed to writing long after the events, that makes it *possible* that the facts have been distorted by tradition, and that writings have been fashioned to look like predictions of things that had already taken place, but it does not require that this *must* have been so. It is equally possible that tradition may have handed down quite faithfully both the history of the events as they actually occurred, and the substance of predictions that were actually uttered.

But, while a late origin of the sources does not require the explaining away of miracle and prediction, the explaining away of prediction and miracle does absolutely require a late origin of the sources. Unless JE, D, and P originated at the late dates assigned to them by the critics, there would be no room for the distorting influence of tradition which alone makes the critical explanation of miracles possible, and early references to conditions prevailing in

later ages would have to be accepted as real proofs of more than humanforesight. The minds, therefore, of those who find difficulty in accepting the supernatural element in the Old Testament would, to some extent, be predisposed to welcome a theory which makes it possible to explain away the difficulty on purely natural lines.

The fact that the critical school does, as a whole, adopt this explaining away of the supernatural, which is not a necessary consequence of their theory, goes far to suggest that there was some such predisposition. For they are not content to say, We are compelled on other grounds to believe that these writings are of late date, and therefore what looks like miracle and prediction in them *may* be accounted for by the natural operation of tradition, etc. They positively assert, These *are* distorted traditions and fabulous details; and they put forward the agreement of some parts of the writings with the conditions of later ages as a *proof* that the writings must be of late date. More than this, the avoidance of difficulties is argued as a motive for accepting the conclusions of modern criticism:—"**It leads us to regard God's "revelation of Himself as a more gradual process than we "had supposed it to be, effected, to a large extent, by the "action of ordinary forces, developed in ways which we "should now call natural rather than supernatural.**" HC. 11.

"**We are relieved of a multitude of difficulties in the study "of the Old Testament when we accept in general princi- "ples, if not in every detail, the critical account of its origin "and character.**" HC. 12.

It is not too much to say that it is this substitution of "**natural**" for "**supernatural,**" this liberation from a "**multitude of "difficulties,**" which alone makes the critical theory of any practical importance. If the analysis of the Pentateuch were only a matter of literary and antiquarian interest, who would have troubled to maintain it with a tithe of the zeal that has been displayed? But it goes deeper than this: it affects our views of God, and of His dealings with mankind, and therefore becomes a matter of vital interest.

Now in the former of the two passages just quoted there is a hint at another conclusion of far-reaching import which the critical account of the origin and character of the Old Testament in general, and of the Pentateuch in particular, alone renders possible. This is that the Israelite belief and worship was only very gradually evolved.

Again and again it is represented that the early Israelite belief was crude and superstitious. Thus Jacob's pillar at Bethel is associated with "**the belief in a stone being the abode of a "deity or spirit**" among primitive and semi-primitive peoples (BG. 267);—it is suggested that "**in very remote times the "ark may have sheltered a sacred stone, regarded by the**

**" primitive Israelites as the abode of a deity "** (BE. 279); and some go so far as to assert that at first **" Yahweh "** was looked on as no more than a tribal deity. With this is connected the idea that in the earliest records (JE) the worship was of a very primitive character: altars were of **" the simplest materials "** and **" any " Israelite "** might offer sacrifice (BE. 206); the sanctuary was **" a simple nomad tent "** (BE. 427), and the Ark **" a simple " chest "** (BE. 278). From these rude and unspiritual beginnings, differing little if at all from other early Semitic religions, the lofty creed and stately worship of the Pentateuch was developed, but only by very slow degrees, and in the course of long ages.

There is very great attractiveness, undoubtedly, in such a view of **" God's revelation of Himself "** by a **" gradual process "** effected by **" the action of ordinary forces,"** and therein lies the secret of the hold that this theory has on a large number of present-day theologians and scholars. " It is such a reasonable " view," was the remark once made to the writer.

But we must be the more careful not to allow the fascination and beauty of the resulting theory to influence us in estimating the evidence on which it rests.

Is there any reason for thinking that the critics have been influenced by a desire to establish an attractive theory in their dealing with the evidence? To take one instance, it has been seen (p: 219) that they are very emphatic in denying that there is any trace of a covenant based on the Decalogue in the JE document, and this has so far affected the analysis that several passages are marked as glosses or later additions. The only reason for excluding these passages from the original text is that they conflict with the view that a Decalogue-covenant was unknown to the pre-Deuteronomic writers.

Why should this be of any importance? Because any admission of a Decalogue-covenant in JE would throw the knowledge of the Decalogue back to a much earlier age, and destroy the view that the idea of a pure Monotheism was a late development only arrived at by the Deuteronomic writers.

There is a significant passage on this subject in the Essay on " Criticism of the Hexateuch " (OSSP. 372). Alluding to the investigations of A. Jeremias, Bäntsch, and Dr. Burney, Mr. Addis writes, **" If these eminent scholars are right—the present " writer ventures to express his own conviction that they " have failed to prove their case—the belief in the gradual " evolution of Hebrew religion would have to be abandoned. " Monotheism, or at least Monolatry (i.e. the worship and " public recognition of one, only God), would take its place " at the beginning of Hebrew religion (i.e. in the time of " Abraham) and we should have no further reason for re- " fusing to accept the Decalogue as the work of Moses."**

Here it is plainly and uncompromisingly stated that if Monotheism or Monolatry were as old as Abraham, there would be **"no further "reason for refusing to accept the Decalogue as the work of "Moses."** The refusal to accept the Decalogue as Mosaic, then, is not based on evidence, literary criteria, and the like: it is based solely on the conviction that even Monolatry was unknown in the time of Moses. The argument may be stated thus:—The Hebrew religion was gradually evolved; Monotheism was not known in the earlier stages, including the Mosaic; the Decalogue is Monotheistic; therefore the Decalogue cannot be the **"work of "Moses."** Or inversely,—To admit that the Decalogue is Mosaic would be to admit that Monolatry was known in the time of Moses, and that would be to abandon **"the belief in "the gradual evolution of Hebrew religion."**

There is reason, then, for thinking that critics have not been wholly unbiassed in their estimate of the evidence. It has been affected by their disregard of the Divine element in Scripture; by their views of inspiration and prediction; by their desire to find natural processes rather than supernatural; and by their theory of the evolution of Hebrew religion. In other words, they have been influenced by

**"a theory formed irrespectively of the facts which it is "called upon to explain."** HC. 30.

They cannot be altogether acquitted of Prejudice.

# XLIV.

## EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

A REMARKABLE feature in the presentation of the critical case as to the origin of the Pentateuch is the very scanty reference to anything like external evidence. Occasionally the Septuagint is appealed to as evidence that certain passages are interpolations of late origin. The monuments are quoted to show that some of the earlier parts of Genesis resemble the Babylonian myths, though this proves little or nothing as to the critical theory, for it affects both J and P, the earliest and the latest of the conjectured sources. A more systematic appeal is made to the historical books of the Old Testament to show that certain features of D and P were unknown to the earlier history. Otherwise the whole theory is based on considerations internal to the text; variations of style, duplicate accounts, or discrepancies.

Arguments of this kind are not so much an appeal to facts as to inferences drawn from the facts. For instance, as regards style, the bare fact is that some passages show a different style from others. From this the critics infer that the differing parts must be due to different authors. But it is often possible to draw varying inferences from the same set of facts. In this very instance, it is possible to draw the inference that one author has been sufficiently skilful to vary his style according to the subjects dealt with, and this would lead to a conclusion diametrically opposed to that arrived at by the critics.

On the other hand, external evidence appeals to direct testimony, and is therefore the more reliable. The difference is just that between positive and circumstantial evidence. The former, providing the witnesses are independent and truthful, is always preferable to the latter which must largely depend on inference.

Now the question at issue being,—Is the Pentateuch the work of a single author and ancient, or a compilation from various sources only completed about 444 BC,—what independent testimony is there available?

I. *The belief of the first century* A.D.

(a) The New Testament affords direct evidence as to the belief of the Jews at that period.

The Pentateuch was undoubtedly regarded by them as Mosaic.

St. John i. 45, "We have found him of whom Moses in the "law, and the prophets did write."

vii. 19, "Did not Moses give you the law?"

1 Cor: ix. 9, "It is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt "not muzzle the ox."

Heb: x. 28, "A man that hath set at naught Moses' law "dieth without compassion."

The Pentateuch was regarded as a unity, for all the parts are cited impartially. A few instances out of many must serve.

| | | Reference to | |
|---|---|---|---|
| St. Mark x. 6, 7. | Primeval institution of marriage. | Gen: i. 27 (P) and ii. 24 (J). | |
| St. Luke xx. 37. | The Bush. | Exod: iii. 6 (E). | |
| St. John iii. 14. | The serpent in the wilderness. | Num: xxi. 9 (JE). | |
| Rom: ix. 15. | "I will have mercy on whom "I will have mercy." | Exod: xxxiii. 19 (J). | |
| St. Matt: xxii. 37. | The great Commandment. | Deut: vi. 5 | (D). |
| St. Mark xii. 19. | The Levirate law. | ,, xxv. 5 | (D). |
| Acts iii. 22. | The Prophet. | ,, xviii. 18 | (D). |
| St. John viii. 5. | Stoning, penalty of adultery. | Lev: xx. 10 | (H). |
| Rom: x. 5. | Life by righteousness of law. | ,, xviii. 5 | (H). |
| St. Luke ii. 23. | Dedication of firstborn. | Exod: xiii. 2 | (P). |
| ,, ,, 24. | Purification. | Lev: xii. 8 | (P). |
| St. John vii. 22. | Circumcision, "of the "fathers." | Gen: xvii. 10 | (P). |
| 2 Cor: iii. 13. | Veil on Moses' face. | Exod: xxxiv. 33–35 | (P). |

(b) Josephus (contra Apion i. 8) not only says, "five are the "books of Moses, which embrace the laws and the traditions of the "origin of mankind, until his own death," but adds,* "during "so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold "as either to add anything to them, or make any change in them."

Clearly Josephus knew nothing of a Hexateuch compiled from various sources.

(c) Philo goes so far as to assert that "after a lapse of more than "2,000 years [the Jews] had not changed a single word of what was "written by Moses." (Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p: 32).

II. *The Septuagint.*

It is admitted that the Pentateuch was the first part of the Old Testament to be translated into Greek, and is the only part mentioned in the "Letter of Aristeas" (Swete, *Introduction*, p: 23).

About the middle of the third century B.C., therefore, the Pentateuch, substantially as we have it now, was accorded supremacy over the other books, and was not connected with the book of Joshua.

The fivefold division of the Psalter (recognized in the LXX transla-

* This is the sentence not included in Dr. Driver's quotation, LOT. ix.

tion) probably points in the same direction, as also the Jewish system of *Haphtoroth*, lections from the prophets corresponding to the portions of "the Law."

III. *The Samaritan Pentateuch.*

The little community of Samaritans still existing at Nablus (the ancient Shechem) possess a Roll of the Law which (though probably not nearly so ancient as they assert) preserves a recension of the Pentateuch which has been independent of the Hebrew text for at least 2,000 years. This makes its evidence the more valuable.

Concerning this, Mr. Chapman says (IP. 294), **"in recent "times the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch has "seldom been brought forward as an argument against "critical methods and their results."** None the less, he has thought it worth while to devote 23 pages (Appendix viii, pp: 277–299) to a discussion of the subject, with a view to showing that the evidence of this ancient document does not militate against the critical theory.

In the course of this dissertation, he dwells especially on two points.

One refers to the character in which the Samaritan Pentateuch is written, and this is summed up on p: 293 :—

**"The characters in which the Samaritan Pentateuch is "written are a *late* modification of the old Hebrew writing. ". . . Hence the Samaritan MSS may be derived from copies "which were made much later than Nehemiah's time."**

The argument only tends to show that the Samaritan text *may* have been derived from copies later than the age of Nehemiah : it does not in the least prove that they actually were so derived. Indeed, unless we could have access to the prototype from which the Samaritans originally derived their text, the antiquity (or otherwise) of the script used is of little importance. A few years ago, a deputation of Samaritans brought to London a roll which they asserted to be very ancient, though not the oldest. The writer has a few photographs (taken by himself) of portions of this, and from them Dr. Cowley of the Bodleian deciphered the acrostic which dates the roll as having been written in the year "562 of the Ishmaelites," i.e. of the Hegira, which would bring it down to the 12th century AD. It is evident that the characters of this copy afford no clue to the age of the text.

The other point refers to the nature of the Samaritan community:—

**"The schism which is called Samaritan, was in reality "not *Samaritan*, but *Jewish*. It was not a separation "between *Jews* and *Samaritans*, but between certain seced- "ing Jews and the rest of their brethren in Judah."** IP. 289.

This is intended to meet the argument that **"the enmity be- "tween the Jews and Samaritans would have prevented the**

**" latter from accepting additions to the Pentateuch intro-
" duced by Jewish scribes."** IP. 288.

This touches the real crux of the matter, for the question is, When did those who are known as Samaritans receive their Pentateuch? That in turn depends on their relation to the Jews in 444 BC. If at that time the enmity, which certainly existed later on, had already begun, it is most unlikely that they would have been willing to accept innovations brought in by Ezra and Nehemiah. It will be necessary therefore to examine Mr. Chapman's argument in detail and at some length.

He argues that **" the inhabitants of the north** [i.e Samaria] **" were a mixed race, varying from pure Israelite to pure " heathen, with many intermediate grades "** (IP. 297). In reality, this is nothing more than what Mr. Chapman has inferred as to the number of Israelites left in the northern country when " Israel was carried away out of their own land to Assyria " (2 Kings xvii. 23); and as to the probability that those who were left intermarried with the **" heathen immigrants,"** concerning which we have no information whatever. The **" mixed race "** of **" many . . . grades "** is no more than a surmise. The account in 2 Kings xvii. 24–41 refers only to the men brought from Babylon, Cuthah, Avvah, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, and placed in the cities of Samaria: no residue of Israelites is mentioned, and intermarriage is not even hinted at.

It is quite possible, as Mr. Chapman argues, that v: 23 does not mean that **" the deportation of the northern tribes was *com-
" plete* "**; it may even be probable (**" there can be no doubt "** is a little too strong) that **" in the north as well as in the south " a remnant was left behind "** (IP. 295), but it is too much to conclude that **" in fact the greater part of the inhabitants were " left behind."** Mr. Chapman bases this on the **" monumental " evidence "** which, he says, **" is decisive; it states the number " of captives as 27,290. The population of Samaria and " the neighbourhood far exceeded this number."** IP. 295.

Perhaps this evidence is not quite so decisive as it seems. Is it, for instance, certain that the inscription refers to the whole district, and not to the city alone? Is it certain that the number refers to the total number of individuals, and not to the number of men apart from families? Further, in the war generally, and in the 3 years' siege of Samaria, a considerable number of the inhabitants must have perished, and there may even have been some measure of deliberate extermination. Even if the 27,290 captives were the total number deported, it would not be safe to conclude that **" the " greater part of the inhabitants were left behind."**

Mr. Chapman goes on to argue (p: 296) that v: 24, stating that the men brought from Babylon etc: were placed in the cities of Samaria, **" furnishes indirect evidence of that partial de-**

**"population indicated in the inscriptions. The children "of Israel were carried away from the *cities*; the villages "and the country were left alone."**

This again does not follow: the new importations would naturally be settled in the "cities" even if the whole country were depopulated. On the other hand, the fact that the new colonists suffered from incursions of lions (v: 25) suggests that many of them lived in country districts not very thickly peopled; and the fact that a priest had to be brought back from among those "whom they "carried away" (v: 28) shows that there was no Israelite priest left behind, and that probably indicates a very thorough measure of depopulation.

The idea that there was any large Israelite element among the inhabitants of Samaria is far from being established.

A further conjecture follows:—**"It may be assumed that "among those left in the land, a remnant remained faithful "to the LORD God of Israel."** IP. 296.

Considering how greatly the northern tribes had fallen away into idolatry, the assumption is a little venturesome, but, on the critic's own showing, the faithful could only have been a remnant of a remnant. That their numbers were inconsiderable is suggested by the very passage cited by Mr. Chapman (Jer: xli. 5), since the men who **"came from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria to "bring oblations to the house of the LORD"** were only 80 in number, even if these were Israelites at all.

One or two more assumptions follow on this, culminating in the statement, **"When the Jews came back from Babylon, they "found a religious community established in Jerusalem, "and, as joint worshippers with them, that portion of the "northern kingdom which held aloof from the semi-heathen "cults described in 2 Kings xvii."** IP. 296.

What possible authority is there for all this? The early chapters of Ezra say nothing about any one at all (far less a **"religious "community"**) being found in Jerusalem, only "they of "the captivity" being mentioned. Of whom could this community consist? "All the remnant of Judah" had migrated to Egypt (Jer: xliii. 5–7). That any part of the northern kingdom had stood aloof from the semi-heathen cults is at best only a conjecture though it may be a probable one: that they were found as **"joint "worshippers"** in Jerusalem is mere assertion devoid of any authority.

**"To speak of these Israelites as Samaritans is misleading: "in a *geographical* sense only can they be so named, be-"cause they inhabited the district of Samaria. In religion "they were in agreement with the remnant of Judah."** IP. 296.

Certainly: if there were any such Israelites, agreeing in religion

with the remnant of Judah, to call them Samaritans would be misleading. Who wants to do so ?

**" those who had gathered with Judah on the site of the " ruined Temple would be willing to help when the time " came for the LORD's house to be built."** (IP. 297). Again, certainly: if there were any Israelites who had gathered with Judah on the site of the ruined Temple, (and it is doubtful whether there were any of Judah to gather, and a mere guess that any at all gathered at the ruined Temple), very likely those would be willing to assist in the rebuilding.

So far we have had a series of more or less probable conjectures as to what may have been the conditions up to the Return from exile. But now Mr. Chapman suddenly slips in a huge assumption. He not only treats these conjectures as if they were established matters of fact, but quietly takes it for granted that **" these " Israelites "** (whose very existence is conjectural) did actually offer to help in rebuilding the Temple, and that it was their help, not that of Samaritans properly so called, which was rejected by Zerubbabel and his companions :—**" The Babylonian Jews " wished to exclude these Israelites from joining in the work : " the ' children of the captivity ' (Ezr. iv. 1) with their strict " views of preserving the holy seed and a pure worship, " regarded these Israelites as defiled by contact with their " heathen neighbours, and refused their proferred help."** IP. 297.

It is a guess that there were Israelites who had gathered with Judah ; it is a guess that these Israelites offered to help in rebuilding the Temple ; it is a guess that the Babylonian Jews regarded them as defiled by contact with their heathen neighbours. But not only are these guesses for which no evidence can be produced : they are inconsistent with the only account we possess of the offer of help and its refusal. According to that, it was " the adversaries " of Judah and Benjamin " who wanted to help, and claimed a right to share in the work on the plea, " we seek your God, as ye " do ; and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon " King of Assyria which brought us up hither." (Ezra iv. 1, 2). That is exactly the plea which would be put forward by the desscendants of the Assyrian colonists who " feared the LORD and served " other gods " (2 Kgs: xvii. 33) : it is not at all the plea which would be put forward by Israelites who had **" remained faithful " to the LORD God of Israel."**

Mr. Chapman airily dismisses this evidence on the ground that the account **" is due to the Chronicler, who wrote some time " after the event, when the Samaritan schism had been " consummated, and reflects the opinion of his own time " concerning those who had separated themselves from the " worship at Jerusalem."** IP. 297.

But even if the account is due to the Chronicler (and that depends on the accuracy of the critical conclusions), at least he lived a good deal nearer the event than we do, and is the more likely to have known who were the people who offered to help. Why should we reject the positive statements of his account, **" constructed, it may reasonably be supposed, upon a tra- " ditional basis "** (LOT. 547), and substitute the critical view of what may have happened ?

Mr. Chapman goes on to ask, **" Is it at all likely (1) that those " among them who would describe themselves as of heathen " descent would wish to assist in building the Temple, or " (2) that those who had Israelite blood in their veins would " represent themselves as the offspring of the heathen " immigrants ? "** IP. 297.

To (1) the answer is, Yes, it is quite likely. Josephus (Ant: xi. 8. 6) represents that the Samaritans of Alexander's time claimed kinship with the Jews whenever they thought they could gain an advantage by so doing. In 536 BC. the Jews were in favour with Cyrus, and the rebuilding of the Temple was authorized by his special decree. Heathen Samaritans would almost certainly think that they could gain favour by helping in that work.

To (2) the answer is, It is not at all likely that those of Israelite blood would claim kinship with heathen. The writer of Ezra iv. 2 represents that those who offered their help did claim this kinship : therefore he did not believe that any of them were Israelites at all. His view of who these people were is entitled to quite as much respect as Mr. Chapman's opinion.

Immediately on the refusal of the Jews to accept the help of these " adversaries," the account in Ezra goes on to narrate that " the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah " (vv: 4, 5), with such success that the rebuilding of the Temple was delayed 16 years (till 520 BC.).

Who were these " people of the land " ? Mr. Chapman says (IP. 297), **" this expression should not be taken as including " those who were willing to assist in rebuilding the Temple."**

Why not ? The account certainly reads as if this opposition were the direct consequence of the blunt refusal which immediately precedes it. The " people of the land " probably includes more than those whose offer had been rejected, for in Ezra ix. i the term " peoples of the land " is used as an equivalent for Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, etc:, but there is no adequate reason for excluding the " adversaries " of v: 1 from the opponents of v: 4. Offended at the scornful rejection of their offer, disappointed of their hope of gaining favour with Cyrus, they would naturally try to stir up other inhabitants of the country to opposition, just as afterwards we find Sanballat associated with an Ammonite and an Arabian.

The next incident in the history is passed over by Mr. Chapman in discreet silence.

At some period after the accession of Artaxerxes in 465 (if the critical view be right) a successful protest was made against allowing the Jews to rebuild the city and walls.* The protest was sent in the name of "the Dinaites, and the Apharsathchites, the Tar-"pelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the "Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites, and the rest of the "nations whom the great and noble Osnapper brought over, and "set in the city of Samaria, and in the rest *of the country* beyond "the river" (Ezra iv. 9, 10).

Here there can be no question of Israelites: the opposition is manifestly due to the descendants of the Assyrian colonists.

When Nehemiah came in 444, armed with an express commission to rebuild the city, his chief opponent was Sanballat the Horonite, who is associated with the "Army of Samaria" (Neh: iv. 2), and with "the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites" (Neh: iv. 7); and is called "Governor of Samaria" by both Josephus and the Elephantine Papyrus.

Thus there are three distinct periods of opposition :—

(1) to the rebuilding of the Temple, by "the people of the land," after help had been refused from those who described themselves as "brought" by Esarhaddon; **"chiefly, as the context shows, "Samaritans"** (LOT. 541);—

(2) to an attempt at rebuilding the city, by the Assyrian colonists of Samaria;—

(3) to the actual rebuilding, by a confederacy headed by Sanballat, "Governor of Samaria."

Can it be reasonably doubted that the three were connected, and that in each case the ringleaders were the Samaritans properly so-called? If not, then the **"enmity between the Jews and "the Samaritans"** had begun long before 444.

Mr. Chapman, however, says this **"opposition was secular "and political rather than religious: as a religious sect "the 'Samaritans' were not yet in existence."** IP. 294.

Even so, the feud which began with the refusal of the Jews to acknowledge their neighbours as worshippers of the same God, could hardly fail to have some religious tinge; and the very decided political hostility to Ezra and Nehemiah would not predispose the Samaritans to accept religious innovations at their hands.

What, then, was the origin of the **"religious sect"**? According to Mr. Chapman (IP. 289), **"the incident which caused the**

* May not this protest have been evoked by the arrival of Ezra in 458? The commission given to him (Ezra vii. 11–26) was very full, but did not specify any rebuilding of the city. The success of this protest (iv. 17–24) would account for the fact that in 444, fourteen years later, the city was still in ruins.

**" schism "** was that referred to in Neh: xiii. 28, " And one of the " sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son-in-law " to Sanballat the Horonite : therefore I chased him from me." This very scanty notice is supplemented by a notice in Josephus (Ant: xi. 7. 2 ; 8. 2) who says that this was Manasseh the brother of Jaddua (and therefore grandson of Joiada, Neh: xiii. 11) ; that the Jews commanded him to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar ; that Manasseh consulted his father-in-law Sanballat, who promised to build him a temple, and make him high priest ; that many priests and Levites who had contracted similar marriages revolted to Manasseh ; and that Sanballat did build them a temple (that on Mt. Gerizim). Josephus brings this down to the time of Alexander the Great, but it is admitted that this is an anachronism which **" overlooks the fact that a century intervened between " Sanballat and the commencement of the Greek supre- " macy "** (IP. 290), and the expulsion of Manasseh is usually considered to have taken place about 432, or somewhat later.

The situation then was this : the Samaritans, and particularly their leader Sanballat, are politically hostile to the Jews, and more especially to Ezra and Nehemiah. Manasseh of high-priestly family is expelled by Nehemiah for having married Sanballat's daughter ; takes refuge with Sanballat ; is joined by other malcontents ; a rival temple is built, and a religious schism is commenced. What has this to do with the age of the Samaritan Pentateuch ?

The critics seem to take it for granted that the Samaritans only received their Pentateuch from Manasseh and his fellow seceders, and that, as all this happened after 444, it would be the completed Pentateuch as accepted at that date. The seceding Jews, says Mr. Chapman, **" would take with them copies of the Penta- " teuch, as it had already been received by them when Ezra " ' brought the law before the congregation.' "** IP. 293.

No doubt this is a possibility, that there is nothing to show that it actually was the case, nor can it even be said to be very probable. Manasseh and those who followed him must have been much embittered against Ezra and Nehemiah whose action had brought about their expulsion. They would be much more likely to denounce anything which they had any pretext for considering innovations introduced by these two ; and the more so as it was by these very " innovations " that their own conduct had been condemned :—**" Ezekiel's regulations required all priests to " take wives from the seed of Israel (Ezek. xliv. 22) ; and " this grandson of the high priest, a possible successor " in the high priestly office, was bound to ' take a virgin of " ' his own people to wife ' (Lev. xxi. 14)."** IP. 289. Manasseh and the priests who joined him could hardly have been ignorant of what had been accepted as the Law previous to Nehemiah's arrival.

Why should they take with them copies containing much that had only been received on the authority of their personal enemies, and that so recently as 12 or 20 years before?

**"The seceding Jews would not wish to magnify the points "of difference between themselves and their brethren who "remained at Jerusalem"** (IP. 293). Perhaps not, but they would certainly have a much stronger interest in discrediting all that had been done by Ezra and Nehemiah. What an immensely strong position they would have held if they could have said,—These men have driven us out by insisting on what they call the Law: here is the Law as it was always received till these men came a few years ago; they have tampered with it by making very large additions to it. If Manasseh and his companions took with them copies of the complete Pentateuch, it must surely have been because they were not in a position to deny that any part of it was "the Law."

Again, consider the position of the Samaritans. Their ancestors had been instructed by an Israelite priest in the days of Hezekiah (2 Kgs: xvii. 28). They themselves claimed to worship the same God as the Jews, and in the same manner (Ezra iv. 2). But, if the critics are right, that would only be according to the provisions of JE and D. How would they be willing to accept the burdensome additions of the Priestly Code, resting ultimately on the authority of Ezra and Nehemiah to whom they were politically opposed?

The fact that the Samaritans did receive the whole Pentateuch as the sacred Law of God, and have so preserved it ever since, affords a strong presumption that it was already known to them as the Law of Israel.

The critics then can only, at the very most, show that the Samaritans *may* have received their Pentateuch from Manasseh after its completion by Ezra and Nehemiah. They cannot show that the Samaritans did so receive it; they cannot show that the Samaritans were not acquainted with it earlier; they cannot show that either Manasseh or the Samaritans were likely to accept unquestioningly what had been introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah so short a time before.

Mr. Chapman, however, attempts to show that the Samaritan text is derived from the Massoretic:—**"Many of the variations "between the Samaritan and Hebrew texts establish con-"clusively the priority of the Massoretic recension. The "Samaritan text is intelligible as a correction of the Hebrew; "very few, if any, instances of the reverse process can be "found."** IP. 293, 294.

But who ever supposed that the Massoretic recension was in the slightest degree dependent on the Samaritan text?

The argument only serves to show that the Massoretic recension has faithfully preserved a text which is older than the Samaritan, which, of course, must be the case if the Massoretes were true to a Mosaic original. The fact that the Samaritan text is clearly derived from the Hebrew, and not the Hebrew from the Samaritan, proves that the Hebrew text is the older of the two: it does not establish **"the priority of the Massoretic recension."**

One more of Mr. Chapman's arguments is really something of a curiosity. He is trying to account for certain **"portions of the "Priestly code which critics consider secondary strata"** (i.e. introduced later than the time of Ezra and Nehemiah) being found in the Samaritan text. To do this, he writes, **"Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8. 7, quoted p. 290) says that the centre of worship "established at Gerizim became a refuge for Jews who "found the standard of the community in Judah too severe. "It does not seem improbable that, in order to attract such "waverers, the authorities at Shechem might, for a time, "keep their copy of the Law identical with that at Jerusa-"lem."** IP. 298.

In the passage referred to Josephus says, "If any were accused "at Jerusalem of having eaten things common, or of having broken "the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled to "the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly." The **"waverers,"** then, are not zealots for the integrity of the Law, but men accused of eating unlawful food, Sabbath breaking, and the like. What can **"the authorities at Shechem"** do to attract such men? Undertake to vindicate their innocence? relax the severity of the law? Oh! dear no: they **"keep their "copy of the Law identical with that at Jerusalem,"** that is to say, they assimilate their standard to that of Judah!

As instances of this process of assimilation, two matters are referred to;—(1) additions which **"affect the position of the "priests and their dues"**; (2) Exod: xxxv–xl, chapters describing the construction of the Tabernacle. Neither of these subjects seem particularly calculated to attract **"waverers,"** but the passage about the latter deserves quoting:—

**"The variations between the LXX and Massoretic text "in Exod. xxxv–xl make it probable that these chapters "had not assumed their final form when the LXX translation "was made. The Samaritan version of these chapters "agrees in the main with the Hebrew. This seems to "indicate that the Samaritan text was influenced by the "Hebrew as late as the third century BC."** IP. 298.

The LXX variations in these chapters are very interesting, and it is possible to draw a very different conclusion from them, but we are here only concerned with the bearing on the Samaritan text,

and as regards this the reasoning is a little strange. We have two versions of an ancient text :—A (the Massoretic) claims to be the traditional representative of the original; B (the Samaritan) has been in the keeping of people who have been hostile to the keepers of A for well over 2,000 years, and probably came into their possession not later than 422 BC. There is also a translation of this text, C (the Septuagint), made somewhere about 250 BC, say 170 years after B passed into the hands of its unfriendly keepers.

In a certain lengthy passage C has some remarkable variations from A : B in the main agrees with A.

The ordinary conclusion from these facts would be that the evidence of B (which as a whole is certainly more ancient than C), shows that A has preserved the true text, and that C for some reason has gone wrong.

That is not at all the critical conclusion, which is that **" these " chapters had not assumed their final form when the LXX translation was made "** : therefore the text of A has been modified since the translation C was made : therefore the B text has, later still, been modified to agree with the modifications of A ; therefore B has been influenced by A **" as late as the third cen- " tury BC "** !

**" If so,"** the critic argues, **" the supposed testimony of the " Samaritan Pentateuch against critical views vanishes " altogether "** (IP. 299). Precisely : IF SO.

The existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch shows that the Samaritans received it substantially as we now have it, and not combined with the book of Joshua which they reject. On the critics' own admission, this was at least as far back as 422 BC. This in itself would go far to throw doubt on the critical theory that the Pentateuch is a compilation from several sources (including Joshua), which compilation was not completed before 444 at the earliest.

But the hostility of the Samaritans to the Jews, which would render them averse to accepting Jewish innovations, in all probability dates back to 536, ninety years earlier ; and it is quite possible that their acquaintance with the Pentateuch, as it now stands, goes back further still. This would be absolutely fatal to the critical theory.

IV. *The Elephantine Papyri.*

The letter to Bagohi, dated 407 BC, shows that there had long been a colony of Jews in Egypt, who had a temple there before Cambyses entered in 525. The letter shows a knowledge of the Meal and Burnt Offerings and of Frankincense, and moreover uses the peculiar P word " *degel* " for " standard."

On this Prof. Driver (HC, new ed :, p: x) remarks, **" The insti- " tutions of the priestly law are thus the final outcome of a**

**"long established Temple usage. This position is very "different from the belief that these institutions were the "'inventions' of the exilic or post-exilic period, and is "perfectly consistent with all the known facts, even in- "cluding the injunction to observe the Feast of Unleavened "Cakes in 419 BC, and the mention of the burnt offering, "the meal offering, and frankincense in 409 BC in the papyri, "discovered recently at Elephantine in Upper Egypt."**

At the utmost, this argument only goes to show that the allusions in the papyri (like those in the historical books of the Old Testament) are not actually inconsistent with the critical theory as now held. It does not show that they are in favour of that theory, still less that they substantiate it.

As regards external evidence, then, the case stands thus :—

On the one hand, in favour of the critical theory there is simply none. There is not an atom of evidence that J, E, D, P ever existed as separate sources ;—or that the various authors and editors ever existed ;—or that the three or more compilations were ever made ;—or that the book of Joshua was ever connected with the five preceding books.

On the other hand, there is evidence that the Pentateuch, practically as we now have it and unconnected with the book of Joshua, was known in the first century AD ; in the middle of the third century BC ; and at least as far back as 422 BC, within a generation of the time when the final compilation is supposed to have been made. There are also allusions in the Old Testament and in the papyri which, if they do not disprove the critical theory, are at least consistent with a knowledge of the Priestly Code before the date assigned to it by the critics.

All the available external evidence points in one direction, and that is not in favour of the critical theory.

# PART II.

## Objections to Critical Methods and Results.

### (B) RESULTS.

# XLV.

## "ASSURED RESULTS."

When at the end of a complex calculation a mathematician arrives at some impossible result, involving e.g. that the part is greater than the whole, he knows that somewhere in his calculation there must be a mistake or mistakes. Even if the result is only unexpected or startling, he will feel the necessity for verifying every step. Some slight error may have vitiated the whole result.

Much more is this caution needed in reasonings that are more subtle than mathematical calculations, dealing with facts not so easily verifiable. An erroneous premise, a slight *petitio principii*, an unwarranted inference may bring an otherwise faultlessly logical argument to a hopelessly wrong conclusion. A startling result, then, of a complicated inquiry may,—ought to,—lead us to examine very closely whether the processes have been sound throughout; whether every alleged fact is thoroughly established, every inference correctly drawn.

For this purpose it is legitimate to consider the results to which the critical theories lead, and ask whether they are of such a nature as to warrant us in accepting them without careful verification.

What, then, are the conclusions which the critics put forward as "**assured results**" with regard to the Pentateuch?

To begin with, the late dates assigned to the various sources at once engender suspicion as to the truth of the histories.

"**A narrative committed to writing for the first time, so "far as we know, 1,000 years or more after the events related "in it occurred, would be regarded under ordinary circum-"stances as destitute of historical value.**" BG. Intro: xliii.

"**There are cases, especially in the earlier books of the "OT, in which *we cannot get behind the narratives*, in which, "that is, we cannot say how far the narratives correspond "exactly to what was said or done by the actors in them.**" BE. Intro: lxx, lxxi.

The character assigned to the sources introduces a further element of suspicion, especially as regards P.

"**P's entire conception of the Israel of the Exodus,—the**

**"'congregation,' the symmetrical arrangement of the camp, "the order of the tribes on the march, &c, is an *ideal construction*."** BE. Intro: lxiv. **"P's narratives are only "laws in narrative clothing, and therefore very few of "them can be regarded as possessing even a basis of actual "Mosaic history."** BN. Intro: xxi.

Nor do the earlier narratives of J and E escape. **"We have "here to do with the earliest form of history—traditional "folklore about primitive personages and events, worked "up according to some preconceived design by a devout "literary artist."** Mr. Ottley, quoted BG. lviii. They are spoken of as **"the tales of Genesis"** (BG. lxxiii); as **"Hebrew "folk-lore"** (BG. 134); in some of their narratives **"the feeling "that we have before us the record not of actual historical "fact, but of current popular belief, forces itself strongly "upon us"** (BG. lviii); they have **"probably been coloured "in the course of oral transmission . . . by later tribal "relations being imported into them"** (BG. lix), and **"ideal-"ized from a *religious* point of view"** (BG. lx). Yet they may **"well include a substantial historical nucleus"** (BG. lviii), and **"J and E, being earlier than P . . . contain far "more genuine historical reminiscences than P does."** BE. xliv.

One result, then, of accepting the critical theories is that a great part of the Pentateuch must be treated as unreliable.

The earliest narratives, those of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, and Tower of Babel, must be looked on as myths largely drawn from Babylonian sources. **"The narrative of Gen: i creates an "impression *at variance with the facts revealed by science*"** (BG. 26):—**"the Biblical cosmogony . . . is, in its main "outlines, derived from Babylonia"** (BG. 30):—as to the **"story of Paradise . . . there are features in the narrative "which point strongly towards Babylonia"** (BG. 53):—of the Deluge, **"the Hebrew narrative must be *derived from* the Babylonian"** (BG. 107):—of the Tower of Babel, **"the narrative "can contain no scientific or historically true account of "the origin of different languages"** (BG. 133).

When we come to the Patriarchal times, **"the movements, "and personal lives, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are, "taken on the whole, credible"** (BG. 46); there is a **"pre-"sumption that we may perhaps succeed in finding a historic "core in the patriarchal narratives"** (quoted from Kittel, BG. xlv). Concerning Joseph, there are **"reasonable grounds "for concluding that the narratives are in *substance* his-"torical"** (BG. xlvii): **"It is extremely difficult not to "think that, as a whole, the narratives about Joseph are "based upon a personal history"** (BG. lix). It is **"difficult**

**"to believe that *some* foundation of actual personal history "does not underlie the patriarchal narratives,"** and on the whole the more satisfactory view is **"that the patriarchs are "historical persons, and that the accounts which we have "of them are *in outline* historically true, but that their "characters are idealized, and their biographies not un-"frequently coloured by the feelings and associations of a "later age."** BG. lvii, lviii.

Yet some of the narratives may not be about individual persons at all:—**"According to many modern scholars, nearly all "the names in the patriarchal narratives, though they *seem* "to be personal names, represent in reality tribes and "sub-tribes"** (BG. lv): **"Other recent scholars have however "gone further, and denied the presence of any personal "element in the patriarchal narratives"** (BG. lvi), but Dr. Driver does not go so far, and only thinks **"It is not impossible "that episodes or movements of tribal life, sometimes "belonging to the patriarchal period itself, sometimes re-"flected back into it from the later history, are *occasionally* "narrated in the form of events in the lives of individuals"** (such as the narratives of Shechem and Dinah, Judah and Tamar; BG. lx).

When we come to the later books, we are on somewhat firmer ground. Moses **"bulks too largely in the Pentateuchal narra-"tives to be anything but a historical person, of whose life "and character many trustworthy traditions were pre-"served"** (BE. xlv): **"It may safely be said that the history "and character of the nation of Israel require such a person "as Moses to account for them"** (BN. xx).

The sojourn of Israel in Egypt, the flight from Egypt, and the Wanderings in the Wilderness are substantially accepted:— **"If the Israelites were enslaved in Egypt (which there is no "good reason for doubting) and if they afterwards settled "in Canaan (which is one of the certain facts of the world's "history) . . ."** (BN. xx). But when it comes to details, a good deal is rejected or seriously modified. The number of the Israelites is reduced to a very small proportion; indeed, all the statistics throughout the Pentateuch,—chronology, ages, census figures, amounts of precious metals,—are simply dismissed as **"artificial,"** i.e. fictitious. It is even questioned whether the whole nation migrated from Egypt at the Exodus: it is thought that **"in spite of the Biblical representation, *all* the Israelite "tribes were not in Egypt at the time of the Exodus, but "that some had entered Canaan, and made it their home "considerably earlier"** (BE. 416): **"The Biblical accounts "of the Exodus are not contemporary; the traditions "embodied in them relate solely to the Hebrews who escaped**

**" from Egypt. It is possible that these were in reality only " a section of the entire nation "** (BE. xl). It is thought that **" the Aperu mentioned under Rameses III and IV were bodies, " or the descendants of bodies, which were perhaps separated " from the Hebrews of Goshen, and employed in other " parts of Egypt under Rameses II and Merenptah, and " who might thus have been left behind at the Exodus "** (BE. xlii). Some think that Num: xxi. 1–3 **" is an isolated " fragment from a circle of traditions according to which " some of the Israelites did not travel round to Moab with the " main body, but entered Canaan straight from the southern " deserts."** BN. 110.

All this taken together would mean that the Pentateuch is quite wrong in representing that the whole nation left Egypt under the leadership of Moses, and was all assembled in the plains of Moab: some had migrated to Canaan long before; some remained behind in Egypt; and some went straight up into Canaan from Hormah.

Of course the miraculous character of the events connected with the Exodus is not to be insisted upon. As to the Plagues, **" No " doubt, Egypt was visited at the time by an unusual com- " bination of natural calamities, which materially facilitated " the Israelite exodus "** (BE. lii): the passage of the Red Sea is admitted to be a great deliverance, **" but either tradition, or " poetic imagination, or both, magnified it into one of " altogether incredible dimensions "** (BE. lvi): as to the manifestation at Sinai, **" it seems reasonable to regard the " narratives recounting the delivery of the law at Sinai " as a dramatic picture the details of which are not to be " pressed "** (Dr. Wade, quoted BE. 176); and **" As Dillm. " remarks the ' natural foundation ' of the description " in v. 16, 18 (cf. xx. 18) is evidently a *thunderstorm* "** (BE. 176): nor are we to suppose that the Voice of God was heard;—**" The " divine communications made to Moses were presumably " internal than rather external; and were imparted through " the avenues of reflection and conscience rather than by " the outward hearing "** (Dr. Wade, BE. 176): **" The literal " truth was that God spake to the heart of Moses: the poetic " truth was that He spoke in thunder and lightning from the " crest of Sinai "** (Dr. Sanday, BE. 177).

As with the history, so with the poetry of the Pentateuch. The blessing of Jacob, Gen: xlix, is ascribed to **" the age of the judges, " or a little later "** (BG. 380); the song of Miriam to **" the " early years of the Davidic dynasty "** (BE. 131), or even to a **" late date, not earlier than c. 600 BC."** (BE. 130); the song of Moses, Deut: xxxii, to **" a period considerably later than that " of Moses "** (BE. 96), perhaps even **" the age of Jer. and " Ezek."** (BE. 97); while the Blessing of Moses is **" best**

**"regarded—like the poems attributed to Balaam in Nu. "xxii-xxiv—as the poetical development of an ancient "popular tradition"** (BE. 98).

It is no better with regard to the legislation. The laws of the "Book of the Covenant" **"represent, to use Cornill's expres-"sion, the 'consuetudinary law of the early monarchy,' and "include . . . the formulated decisions which, after having "been begun by Moses, . . . had gradually been accumu-"lated up to that age"** (BE. 203). As regards D, **"the bulk "of the laws contained in Dt. is undoubtedly far more ancient "than the time of the author himself"** (LOT. 91), and **"un-"questionably derived from *pre-existent usage*,"** but they are not therefore Mosaic, only **"the principles on which Dt. "insists are thus in substance Mosaic"** (LOT. 91). The laws of P **"included later elements,"** and were a **"gradual "expansion . . . from a Mosaic nucleus"** (LOT. 154, and note). Its hierarchy is later than Ezekiel: its **"elaborate sacrificial "and ceremonial system"** is **"not historically probable"** (BE. 258). Even the Decalogue is not definitely ascribed to Moses.

It is much the same with religious ideas. **"The religion of "Moses was—to speak technically—*ethical henotheism*; i.e. "(1) it implied the exclusive worship of 'one' God only, "though without affirming that this God was necessarily the "*only* God (monotheism), and (2) the God thus worshipped "had a distinctively moral character."** BE. 413.

This does not attribute a very lofty conception of God to even Moses himself, and Mr. Addis (OSSP. 372) does not admit even **"Monolatry (i.e the worship and public recognition of "one, only God)"** to the Mosaic age. The patriarchal idea of God is, of course, considered to have been cruder still.

As to religious institutions, **"The *Passover*, at least in its "primitive form, is in all probability a pre-Mosaic institu-"tion"** (BE. 410). **"That it was a night festival, celebrated "at the time of the vernal full moon, may point to its having "stood primarily in some relation to the moon"**; and its central features **"suggest that it was originally a sacrifice of "propitiation and purification, offered annually in spring "by each household for the purpose of renewing by the "common meal the sense of communion with the Deity, "and of protecting, by the use made of the sacrificial blood, "tents—or, later, houses—with the flocks belonging to them, "from pestilence or other calamnity during the coming "year"** (BE. 410). The Feast of Unleavened Bread was borrowed from a Canaanite custom (and therefore after the entry into Canaan) of dedicating **"every spring at the beginning of harvest, the "firstfruits of the corn."** This and the Passover **"were**

**"celebrated in the spring; and so, not unnaturally, they "were united"**; and, as **"the spring was also the time of "year at which the Israelites left Egypt,"** these two festivals **"came to be regarded as memorials of the event"** (BE. 412). So that the Passover of the Pentateuch (J, D, and P) was in reality the combination of two institutions, one pre-Mosaic and the other post-Mosaic, neither of which had any connection with the Exodus. The other two Feasts, of Harvest and of Ingathering, seem to be also treated as post-Mosaic. The Sabbath was possibly **"of "Babylonian origin,"** but originally its observance was much less strict than it afterwards became (see BE. 198). As to a sanctuary, **"there are no grounds whatever for calling in question "the genuine historical character of the primitive Tent "of Meeting of J and E"** (BE. 428), but **"it does not seem "possible to regard the Tent of Meeting, *as described by* "*P*, as historical."** BE. 430.

Amid all this welter of myths, legends, traditions, outlines coloured by later associations, expansions of some original nucleus, idealizations, poetic imaginations, what firm standing ground is left?

For the time before Abraham, there is no history at all; only myth.

For the patriarchal times, there are a number of narratives which *may* have **"a historic core,"** which has been much amplified and coloured in the course of oral transmission, and it is not certain that these narratives really refer to individuals.

For the rest, **"That the ancestors—or *some* of the ancestors "—of the later Israelites were for long settled in Egypt, and, "in the end, subjected there to hard bondage; that Moses "was the leader who, after much opposition on the part "of the Pharaoh, rescued them from their thraldom at a "time when Egypt was paralysed by an unprecedented suc- "cession of national calamities, and led them through a part "of the Red Sea usually covered with water beyond reach "of their recent oppressors; that he brought them after- "wards to a mountain where Israel received through him "a revelation which was a new departure in the national "religion, and became the foundation both of the later "religion of Israel, and of Christianity; that he originated, "or, more probably, adapted, customs and institutions "from which the later civil and religious organization of "the nation was developed; and that thus Israel owed to "Moses both its national existence and, ultimately, its relig- "ious character,—these and other facts such as these, cannot "be called in question by a reasonable criticism."** BE. xliv.

**"A collection of nomad tribes, belonging to the Semitic "family, and known by the general name of Israelites,**

"**wandered about in the district immediately south of "Palestine, and settled for a time at a spot which bore the "ancient Semitic name Kadesh; and from thence they, or "some of them, moved to the steppes of Moab opposite "Jericho. They were under the command of a chief named "Moses, who appears to have been a man of remarkable "power of command and personal influence, and of a high "moral character. And he died in Moab before the tribes "who accompanied him made their way across the Jordan "into Palestine.**" BN. xxi.

These tribes were not numerous, "**a body of settlers num-"bering some 5–6,000 souls**" (BE. xlv); "**their numbers "were comparatively insignificant, their social standing "obscure**" (Sayce, BE. xlvi); their "**principal occupations were the pasturing of cattle, and the forced labour of the "*corvée*.**" BE. 427.

On their escape from Egypt, they were led to a mountain, whose whereabouts is uncertain, and witnessed—a thunderstorm. No Divine communication was made to them; only to Moses "**through "the avenues of reflection and conscience.**" * Moses did not give them "**a finished *code***" (BE. 161), but only "**decisions "on social and religious matters**" (BN. xx), "**the primitive "nucleus of Hebrew law**" (BE. 161), and so little is known of these decisions that it is impossible "**to decide with certainty "whether any given command can be traceable to him.**" BN. xx.

The "**new departure in the national religion**" was no very wide departure from other religions. It was "**henotheism**" not monotheism, teaching the Israelites to worship JEHOVAH only, without affirming that He was the only God. That would leave them free to consider Isis and Osiris, Baal, Moloch and Ashtoreth, Rimmon and Nebo as also gods for the other nations. It affirmed that He had "**a distinctively *moral* character, and "demanded the practice of morality on the part of his "worshippers**" (BE. 413), which does not go so far as asserting that He is Holy, and therefore His people must be holy.

In externals, this religion was of the most elementary character. There was a Tent of Meeting, but it was "**an ordinary nomad "tent which Moses could himself carry and pitch**" (BN. 2), and guarded by a single attendant. There was a sacred Ark, but it was a "**simple chest**"; not the Ark "of the Covenant" or "of the Testimony," but perhaps containing "**a stone, or stones,**

* If this be true, what becomes of the argument that the Decalogue was not included in "all the words" which Moses told the people, because the Decalogue was that "**which the people had heard themselves**"? (see above, p. 220).

**" taken from the sacred ' mount of God ' Horeb "** (BE. 280). Altars were of the **" simplest material,"** earth or stone, and might be erected **" wherever Jehovah gave occasion for His " name to be commemorated "** (BE. 206). Sacrifices were offered, but **" any Israelite might sacrifice "** (BE. 206) ; **" there " were no priests to offer sacrifice "** (BN. xv). For sacred seasons, there were only a pre-Mosaic spring festival of the Passover, and a Babylonian Sabbath, both of the simplest kind.

In after ages, these exceedingly bald and meagre outlines were gradually amplified and elaborated.

Some 400 or 500 years after the ***" Probable real date of the " Exodus*, c. 1230 "** (BE. viii), J and E wove the traditions current among the people into **" wonderful pictures of life and char- " acter, and ever-varying incident "** (BE. xliv) : about two centuries later, D composed **" a great manifesto against the " dominant tendencies of the time "** (LOT. 89) in the shape of a series of sublime discourses attributed to Moses : and nearly 200 years later, P presents **" an ideal picture of the Mosaic " age, constructed, indeed, upon a genuine traditional basis " but so conceived as to exemplify the principles by which " an ideal theocracy should be regulated "** (LOT. 128). Both JE and D contains collections of laws **" based upon a Mosaic " nucleus, and perpetuating Mosaic principles, but aug- " mented by the decisions of later priests or judges, framed " to meet the needs of a wider and more varied national " life "** (BE. 161) :—P has codified **" pre-existent Temple " usage "** into a splendid ceremonial, **" idealized "** a simple Tent of Meeting into a gorgeous and costly Tabernacle giving **" visible expression to various theological and religious " truths,"** and gathered priestly *Toroth*—oral directions—into an elaborate moral and social code.

These different sources, originally separate and independent, have been most intricately combined,—J with E, JE with D, JED with PH (another combination),—by a series of redactors, sometimes not very skilful, and sometimes not very scrupulous in dealing with their materials.

In this piecemeal and disconnected fashion has been produced that marvellous work which for more than 2,000 years has been reverenced as " the law of Moses, which the LORD had commanded " to Israel " (Neh: viii. 1), whose " composite " nature it was reserved for the latter half of the 18th century to begin to discover. Moreover the irony of it is that, according to this account, the value of this work lies, not in the substratum of historic fact, but in the more or less imaginative additions of later ages. Who would be stirred or benefited by the petty and almost sordid representations of the Israelite history outlined on pp: 420, 421 ? It is the moving narratives of JE, the burning eloquence and lofty spirituality of

D, the idealizations of P which constitute the real value of the Pentateuch.

Such are the conclusions which are offered to us as the **" assured " results "** of modern criticism.

Are they not sufficiently startling to make every thinking man pause, and inquire whether the arguments are really well founded and the reasonings invariably sound which lead to results so portentous ?

# XLVI.

## AGREEMENT OF CRITICS.

An argument often used in favour of the critical conclusions, and of great weight with many, is derived from the alleged unanimity of scholars in accepting them. So Prof. Driver (HC. vii) speaks of the "**generally accepted conclusions**" of the Higher Criticism; and the Dean of Ely (HC. 7) says, "**Now practically every "one who has made any serious study of the Old Testament "has left himself compelled to admit that the traditional "view of its character—the view which was generally accepted "fifty years ago—can no longer be maintained without "modification.**"

Of course, those who have not the time or the aptitude for the study of an intricate question are impressed by these claims. They naturally argue, Here is a large body of men, able and erudite, who have devoted years of patient industry to the study of this matter: they are experts: where they agree, it would be presumptuous of us to question their conclusions.

Are, then, the experts unanimous?

Though the number of leading scholars and theologians in Germany, England, and America who have accepted the critical position is very great, it ought not to be overlooked that there are still some good names on the other side. The experts are not absolutely unanimous.

Even the critics themselves are not agreed on all points. "**Na-"turally, in a subject covering a wide area, and embracing "many and varied details, some conclusions have been "drawn which, though they approve themselves to individual "critics, rest upon fewer and slighter *data* than others, and "are not accepted by all critics.**" HC. viii.

"**Of course, also, the expression**" [generally accepted conclusions of the Higher Criticism] "**does not include the "questionable historical speculations which have been "recently—though, as has been shown above, unjustly— "laid somewhat freely to the charge of the 'Higher Criti- "'cism.'**" HC. ix.

"**The results of literary criticism are at best only probable,**

**" though in many cases the probability amounts to practical " certainty; but literary criticism has been pushed to the " wildest extremes, as for instance when we are told " that we have no genuine writings of the prophet Jeremiah " except a few lyric poems, and that only a dim remem- " brance of the grand form of the prophet is to be discerned " in the poetic portions of the book. The results of historical " criticism, again, are only probable; it may easily be " mistaken in its attempts to reconstruct history from " scanty details; it is often presumptuous in presenting " as certainties what are only tentative theories. Every " movement is sure to have its extravagances; they mis- " represent and injure it, for those who dislike the movement " are only too ready to judge it by its extravagances, and " to point to them as characteristic, when they are mere " excrescences; and at the present time there are such " extravagances of criticism which must not be regarded " as normal and representative."** (The Dean of Ely, HC. 10).

The studied caution of this last extract is in marked contrast to some dogmatic utterances of the critical school.

Dr. Kirkpatrick is careful to speak only of **" probability,"** amounting in many cases to **" practical certainty "**: whereas Prof. Driver asserts (LOT. 8), **" As soon as the book** [Genesis] **is " studied with sufficient attention, phenomena disclose them- " selves which show incontrovertibly that it is composed " of distinct documents or sources "**; and **" the Mosaic " authorship of Gen—Nu. cannot be sustained "** (LOT. 85). This claims something more than even practical certainty.

Both writers admit some differences of opinion, though Dr. Driver limits these to what he calls the **" margin of uncertainty,"** while Dr. Kirkpatrick is condemning **" extravagances of " criticism."**

Both extracts, however, disclose something of diffidence regarding **" historical "** as distinguished from **" literary "** criticism. Indeed both writers seem anxious to limit the term " Higher " Criticism " to literary criticism alone :—**" The problems which " form the subject of the ' Higher Criticism ' are thus pro- " perly *literary* problems . . . these** [other] **questions belong " properly not to the ' higher ' criticism, but to *historical* " criticism "** (Dr. Driver, HC. vi) ;—**" (3) The so-called " ' higher,' or literary criticism has investigated the origin " of the various books . . . (4) Historical criticism affirms " that much of the history has been coloured "** etc: (The Dean of Ely, HC. 6).

Yet the question of the origin of the Pentateuch is not purely literary, for Dr. Driver says (LOT. 136), **" The earlier criticism " of the Pent. was mostly literary, and literary criteria,**

**" though they enable us to effect the analysis of a document " into its component parts, do not always afford decisive " evidence as to the date to which the component parts are " severally to be assigned."** So also Mr. Chapman (IP. 34), **" The fact that commentators on the OT, who have proved " themselves sharp-sighted and discriminating critics, " have assigned very different dates to the same portions not " only of the Hexateuch, but also of other books (e.g. " Isaiah, Zechariah, and the Psalms), is in itself a proof " that the literary method alone is inadequate when applied " to the OT. To determine when the different documents " in the Hexateuch were written is a *historical* investigation " rather than a *literary* one."** Indeed the arguments for the late dates assigned to the sources are mainly historical, not literary. So the critical theory of the origin of the Pentateuch rests to a considerable extent on that historical criticism which is in some degree treated as less reliable.

There is, however, one question of purely literary criticism on which present-day critics are not wholly agreed, and that is the analysis of JE. **" The resemblance,"** says Dr. Moore (art: " Genesis," Enc: Bibl:), **" in matter, form and spirit is indeed " so close that where, for any reason, the criterion of the " Divine Names fails us, it is often impossible to determine " with confidence from which of the two sources, J or E, " certain parts of the composite narrative are derived."**

Prof. Driver says, a little more boldly (LOT. 14), **" In the " *details* of the analysis of JE there is sometimes uncertainty, " owing to the criteria being indecisive, and capable, con- " sequently, of divergent interpretation."**

Elsewhere (LOT. 116) his tone is not quite so confident :—**" The " writer has often considered these questions, but, while " readily admitting the liability to error, which, from the " literary character of the narrative, accompanies the assign- " ment of particular verses to J or E, and which warns the " critic to express his judgment with reserve, he must own " that he has always risen from the study of ' JE ' with the " conviction that it *is* composite ; and that passages occur " frequently in juxtaposition which nevertheless contain " indications of not being the work of one and the same " hand."**

There seems to be some slight note of hesitation as to whether the narrative is composite at all, else why should it be necessary to consider these questions repeatedly ? The fact, too, that Bacon's analysis of Exod: i–xi is given by Dr. Driver (LOT. 86, 87) evidently with some measure of approval, though differing from his own, yet with the remark, **" The writer hesitates to adopt**

**"absolutely results on which at present (Dec. 1896) no "judgment has been expressed by other scholars"**; and the further fact that in his later work on Exodus (see Appendix A, p: 503) Dr. Driver has accepted some but not all of Bacon's conclusions, show how much uncertainty hangs over this part of the analysis.

It is questionable whether uncertainty as regards so much of the text (nearly half Exodus, and five full chapters of Numbers) can fairly be considered a mere matter of **"details."** If large portions of the narrative are so much alike that it is often impossible to distinguish the sources, and considerable differences of opinion actually exist among the critics, then it is clear that the evidence for the analysis of the Pentateuch is, in this respect, not so very indubitable, and the whole case is so far weakened.

Still the contention is that the differences of critics are limited to matters where the evidence is ambiguous:—**"the differences "between critics, which are sometimes laid indiscrimin- "ately to their charge, and spoken of as if they implied on "their part the habitual use of false methods, are in reality "limited to this margin of uncertainty, where their occur- "rence is simply a natural consequence of the imperfection "or ambiguity of the data."** HC. 41.

Where the question at issue is whether the text is capable of analysis at all, the **"imperfection or ambiguity of the data"** which causes the critics to differ in a tolerably wide **"margin of "uncertainty"** really means that so much of the evidence does not support the view that analysis is possible.

But, passing that by, there is something more to be considered. Granting that the critics of the present day are practically unanimous, at least as regards the distinction between JE and P, the past and the future have also to be taken into account.

The analysis of the Pentateuch, beginning with the simple division between Elohist and Jehovist, dates from Astruc in 1753:— **"Jean Astruc has the merit of opening the true path of this "investigation"** (Wellhausen, art: "Pentateuch," Enc: Britt: from which the rest of this short sketch of the history of the Higher Criticism is condensed). This developed into the "Fragmentary "Hypothesis," according to which the Pentateuch was resolved into **"an agglomeration of longer and shorter fragments, between "which no threads of continuous connection could be traced."**

In 1805, little more than 50 years after Astruc, De Wette maintained that Deuteronomy was composed in the reign of Josiah, **"and pronounced it to be the most recent stratum of the "Pentateuch, not, as had been previously supposed, the "oldest."** From his teaching arose the "Supplementary Hypo-

"thesis," according to which "**the Elohist had written the "*Grundschrift*, or primary narrative, which lay before the "Jehovist and was supplemented by him,**" and therefore the order was PE, J, D.

In 1853, Hupfeld drew the distinction between the Elohist of Gen: i (P), and the "**younger Elohist**" of Gen: xx (E). This distinction, as further expanded by Nöldeke and Knobel, was the foundation of the present theory as to the JE document, but for a whole century the very marked difference which is now alleged to exist between P and E had remained altogether unrecognized.

It was not till 1866 that Graf propounded the theory that the Priestly Code was the latest of the Pentateuch sources; that the true order was not P, E, J, D, but JE, D, P. From this came the teaching that the historical development of Israelite religion corresponded to the three strata of law thus distinguished, which is the theory now advocated

Hence it will be seen that in the relatively short period of about 160 years the critical theory has passed through several vicissitudes, with at least three principal phases, and that the Graf-Wellhausen form of it, now so strenuously advocated, is barely 52 years old. Nor have these changes been the uniform development of growth: on the contrary, the various stages have been mutually contradictory. Thus at first D was considered the oldest of the sources, then the latest, and now is assigned an intermediate position.

The critics of the present day, then, however much they may agree among themselves, do not agree with the critics of the past. On one point, and only one point, all are agreed, viz: that the Pentateuch is composite, that there is *an* analysis; but the theory of Eichhorn is not the theory of De Wette, and neither agrees with that of Graf, to say nothing of lesser variations. And these differences are not limited to the "**margin of uncertainty.**"

The ever-increasing complexity of the critical theory lays it open to some suspicion: the contradictory nature of the changes it has undergone increase that suspicion considerably.

The critics of to-day assume that something like finality has now been reached, and that the present theory may be reckoned among the "**assured results**" of critical science: "**There is a large "area on which the *data* are clear: here, accordingly, critics "are agreed, and their conclusions are not likely to be ever "reversed. And this area includes many of the most im-"portant results which criticism has reached**" (LOT. vi). But this confidence in the irreversible nature of the critical conclusions is not wholly warranted. It is said that already in Germany there have been signs of revolt against the Graf-Wellhausen theory among critics, and Mr. Addis says (OSSP. 374), "**If however Dr. "Eerdmans is right, we must believe that the criticism of "the Hexateuch from its very outset has been following an**

**"*ignis fatuus* . . . Eerdmans entirely repudiates the view "that Genesis is composed of J, E, and P."**

Considering, then, the very recent origin of the present theory; considering the vicissitudes of Old Testament criticism in the past; considering the no less startling vicissitudes of New Testament criticism (where is now the Tübingen school?) the assumption that the criticism of the Pentateuch has said its last word in the Graf-Wellhausen theory is hardly a safe one to make. Before we bow to the **"generally accepted conclusions of the Higher "Criticism,"** it may be as well to wait awhile, and make sure that these in their turn will not be superseded. All the possible variations of the letters JEDPH have not yet been exhausted.

Even the extravagances and excrescences which the Dean of Ely deplores ought not to be altogether ignored as though they had no possible significance. He admits that **"literary criticism "has been pushed to the wildest extremes,"** and that historical criticism **"is often presumptuous in presenting as certainties "what are only tentative theories."** Certainly it would not be fair to condemn the more sober conclusions of moderate critics on account of these **"extravagances,"** yet these same extravagances, in so far as they are arrived at by the use of critical methods, may serve usefully as danger signals. Methods which may lead to results like these must not be too implicitly trusted.

# XLVII.

## THE STAGES OF THE CRITICAL THEORY (JE AND D).

(A). *The work of* **J** *and* **E.**

The earliest sources from which the Pentateuch was drawn were, we are assured, **" two narratives of the patriarchal and Mosaic " ages, independent, yet largely resembling each other "** (LOT. 116). Of these, J is considered to have been the work of a writer in the Southern Kingdom about BC. 850 ; E, the work of a writer in the Northern Kingdom about 750.* The earlier of the two is, therefore, dated about 4 centuries later than Moses, and 12 or 13 centuries later than Abraham.

As there is no external evidence that these narratives ever existed, it is legitimate to consider some improbabilities involved.

(1) The critics admit that the art of writing was known in patriarchal times ;—**" it is not denied that the patriarchs " possessed the art of writing "** (BG. xliii) :—and that some at least of the laws and sacred institutions of Israel were Mosaic in origin ;—**" It cannot be doubted that Moses was the ultimate " founder of both the national and the religious life of Israel ; " and that he provided his people not only with at least " the nucleus of a system of civil ordinances . . . but also ". . . with some system of ceremonial observances "** (LOT. 152).

In considering the question how far J and E employed older sources (LOT. 121, 122), Dr. Driver, after mentioning poetical extracts (such as those from the Books of the Wars of the LORD, and of Jashar, and other **" lyric poems "**), continues, **" the command " to write ' in a book ' the threat to extirpate Amalek, (Ex. " xvii 14), makes it probable that some written statement " existed of the combat of Israel with Amalek. . . . The " Ten Commandments, which E incorporates, of course " existed already in a written form. . . . The ordinances " which form the basis of the ' Book of the Covenant ' must " also have existed in a written shape before they were in-**

* These are Wellhausen's dates, accepted by Dr. Driver. Some critics give E the earlier date, and J the later.

**" corporated in the narrative of E ; as well as the ' Words " ' of the Covenant,' which, probably in an enlarged form, " are preserved in Ex. xxxiv. 10 ff (cf. v. 27 f). The existence " of written laws c. 750 BC. is implied by Hos. viii. 12."** LOT. 122.

It is but a meagre list : a few scraps of poetry, and a few morsels of legislation, and that is all.

It is quite credible that for four centuries the Israelites were content with such fragments as these ? that there was no kind of consecutive record of their history ? and that such a record was, in the end, left to the unauthorized initiative of two unknown writers who independently **" cast into a literary form the traditions " respecting the beginnings of the nation that were current " among the people "** (LOT. 117) ? Was there no history of the people extant in the reigns of David and Solomon, and for nearly a century after that ? What of the " recorder " (or " remembrancer ") mentioned in 2 Sam: viii. 16 ?

(2) The extraordinary similarity of the style of the two narratives has also to be accounted for.

In his analysis in LOT, Dr. Driver ceases to give separate lines to J and E after Exodus, and from Numbers to Joshua gives a combined JE line. Even as regards Exodus, he says (LOT. 39), **" In the preceding pages no attempt has been made to give " more than an outline of the structure of JE's narrative " in c. xix–xxiv, xxxii–xxxiv. Much has been written upon " it ; but though it displays plain marks of composition, " it fails to supply the criteria requisite for distributing " it in detail between the narrators."** Again in BE (p: xiv) he writes, **" there are passages of JE in which, from the " insufficiency, or ambiguity of the criteria, the analysis " is uncertain, and different critics may arrive at different " conclusions."** Of Num: xi he says (LOT. 62), **" as is often " the case in JE, the data do not exist for separating the " sources employed with confidence "** ; and of Num: xxiii, xxiv, **" It is uncertain whether c. xxiii–xxiv belong to J or E, or " whether they are the work of the compiler who has made " use of both sources critics differ, and it is wisest to leave " the question undetermined."** LOT. 67. (See also above pp: 426, 427.)

In plain English all this means that in a large part of the narratives ascribed to JE the style is so uniform that it is impossible to distinguish ; and what one critic assigns to J, another may as, plausibly assign to E.

The resemblance must be very strong indeed.

Now if J lived in the Southern Kingdom in 850, and E in the Northern Kingdom a century later, is it likely that their styles would be so nearly identical ? **" The similarity of the narra-**

**"tives, such as it is, is sufficiently explained by the fact "that their subject matter is (approximately) the same, "and they both originated in the same general period of "Israelitish literature."** LOT. 117.

Is it sufficiently explained? Hosea and Amos lived about the same time, in the period to which E is assigned; both prophesied in the Northern Kingdom (Amos coming from the Southern); their subject-matter has a great deal in common. Yet Amos' **"regular flowing sentences form a remarkable contrast "with the short, abrupt clauses which Hosea loves"** (LOT. 317). Froude and Greene were contemporaries, and both wrote histories of England: are their styles remarkably alike? Can the critics produce a single parallel instance of two writers, really independent of one another, whose styles are so much alike as to be all but indistinguishable?

(3) Again, the critical theory requires that these two narratives should have been **"combined together into a single whole "at a relatively early period of the history of Israel (approxi- "mately, in the 8th century, BC),"** LOT. 116;—**"probably "in the early part of the 7th cent. BC."** BE. xi.

How and why was this combination made? **"Not long, "probably, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 "BC, a prophet of Judah conceived the plan of compiling "a comprehensive history of the traditions of his people"** (Enc: Britt: ed: xi, vol: iii, p: 851, b).

**"It is also natural to suppose that, when the Kingdom of "Israel came to an end, the surviving kingdom of Judah "might incorporate portions of the northern records with "its own."** IP. 182.

There is a considerable element of supposition in all this. Still, supposing there was this unknown **"prophet of Judah,"** and supposing he had formed this plan of **"compiling a comprehen- "sive history of the traditions of his people,"** what were his materials?

He had, we may "suppose," access to the J document embodying the traditions of the Southern Kingdom, but what about E? What reason is there for supposing that it was part of the **"northern "records"**? If it was part of the records, how came it to be preserved when the kingdom fell? How came it into the Southern Kingdom at all? and how into the hands of the prophet of Judah?

Even supposing that the prophet had both documents before him, why should he want to combine them? The two kingdoms had been at feud for nearly a couple of centuries; what interest would he have in intertwining their records? At least, they embodied rival traditions: E has an **"Ephraimitic tinge"** (LOT. 122); why should a prophet of Judah combine this with J which exalted Judah's position? Why, too, should he interweave inconsistent

versions of the same incidents, as he is supposed to have done in the histories of Joseph and Balaam? Why, in particular, should he at times give preference to E over his own record J? For instance, the Decalogue, and the account of Moses' **"establishment "of his judicial system"** in Exod: xviii (BE. 162) are attributed wholly to E: had J no record of these important matters?

(4) Then, supposing the narratives were so combined, when and how did the combination come to be received as authoritative? Was it so recognized before 621, within a century of the combination being made? Yet it must have been so recognized, for it is on the laws and history of JE that Deuteronomy is founded.

The initial stage of the critical theory, then, is not free from improbabilities:—

(1) It is unlikely that the Israelites possessed no record of their early history before 850 BC.;—

(2) It is unlikely that two writers, belonging to different sections of the people and separated by a century of time, would use styles so closely alike;—

(3) It is unlikely that two such works would have been combined at all, and still less likely that they would have been combined in such a manner;—

(4) It is unlikely that such a combination would have been accepted as of Divine authority within so short a period.

(B) *The work of D.*

Deuteronomy, we are told, is a late production **"in the period "between Isaiah and Jeremiah"** (LOT. 88), but probably **"not later than the reign of Manasseh"** (LOT. 87). Yet much of the substance of Deuteronomy was not novel:—**"the "laws of Dt. are unquestionably derived from *pre-existent* "*usage*. . . . The new element in Dt. is thus not the laws, "but their *parenetic setting*."** Even this parenetic setting **"is new, not in substance, but only in form. The point of "capital importance in Dt. is the attitude of the nation "towards Jehovah: throughout the discourses the author's "aim is to provide motives by which to secure loyalty to "Him. But Moses also (as critics themselves do not doubt) "laid the greatest stress upon Jehovah's being the sole and "exclusive object of Israel's reverence: the principles on "which Dt. insists are thus in substance Mosaic: all that "belongs to the post-Mosaic author is the rhetorical form "in which they are presented. Deuteronomy may be de-"scribed as the *prophetic reformulation, and adaptation* "*to new needs, of an older legislation*."** LOT. 91.

It is a little difficult to understand how the critics can be so very sure of the principles insisted on by Moses, seeing that they themselves have left so very little to be recognized as genuinely

Mosaic ; and if Mr. Addis is right in not accepting the Decalogue as "**the work of Moses**" because Monolatry was not then known (see above, p: 399), it becomes very doubtful indeed whether Moses laid any stress at all "**upon Jehovah's being the sole "and exclusive object of Israel's reverence.**"

Further, if so very much of Deuteronomy,—the bulk of the laws, the principles, the substance of the "**parenetic setting,**" in fact all but the "**rhetorical form,**"—was ancient, how came it that Josiah and his people were (as other critics have strongly urged) startled by something altogether new to them ?

But our concern is with Prof. Driver's view of D's work, and, according to that, the origin of D was somewhat after this fashion :—

An evil monarch is on the throne ; under his auspices, idolatry is rampant throughout the land, and especially in Jerusalem ; tyranny and bloodshed abound. In these circumstances, some individual unknown, thoroughly imbued with the prophetic ideas, is stirred to compose "**a great manifesto against the dominant "tendencies of the times.**" LOT. 89.

He has ancient material to work on. There is the JE document, at least 100 years old, and containing the still older "Book of "the Covenant" ; there is a larger body of laws preserved in "**pre-existent usage**" ; there are the "**fundamental principles "which Moses had long ago insisted on, loyalty to Jehovah "and repudiation of all false gods.**" In addition, there are "**the ideals of the prophets, especially of Hosea and Isaiah**" ; ideals of a "**holy nation pictured in Isaiah's vision,**" and of "**that devotion to God, and love for man, which Hosea had "declared to be the first of human duties.**" LOT. 189.

Possibly there is even something to determine the form of his composition :—"**It is highly probable that there existed the "tradition of a final legislative address delivered by Moses "in the plains of Moab : there would be a more obvious "motive for the plan followed by the author, if it could be "supposed that he worked thus upon a traditional basis.**" LOT. 191.

Fired by zeal and the greatness of his subject, he composes a series of discourses which he puts into the mouth of Moses himself, as the great lawgiver's parting address to his people. Undoubtedly it is a magnificent composition :—"**Nowhere else in the OT do "we breathe such an atmosphere of generous devotion to God "and of large-hearted benevolence towards man**" (LOT. 79) : —"**In setting forth these truths the author exhausts all his "eloquence : in impressive and melodious periods, he "dilates upon the claims which Jehovah has upon the "Israelite's allegiance, and seeks by ever appealing to the "most generous and powerful motives to stir Israel's heart "to respond with undivided loyalty and affection**" (LOT. 89) :

—" **His power as an orator is shewn in the long and stately " periods with which his work abounds. . . . In his com- " mand of a chaste, yet warm and persuasive eloquence, " he stands unique among the writers of the Old Testament."** LOT. 102.

How well would these glowing descriptions befit the supreme oration of a great man on the great occasion of his farewell to a people whom he had tenderly loved and faithfully served! But no; it is only (according to the critics) the work of an unknown writer centuries later. What a genius he must have been!

(1) What does this gifted author do with his masterpiece? Does he proclaim it to the people? or make it known to the princes and to the king, as was done with Jeremiah's roll? Not at all. He is content to " **provide in anticipation a spiritual rallying- " point, round which, when circumstances favoured, the " disorganized forces of the national religion might range " themselves again** " (LOT. 89). Actually this " **great mani- " festo** " remains undiscovered and unknown for 20 years or more, and might have remained for ever unknown but for the accident that " **some repairs were being carried on in the Temple.**" LOT. 87.

How came it into the Temple? Did the author go and hide it there? Why should he have hidden it there? and how came he to have access to " the House of the LORD "? Or did he give it to some priest to hide? If so, for what reason? and why did not the priest reveal its existence earlier?

(2) When it is found, the High Priest does not recognize it as a modern production, only 20 or 30 years old, but declares that he has found " the Book of the Law in the House of the LORD." Josiah too supposes it to be ancient, for he says, " Great is the " wrath of the LORD that is kindled against us, because our fathers " have not hearkened unto the words of this book " (2 Kgs: xxii. 13). Whatever may have been the intention of the writer in attributing his composition to Moses, the effect produced by it is clearly due to a belief in its Divine authority, and this belief is accepted and endorsed by the reply of the prophetess Huldah (2 Kgs: xxii. 15–19).

(3) There are yet further difficulties. The writer of D has not contented himself with reformulating the older legislation: in some instances (it is alleged) he has departed from it. Perhaps some of these may be accounted for as " **an adaptation to new " needs,**" though it is hard to guess why a writer in Manasseh's time should think it needful to modify the laws about Hebrew slaves (Deut: xv. 12–18) and the Year of Release (Deut: xv. 1–11), which are two of the three instances of " **marked divergence** " specified by Dr. Driver (LOT. 82). But the law of the Central Sanctuary stands on a different footing. It is not a mere adaptation, but a complete reversal of the " **older legislation** " and the

"**pre-existent usage.**" According to the critics, Exod: xx. 24 permitted sacrifice "in every place where I record my name," and this permission had been consistently acted on from Joshua to Solomon, and continued to be the sanction for worship at the "high places" till the time of Josiah. Whereas "**in Dt. the law "respecting sacrifice is unambiguous and strict**" that sacrifice must only be offered "**at some central sanctuary**" (LOT. 85), and this principle is "**energetically inculcated**" in Deuteronomy *because* "**the progress of spiritual religion "demanded the unconditional abolition of the local shrines**" (LOT. 93). Now the writer of D was not ignorant of the provisions of JE, for the laws in JE "**form *the foundation of the Deuter-* "*onomic legislation***" (LOT. 75), and his very aim was to abolish the existing usage. Knowingly and deliberately, therefore, he must have attributed to Moses a law which he knew to be contrary to the ancient one, and inconsistent with long established "**pre-existent usage.**" Even if this be credible, was there no one who knew enough of the old law, and the usage sanctioned by it, to challenge this innovation? In particular, Hilkiah, who as High Priest must have known the provisions of Exod: xx. 24, —did he acquiesce in the introduction, under cover of Moses' authority, of a new and contradictory law, and that in the interests of the sanctuary he served?

(4) It is remarkable, too, that the position and nature of D's central sanctuary is nowhere defined: it is only "the place which "the LORD your God shall choose out of all your tribes" (Deut: xii. 5). For all that appears in Deuteronomy this might apply to Gerizim, as the Samaritans have since claimed, or to Bethel, where Jeroboam's altar was still in existence. In Manasseh's time, the Temple of Solomon had been established for 300 years. Is it credible that a writer of that age would not have made it clear in some way that his law referred to that Temple, and to that alone?

It is not that he is careful to avoid anachronism, for (according to the critics) his "law of the kingdom" is "**coloured by remin- "iscences of the monarchy of Solomon,**" and he alludes to the worship of "the host of heaven" only introduced by Manasseh. Yet on the most important point of all, a point so important that he emphasizes it again and again, he leaves it quite uncertain to what Central Sanctuary he refers. So, too, he never even mentions the "high places" he is supposed to be specially anxious to abolish.

(5) Again, did the volume which Hilkiah found, and Shaphan read before the king, contain D alone, or did it contain JE as well? If it contained D alone, how came that to be described as "the book "of the law" (2 Kgs: xxii. 8), and "the book of the covenant" (2 Kgs: xxiii. 2), when JE was already recognized as containing the law and the Book of the Covenant? Or, if JE had not been so

recognized, how did that come to be combined with D afterwards ?

If however Hilkiah's roll contained both documents already combined, who combined them ? and when ? Did the modern author of D himself combine his own work with the already venerable JE ? or did some one else do it for him before it was hidden in the Temple ? How was it that no one of those who read the book, or heard it read, ever noticed that part of it was familiar and part was strange : and that the two parts did not agree on so important a point as the place of sacrifice ?

The second stage of the critical theory also is beset with improbabilities :—

(1) The author, though stirred to its composition by the evils around him, made no use of it, and leaves its discovery to chance ;—

(2) On its discovery, no one suspects that it is a modern production, but High Priest, king, prophetess, and people, all alike at once accept it as ancient and of Divine authority ;—

(3) The author, in a discourse attributed to Moses, inserts a law contrary to the law already recognized, and to the established practice ;—

(4) Bent on securing the exclusive use of a Central Sanctuary, he nowhere indicates what Central Sanctuary is meant, or condemns the " high places " he wishes to abolish ;—

(5) At one time or another, a recognized " book of the law " must have been combined with one not so recognized.

# XLVIII.

## THE STAGES OF THE CRITICAL THEORY (PC).

(C) *The work of P.*

Unlike Deuteronomy, the Priestly Code is considered to have been a compilation, the growth of which occupied a considerable time. Part (notably the distinction between Priests and Levites) is said to be later than Ezekiel ; part (as the Law of Holiness) pre-exilic :— **" The *laws* of H date in the main from a considerably earlier " time ; but it seems that they were arranged in their present " parenetic framework, by an author who was at once a priest " and a prophet, probably towards the closing years of " the monarchy "** (LOT. 151). Some parts of P are even earlier still : **" Here** [Deut: xiv. 4–20 =Lev: xi. $2^b$–23] **is a long passage " in great measure verbally identical in Dt. and Lev., and a " critical comparison of the two texts makes it probable " that both are divergent recensions of a common original, " which in each case, but especially in Lev., has been modified " in accordance with the spirit of the book in which it was " incorporated. It is thus apparent that at least one collec- " tion of priestly *Tôrōth*, which now forms part of P, was " in existence when Dt. was written ; and a presumption " at once arises that other parts were in existence also "** (LOT. 145). Hence Lev: xi. 2–23 (and perhaps other parts of the P document) was derived mainly from an original which had been in existence before D was written (say, about 650 BC).

In other matters, too, ancient material has been utilized :— **" In its main stock, the legislation of P was thus not . . . " ' manufactured ' by the priests during the Exile : it is based " upon *pre-existing Temple usage*, and exhibits the form " which that finally assumed."** LOT. 143.

So too the history is based upon tradition :—**" His aim seems " to have been to present an ideal picture of the Mosaic " age, constructed, indeed, upon a genuine traditional " basis. . . . That he does not wilfully desert or falsify tradi- " tion, appears from the fact that even where it set antiquity**

**"in an unfavourable light, he still does not shrink from "recording it."** LOT. 128.

Yet as a whole, though a compilation, P is based upon a definite plan :—**"P is not satisfied to cast into a literary form what "may be termed the popular conception of the patriarchal "and Mosaic age : his aim is to give a *systematic* view, from "a priestly standpoint of the origin and chief institutions "of the Israelitish theocracy."** LOT. 127.

The same idea of system is found in the legislation : while the **"chief ceremonial institutions are *in their origin* of great "antiquity,"** the laws respecting them are **"*formulated in the* "*Priests' Code*"** (LOT. 142), and **"the regulations touching "those institutions are now codified."** LOT. 143.

**"In the arrangement of his material, system and circum-"stantiality are the guiding principles ; and their influence "may be traced both in the plan of his narrative as a whole, "and in his treatment of individual sections."** LOT. 127.

We have, then, to conceive of a priestly writer, somewhere near the time of Ezekiel, setting himself to draw up **"a *systematic* "view, from a priestly standpoint, of the origin and chief "institutions of the Israelitish theocracy."** Method, system, order are the dominant ideas of his plan ;—genealogies, statistics, precise measurements, a grave and even prosaic style, a narrative **"articulated systematically ; the beginning and close of "an enumeration are regularly marked by stated formulæ"** (LOT. 129), are the characteristics of this work.

For the historical portions, he has a body of traditions from which he does not wilfully depart ; and we can scarcely suppose him ignorant of the histories of JE, and the historical allusions of D. For the legislation, he has at least one collection (probably more) of priestly *Toroth*, older than the composition of D ; the legislation of JE and D ; the "Law of Holiness" in its **"parenetic frame-"work"** due to a priest-prophet in the closing years of the monarchy ; and a considerable body of **"pre-existent Temple "usage,"** needing to be codified and formulated. As to these usages, there is no hint as to how or when they originated, or why they were considered obligatory ; only they are ancient, and some even of great antiquity, and had been **"gradually developed and "elaborated"** (LOT. 142) into the form which P was now to reduce to a code. The usages, of course, would be those of the First Temple, by this time probably already destroyed.

How has he dealt with this mass of material ?

(1) *As to the history.* Unless we are to suppose him altogether ignorant of JE, he has deliberately abandoned the hitherto received accounts of the Creation and of the Deluge, and substituted other and inconsistent narratives. He has given different accounts of the origins of the names Isaac, Bethel, and Israel ; of Jacob's

departure for, and return from Haran ; and of the story of Dinah. Despite JE's mention of altars, sacrifices, and the distinction between clean and unclean in patriarchal times, he attributes all these to the Sinaitic legislation, and refuses to recognize them at an earlier period. He considers that the Name JEHOVAH was unknown till the time of Moses, and states this explicitly, although the earliest narrative (J) constantly uses the Name in connection with the patriarchs. He gives a different account of the commission of Moses, of the Plagues, of the Passover, and of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and of the Mission of the Spies. He turns a primitive Tent of Meeting into a gorgeous Sanctuary, and places it in the centre of the camp instead of outside. His account of the Wanderings does not agree with the allusions in D, nor his account of the conquest of Canaan with that of J. His version of the early history certainly differs widely from that of the older account. Some of the changes may be attributed to the deliberate design of ascribing the Israelite sacred institutions to Moses, though to depart from the received history for that purpose would surely be not a little audacious. But in the majority of the matters, what possible motive could P have for abandoning the traditions already enshrined in JE and D in favour of traditions so far unauthorized ?

(2) The *legislation* has fared no better. Here at least the author of P could hardly have been ignorant of the " Book of the Law " received as authoritative in BC, 621 little more than 50 years earlier, and still in force. Yet he differs from it in important particulars. He represents the centralization of worship as laid down at the beginning of the Wanderings, while D places the law at the very end. He provides for the release of Hebrew slaves in the year of Jubilee instead of the Sabbatic year. He gives a different account of the three annual Festivals, turning agricultural feasts into **" occasions fixed arbitrarily for religious " observances,"** kept with far more elaborate ceremonial ; and in so doing differs also from the " Law of Holiness " which he incorporates with his own work. He provides settled residences for the Levites, and enjoins a much stricter rule as to tithes and firstlings, and so far takes a different view of the status and revenues of the Priests and Levites.

It may be said that these changes illustrate the gradual development and elaboration of the laws, and are really based on **" pre- " existing Temple usage."** But then there comes in this difficulty ;—the " Book of the Law " containing Deuteronomy was accepted in 621, and (if PC was then non-existent) we may presume that the Temple usages would be regulated according to its provisions. The Temple usage with which P was acquainted would be that obtaining previous to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586. How came the Temple usage to be so seriously modified in 35 years ?

(3) Again, the chief characteristic of P's work is considered to be his insistence on *system*, order, and method. Apparently, however, accuracy seems to have been no part of his system. **" It " is difficult,"** says Dr. Driver (LOT. 128, note) **" to escape the " conclusion that the representation of P includes elements, " not, in the ordinary sense of the term, historical,"** (i.e. in the ordinary sense of the term, untrue), and instances the chronology and the census numbers. Similarly, **" the chronology of " the book of Genesis,—which is, in effect, P's chronology,— " in spite of the ostensible precision of its details, has no " historical value "** (BG. xxx) ; as regards the length of life before the Deluge, **" The study of science precludes the possibility " of such figures being literally correct "** (BG. 75) ; the figures of the metals used in constructing the Tabernacle are not credible (see BE. 427) ; and even **" The narratives of P we shall hardly " be wrong in regarding, even in details, as far more the " author's own creation than those of J or E "** (BG. lxi).

What a strange author ! He is meticulously precise in recording ages, dates, measurements, weights, statistics of all kinds, only—his chronology is of **" no historical value,"** his statistics are **" artificial,"** his ages are scientifically impossible, his figures wholly unreliable, and his narratives, even in details, are to an appreciable extent, **" his own creation "** !

(4) Even the order and system is—well, let us say " character- " istic." For instance, what is the meaning of the strange intermingling of legislation and history in the Book of Numbers ? Some of it may be due to the caprice of a redactor who introduced narratives from JE unsuitably, but that will not account for all. C. xviii on **" the duties, and relative position, of priests and " Levites "** (LOT. 65) may follow appropriately enough on c: xvii, the blossoming of Aaron's rod, but what has it to do with c: xix, the rite of purification after defilement with a corpse ? and what has that again to do with c: xx, the history of Israel at Kadesh, which is at least partly due to P ? If the book is in reality a simple record of what occurred in the Wilderness, where no doubt incidents and legislation alternated without always being in logical sequence, the sudden transitions are intelligible enough : but why should a scribe at the time of the Exile, whose aim was to give a **" systematic view,"** put together such a heterogeneous medley ?

The offerings of the 12 princes recorded in Num: vii were made before the date given in Num: i. 1. Why should our **" systematic "** writer have placed this account after the taking of the Census, and after the series of laws in cc: v, vi ? Well may Prof. Driver remark, **" The origin of this incongruity must remain " uncertain."** LOT. 61.

Or again, take the series of laws just alluded to, in cc: v, vi :— Exclusion of leprous and unclean ; compensation for fraud ; the

" ordeal of jealousy " ; the law of the Nazirite ; the priestly benediction. What conceivable order or system could produce such a miscellaneous grouping ? Is it a whit less miscellaneous than the group in Lev: xix which, because it is miscellaneous, is adduced as evidence that Lev: xvii–xxvi is **" an independent body of " laws "** (LOT. 48) ?

Another of the allegations concerning this part of Leviticus is that it must be independent of P because it contains repetitions of matters already dealt with in the earlier part of the book. Then why did not the writer who incorporated this body of laws omit these repetitions if he was aiming at system ? He has not scrupled to deal freely with the text of H, in some places adding, (**" This law " of H was afterwards incorporated into the priestly law- " book P, with additions,"** LOT. 57), and in some places omitting, (**" this collection of laws is not preserved in its original " integrity,"** LOT. 58), yet his passion for system has not led him to remove these unnecessary repetitions.

(5) There yet remains the chief anomaly of all. The writer who aims at giving a systematic view of the chief Israelite institutions would surely represent his system as the final outcome of the Mosaic ordinances. But this writer does nothing of the kind. He has attributed all his enactments to a period *before* those of D, which, being left as the latest legislation, would therefore supersede anything earlier. He links his ordinances closely with the Tabernacle which had long ceased to exist, and according to the critics had never existed at all. He even introduces regulations which could only have been complied with during the Wanderings (e.g. that all sacrifices must be offered at the door of the Tent of Meeting). He has gone out of his way to make his entire system appear antiquated and obsolete.

The critical view of the work of P would require us to believe in a writer who

(1) does not **" wilfully desert or falsify " tradition,"** and yet unhesitatingly abandons the received history for unaccredited traditions, and inserts narratives which are largely of **" his own creation "** ;—

(2) aims at codifying **" pre-existing Temple usage,"** and yet inserts laws conflicting with those received as sacred 35 years before the Temple was destroyed ;—

(3) is precise in giving minute details and statistics, but utterly indifferent as to their accuracy ;—

(4) takes **" system and circumstantiality "** as his **" guiding " principles,"** and yet mingles laws and histories confusedly, records events out of order of date, groups together laws unrelated, and does not trouble to omit unnecessary repetitions ;—and

(5) so places his legislation that it seems to be repealed by the laws already in force.

What a bundle of contradictions and inconsistencies.

(D) *The work of $P_2$ and $P_3$.*

The P document is not yet complete. "**There are reasons "for thinking . . . that what has here been denoted by "P, though it all bears the same priestly stamp, is not "throughout the work of the same hand, but that parts of "it (e.g. most of chs. xxx–xxi, xxxv–xl) are of later origin "than the rest.**" BE. xi, xii.

The P narrative of Korah's conspiracy in Num: xvi is in like manner said to have been "**afterwards enlarged by addi-"tions**" (LOT. 64): "**There are certain verses inserted in "the narrative which are written from quite a different "point of view; they deal with the superiority of the *priests* "to the Levites. . . . The verses must belong to a time "when Levites had become inferior to the priests who were "descended in a direct line from Aaron.**" BN. 85.

Exod: xxx, xxxi are marked $P_2$, and so are the passages in Num: xvi, but as the subjects are widely different, this need not necessarily mean that the $P_2$ of Exodus is the same hand as the $P_2$ of Numbers. The symbol $P_2$ simply indicates that the passages so marked belong to some period later than the original P; and similarly $P_3$ means later than $P_2$.

Exod: xxxv–xl is marked $P_3$, but in this is a section (xxxviii. 21–31) which is noted as "**A very late addition**" (BE. 392), and it is even suggested that this may have been inserted after P was combined with JE (BE. xii). This then might be marked $P_4$.

With this exception we are left very much to conjecture as to when these later additions were made. Mr. Addis, who writes "**Probably Ezra who, as has been said, promulgated, also "compiled it**" (OSSP. 380), seems to consider that the Priestly Code was complete in 444. Dr. Driver allows a rather wider range;—"**It is probable that P was written, partly during "the Babylonian exile, partly during the century that followed "the return to Judah.**" BE. xii.

The passages in Num: xvi must, on the critical theory, be later than Ezekiel's vision, 572 BC.

As to these, $P_2$ is supposed to have inserted Num: xvi. 8–11; 16, 17; 36–40, dealing with the superiority of the priests to the Levites, but "**As regards the distinction between priests "and Levites, it is observed by Kittel that there are parts of "P in which this is not treated as *established*. Thus in the "main narrative of P in Nu. xvi–xvii there is no sign of oppo-"sition between priests and Levites; the tribe is regarded "as one; and the standpoint is thus that of Dt.: while in "the insertions** [given above] **the distinction, so far from "being universally accepted, appears as a matter of dispute.**" LOT. 142.

According to this, the main narrative of P knows no distinction between priests and Levites, while in the insertions of $P_2$ the distinction is made, but is still matter of dispute. Then Num: iii. 5–10, viii. 5–22, xviii. 1–7, 26–28, in which the distinction is treated as established, and as due to Mosaic regulation, must have been inserted by a yet later hand, say $P_3$. **" It is possible that those " parts of P which emphasize this distinction (Nu. i–iv &c) " are of later origin than the rest, and date from a time when " —probably after a struggle on the part of some of the dis- " established Levitical priests—it was generally accepted."** LOT. 155.

There would then be three stages :—

(1) the main narrative of P, before Ezekiel made the distinction ;—
(2) the insertions of $P_2$, after Ezekiel's regulation, but while the distinction is still in dispute ;—
(3) the provisions of $P_3$, when the distinction is treated as established.

This last stage must have been considerably later than (2) to allow of time for the struggle against the new regulation to come to an end, and of time for the memory of the struggle to have faded away.

Exod: xxx, xxxi are held to belong to **" a posterior and second- " ary stratum of P "** on account of (a) the Altar of Incense ; (b) the anointing of Aaron's sons.

(a) The Altar of Incense is **" mentioned for the first time in " xxx. 1–10, when the directions respecting the Tabernacle " seem to be complete, and brought to a solemn close "** : also, **" in xxx. 10 an annual rite of atonement is prescribed to " be performed upon it,"** which is not mentioned in Lev: xvi, where only one altar is noticed. **" Hence it seems that the " Tabernacle as pictured in the original legislation of P " contained no incense altar,"** and passages mentioning it or implying it (including Lev: iv. 7, 18 and Num: iv. 11) **" belong to " a secondary stratum of P."** BE. 328, 329.

(b) **" In xxix. 7, Lev. viii. 12, the ceremony of anointing " is confined to the high priest,"** who is elsewhere called the **" *anointed* priest "** : —**" in xxx. 30 it is extended to the " priests (' his sons '),"** as also in other passages (BE. 329). Therefore these also are considered to belong to the later stratum.

Exod: xxxv–xl are referred to $P_3$ because in mentioning the Altar of Incense and the Bronze Laver, these are **" introduced in " accordance with the place which they would naturally " hold "** ; and because of certain remarkable variations in the LXX translation which make it probable **" that the Heb. text used " by the original translators of Exodus did not contain " chs. xxxv–xl,"** BE. 378.

We are not now concerned to investigate the validity of these arguments: we are only trying to estimate what, on the critical theory, the work of $P_2$ and $P_3$ must have been.

In P, then, there was no Altar of Incense; the High Priest alone was anointed; and there was no distinction between priests and Levites. This represented the Temple usage till the destruction of the Temple in 586. In 572 Ezekiel promulgates an ordinance degrading the main body of the Levites from priestly rank to the performance of "**menial offices**" (LOT. 139). The "**dis-**" **established Levitical priests**" do not acquiesce passively, and a struggle ensues. Whilst this is pending some priestly scribe ($P_2$ of Numbers), finding that there is no distinction between priests and Levites in P's narrative of Korah, inserts three short passages in Num: xvi to make it appear that Korah and his followers were "**Levites who wrongly claim the privileges of priests**" (BN. 85). One would hardly think this a very effective method of supporting "**the superiority of the priests to the Levites**" (BN. 85): it would have been so much simpler to have inserted some plain and positive command amongst the laws of P, though even that would not have been of much avail, since the authority of P was not yet recognized. But at least this $P_2$ might have recognized that the rest of the chapter represents Korah's company as "**laymen who wrongly claim the privileges of the Levites**" (BN. 85). He however leaves all that untouched to bear witness against his own insertions.

After the struggle has ended, and the distinction between priests and Levites has been generally accepted, another priestly scribe ($P_3$ of Numbers) considers that this distinction, now firmly established, should have been recognized, and therefore inserts several considerable passages (see above) to that effect. In so doing, he not only departs from P and $P_2$, but also from Ezekiel, for Ezekiel (it is said) degraded the Levites as a punishment for participating in idolatrous worship. $P_3$ is so unconscious of this, and of the struggle that ensued, that he represents the Levitical status as a Divine privilege, an honourable position, conferred in the time of Moses (Num: viii. 9–15). Yet he too is so blind to the true meaning of Num: xvi that he leaves the P and $P_2$ passages untouched to testify against him.

The additions in Exodus must belong to a later period. For, since there was no Altar of Incense in the First Temple (if P knew nothing of it), it could only have been introduced in the Second Temple erected in 516. Also the anointing of the priests in general could hardly have been in practice till the distinction between priests and Levites had become well established and generally accepted, and probably the 56 years between 572 and 516 is not too much to allow for this. As then the P legislation was not "**manufactured**" by the priests during the Exile, but was

"**based upon *pre-existing Temple usage*** "* (LOT. 143), Exod: xxx, xxxi must have been inserted after the erection of the Second Temple.

We have then to conceive that a priestly scribe ($P_2$ of Exodus), finding an Altar of Incense in use, on which the blood of the sin offering was put on the Day of Atonement, and finding that all the priests were now anointed, but finding no sanction for all this in the P regulations, set himself to supply the omission.

It has to be taken for granted that the scribe would consider himself justified in so doing. Here is the ceremonial as he knows it: there is the document which professes to prescribe the ceremonial. The two do not agree, the ceremonial having passed into "**a later phase**" (LOT. 38), i.e. having changed since the document was drawn up. So much the worse for the document. That must be altered to suit the altered ceremonial (for we cannot suppose that $P_2$ managed to unearth traditions unknown to P which corresponded with the change in the practice). Only this sets the idea of codifying "**pre-existing usage**" in a somewhat curious light.

However the defect in P has to be rectified. How is it done?

The $P_2$ in question is careful to insert the anointing of Aaron's sons in Exod: xxx. 30, and also in the previous xxviii. 41, as well as in Lev: vii. 36 and Num: iii. 3, but he never thinks of touching the passages which restrict the anointing to Aaron in Exod: xxix. 7 and Lev: viii. 12, or any of the passages which call the High Priest "the anointed priest," a title which "**if the priests generally were anointed, would be destitute of any distinctive significance.**" BE. 329.

Then he is careful to insert full instructions about making the Altar of Incense, but where? Not where it might be expected, at c: xxvi. 34, 35 "**where the position of the vessels in the Tabernacle is defined**" (BE. 328), or in c: xxv, along with instructions for making the Ark, the Table, and the Candlestick. One would have thought that a scribe inserting so important an instruction would be most careful to introduce it in just the appropriate place, but these scribes seem to delight in doing the wrong thing. Therefore the account of the Altar of Incense is placed, not where it might be expected, but after xxix. 43–46, "**apparently the final close of the entire body of instructions.**" LOT. 37.

Lastly he puts in at c: xxx. 10 a casual mention of the annual rite of atonement connected with the Incense Altar, but quite forgets to make any corresponding insertion in the full account of the Day of Atonement, Lev: xvi.

At a still later period, another priestly scribe ($P_3$ of Exodus)

* How does this agree with the distinction between priests and Levites being due to Ezekiel the priest?

notices that the P document gives the full instructions for the construction of the Tabernacle, but no account of how these instructions were carried out, and sets to work to remedy this omission in cc: xxxv–xl. How late this was done we are left to guess, only being told that these chapters were not in **" the Heb. text " used by the original translators of Exodus "** about 250 BC, and when a translation was afterwards supplied, it was from a recension **" in which these chapters had not yet reached their " final form "** (BE. 378). For the most part, this scribe's work was very simple : he had only to repeat *verbatim* the instructions of cc: xxv–xxxi **" with the simple substitution of past tenses " for futures,"** and **" some instances of omission or abridg- " ment "** (BE. 376). He was, however, acute enough to detect that the instructions about making the Altar of Incense and the Brazen Laver in c: xxx are not in the natural order, and therefore introduces these **" in accordance with the place they would " naturally hold "** (BE. 378), but does not dream of remedying $P_2$'s clumsiness by transferring the instructions to a more appropriate position. Also he carefully includes an instruction for anointing Aaron's sons (xl. 15), but is just as blind as $P_2$ to the inconsistency of this with other passages.

For the completion of the P document, then, we are asked to believe at least four priestly scribes who at different times tampered with it. Though working independently their methods are curiously alike. Each of them inserts what he thinks fit or needful, without in the least troubling to consider whether his insertions are consistent with the facts or the context. None of them thinks it worth while to modify the existing text to suit his insertions. Only one of them is at the pains to insert additions to other passages bearing on the same subject, and even he has not done it thoroughly, while he has been so careless as to put his chief insertion in the wrong place, as though to make it clear that it was altogether an afterthought.

Surely these scribes must have had a kindly prescience of the needs of critics 23 centuries later. It would have been so easy for them to have done their work thoroughly, and leave no trace ; but then what *would* the critics have done ? Therefore at each step they are careful to leave some glaring anomaly for the critics' guidance.

In one respect their work resembles that of P : they have placed their regulations about the priests and Levites where they would seem to be repealed by the later provisions of D, and have connected the Altar of Incense, not with the permanent Central Sanctuary, but with the long disused (if it ever existed) Tabernacle.

The third and fourth stages of the critical theory are beset with quite as many improbabilities as the other two.

# XLIX.

## THE STAGES OF THE CRITICAL THEORY. (REDACTION AND RECEPTION.)

(E) *The work of the Redactors.*

An important part in the critical theory of the origin of the Pentateuch is assigned to the "Redactors who combined" the various sources. Exactly how many of these there were altogether must be left for the critics to determine, but two claim special attention; $R^{JE}$ who combined J with E, and $R^{P}$ who combined P with JED.

(a) *The work of $R^{JE}$.*

In combining J with E, the compiler is said to have **"sometimes "incorporated long sections of each intact (or nearly so), "and at other times combined elements from each into "a single narrative, introducing occasionally in the process "short additions of his own."** BG. xvi.

Combining **"elements from each into a single narrative"** is certainly a very moderate (not to say euphemistic) way of characterizing the extraordinary interweaving of narratives which the critics assert they are able to detect.

Consider, for instance, the narrative of Jacob's dream, Gen: xxviii. 10–22. The compiler begins (the preceding section being assigned to P) by taking from J the statement, "And Jacob went "out from Beersheba and went towards Haran." Then he extracted from E two verses narrating how Jacob lay down to sleep and dreamt. Then he turned back to J, and took 4 verses, the vision of JEHOVAH and the promise made by Him. Again he turned to E for 2 verses, Jacob's utterance on waking, and his setting up a pillar. Once more he turns to J for a single verse, the naming the place Bethel, and winds up with 3 verses from E, Jacob's vow.

Still more complicated is the narrative of Joseph and his brethren in Gen: xxxvii, analysed thus:—$2^{b}$–4, J; 5–11, E; 12–18, J; 19, 20; E; 21, J; 22–$25^{a}$, E; $25^{b}$—27, J; $28^{a}$, E; $28^{b}$, J; $28^{c}$–30, E; 31–35, J; 36, E.

The combination here is the more extraordinary because the two narratives are considered to be strikingly dissimilar. Prof.

Driver (BG. 321) sees "**very distinctly**" in this chapter "**two "divergent accounts**";—"**In J, *Judah* takes the lead: he "dissuades his other brethren from carrying out their "purpose, and induces them to sell Joseph to a caravan of "*Ishmaelites*, who happened to be passing by on their way "from Gilead into Egypt; and the Ishmaelites upon their "arrival in Egypt, sell him as a slave to an Egyptian of rank "(xxxix. 1). In E, *Reuben* takes the lead, and dissuades "the other brethren from carrying out their plan: at his "suggestion, they cast Joseph into a pit, and *Midianite* "traders, passing by, draw him up out of the pit, while "his brethren are at their meal, and sell him in Egypt to "Potiphar, the 'captain of the guard.'**"

Certainly *these* two accounts are decidedly "**divergent,**" not to say incompatible. Yet the compiler, instead of selecting one, and discarding the other, hits on the notable device of "combining" them, with all their discrepancies, by piecing together alternate fragments. He even puts into one verse the (supposedly) irreconcilable "Ishmaelites" and "Midianites." Surely this is compilation run mad.

It is not that he considers himself always bound to give the whole of both narratives, for later on in Joseph's history cc: xl–xlii are from E with "**traits borrowed from the representation "of J**" (BG. 336), and xliii, xliv are from J with "**one or two "insertions from E**" (BG. 352).

Then again, the compiler is not very happy with the "**short "additions of his own.**" He is acute enough to connect J's unnamed Egyptian of rank with E's account by inserting "Potiphar, "an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard," in xxxix. 1, but too dull to notice that in so doing he makes out that a eunuch was a married man. He sees the advisability of harmonizing J's "prison" with E's "house of the captain of the guard" by inserting two phrases (xl. $3^b$, $5^b$) containing the peculiar word *Sohar* in E's narrative, but fails to see the difference between Joseph being himself a prisoner (according to J) and his being only appointed to wait on the prisoners (according to E). He can see the need for putting a few words about Simeon into J's account at xliii. 23 to make it agree with E, but quite omits to break the "**entire silence**" (BG. 354) of the lengthy sections xlii. 38–xliii. 10 and xliv. 18–34. He is keen to detect minute differences, and blind to glaring discrepancies. He must have been somewhat one-eyed.

Nor is his combination always felicitous. He puts together passages which do not fit; e.g. Exod: iv. 19 "**from its contents "is not fitted to be the *sequel* of v. 18**" (BE. 29); the greater part of Exod: xxiii. 15 is taken from E, and assigned to $R^{JE}$ because it breaks "**the grammatical construction between v. "15$^a$ and v. 16**" (BE. 242); and in Exod: xxxiii. 5 "**the people**

**" are here told to do what they have already done (v. 4[b]), " a clear proof that two narratives have been combined "** (BE. 358). Elsewhere he has joined fragments that are mere repetitions (**" By the side of** [Exod:] **ix. 34[b], v. 35[a] would seem " to be superfluous."** LOT. 26), or even inconsistent, as in Gen: xxx. 23, 24, **" Two explanations of ' Joseph,' one (E : " notice *God*) from *asaph*, to take away ; and the other " (J : notice *Jehovah*) from *yasaph*, to add."** BG. 276.

Even in the later parts where the critics are more cautious about discriminating the sources, traces of the same peculiar methods are said to be visible. Thus in Num: xi two narratives (one from J and one from E) are mixed up with another from J with which they have **" no real connection "** (BN. 57) ; in Num: xxii two **" divergent "** accounts of Balaam have been interwoven, one (E) representing that he came from the Euphrates, 400 miles away, with God's permission ; the other (J) representing that he came from Ammon, 40 miles away, incurring God's anger : and v: 3 is said to contain **" doublets from E and J respectively."** BN. 124. On the critics' own showing, $R^{JE}$'s method of combining was eccentric and capricious, and at times decidedly unintelligent.

(b) *The work of $R^{P}$.*

The " combination " of JE took place **" probably in the early " part of the 7th cent. BC "** (BE. xi) ;—the " combination " of the whole Pentateuch was the work of a compiler **" living in " the 5th or 4th cent. BC."** (BE. xii). $R^{JE}$'s work, then, was done about 700, or a little after ; two and a half centuries (at the least) pass away, and another **" redactor "** arises. He too has two documents before him, but otherwise the difference is great.

$R^{JE}$ had to combine J and E, singularly alike in style and matter, and neither, apparently, of any recognized authority.

Not so $R^{P}$. On the one hand, he has the now venerable JE combined with D which had been recognized as " the Book of " the Law " in 621, about 170 years before : on the other, he has P, parts of which are quite modern, which has either not yet received public recognition, or only received it recently. P, too, **" both " in method and literary style, offers a striking contrast to " either J or E** (LOT. 126). His point of view is different, priestly instead of prophetic ; his use of the Divine Names, and his conception of the Divine Nature are almost antagonistic to those of JE ; his representation of the patriarchal history, and of the origin of the Israelite institutions is inconsistent with that of JE ; his manner is methodical and systematic instead of narrative and discursive ; his style is precise and pedantic instead of graceful, easy, and even poetic. Could two documents more widely dissimilar be well imagined ? Yet $R^{P}$ will " combine " them.

Unlike $R^{JE}$, $R^{P}$ is considered to be in sympathy with the priestly school ; he lives in a totally different age ; his materials are much

more incongruous: yet, strange to say, his methods are unaccountably similar to those of the former compiler. He too "**incorporates long sections of each intact (or nearly so), and at other times combines elements from each into a single narrative, introducing occasionally in the process short additions of his own.**" Sometimes he makes long extracts from one source or the other, and this not only where one of the sources might be supposed to be deficient or inadequate, for in the account of the Creation, and of the Commission of Moses, he inserts both versions, one after the other. Sometimes he alternates sections from the two sources so as to look like one account, as in the narratives of the Deluge, the Plagues, and the Korah revolt. Sometimes he contents himself with slipping in a verse or a mere phrase from JE into P, or from P into JE, as in Gen: xxxiii, where part of v: 18 is all that is assigned to P. Sometimes he weaves together short passages alternately as intricately as $R^{JE}$ does, witness Gen: xxxiv; Exod: xiv; Num: xiii, xiv, xx; Josh: xvii. 1–10.

His method of combining is quite as capricious as that of $R^{JE}$.

He is no happier with what Dr. Driver calls "**slight redactional adjustments**" (BG. xvii). He can add *Elohim* to *Jehovah* in Gen: ii in order to connect the two Creation stories, without noticing that the two stories are inconsistent; he can insert "male and female" in Gen: vii. 3, 9, and "two and two" in v: 9 to harmonize J with P, but never notices that the whole passage vv: 7–10 is a mere duplicate of P's 11–15, or that "two and two" does not agree with "seven and seven" in v: 2; he inserts "as the Lord had spoken by Moses" in Exod: ix. 35 to make E's formula of obstinacy resemble that of P, but fails to perceive that in P Aaron holds the rod which E gives to Moses; he imports "Kadesh Barnea" and "Eshcol" from JE into the P passage Num: xxxii (v: 9) without remembering that it does not agree with P in c: xiii.

To larger inconsistencies he is just as blind as $R^{JE}$. In the story of Dinah, the narratives of the Mission of the Spies, and the conspiracy of Korah, he unhesitatingly combines accounts which are—"**divergent**" the critics call it—contradictory as most folk would say. With the histories which represent the patriarchs as familiar with the Name *Jehovah* he has united that which explicitly declares they were ignorant of it. What a purblind race these compilers were!

His "combining" also is just as unintelligent as that of $R^{JE}$. He too inserts passages from one source which do not cohere with the context taken from the other, and even introduces a long digression (Exod: vi. 13–30) between a question and its answer taken from the same source. He too causes unnecessary repetitions by extracting a statement from one source, and immediately

adding its duplicate from the other (Gen: vi. 5–8 ; 9–13).

His crowning blunder is that he has done his best to defeat his own aims. He is supposed to be particularly interested in the legislation of PC, yet he not only combines it with the inconsistent JE and D codes, but actually leaves it where it seems to be repealed by the final legislation of D.

That one man should be found to combine materials greatly alike as to form in such strangely capricious and senseless fashion would be marvellous enough : that another should be found, after the lapse of centuries, to combine utterly disimilar materials in precisely similar fashion, but on a scale even more daring, is—well, a little incredulity is pardonable.

The supposed work of the **" redactors "** is not without a considerable amount of improbability.

(F) *Publication and Reception.*

When was the Priestly Code made public ? Mr. Addis (OSSP. 379) says, **" In that year** [444] **Ezra proclaimed the law which " he had brought with him from the land of exile."**

Wellhausen (art: " Pentateuch," Enc: Britt: ed: ix, vol: xviii, p: 514) is even more explicit :—**" it was published and put " in action in 444 BC by the Babylonian priest and scribe " Ezra. . . . Just as we are told there** [2 Kgs: xxii] **that " Deuteronomy became known in 621 BC, having been " unknown previously, so we are told here** [Neh: viii] **that " the *Torah* in the rest of the Pentateuch became known " in 444, and was unknown till that date."**

The book which Ezra read to the people is described (Neh: viii. 1) as " the book of the law of Moses, which the LORD " had commanded to Israel." Was this the whole Pentateuch, or only PC ?

Mr. Addis thinks it was only PC, for *after* mentioning the promulgation of Ezra's law, he continues, **" Finally the various docu- " ments J, E, D, P were united into one book, which is known " to us as the Pentateuch. When was this final step taken ? " Not later than 330 BC."** Similarly Mr. Chapman (IP. 185), **" On the whole it seems more probable that the priestly legis- " lation only was read."** Dr. Driver seems to leave the question undecided, for he speaks of $R^P$ as **" living in the 5th or 4th cent. " BC "** (BE. xii), which leaves it open to doubt whether the combination was effected before or after 444. Both cases must therefore be considered.

(a) If the book read by Ezra contained PC only, the question arises, Were JE and D known at that time, or not ?

(i) If JE and D were not known, it could only be because they had been lost sight of and forgotten. That would be strange enough considering how solemnly D had been recognized not two centuries before. But supposing this had been the case, they

must then at some subsequent date have been rediscovered and combined with PC. Why is there no record of an event of such importance? Why, when they were rediscovered, did no one detect the difference between the old and the new?

Moreover, there are indications that the reforms under Nehemiah did recognize the provisions of JE and D, e.g. the prohibition of Canaanite alliances (Exod: xxxiv. 16, J; Deut: vii. 3, D). That D was the law for the nation until the arrival of Nehemiah **"appears "from Jeremiah's language about slaves during the siege "of Jerusalem, Nehemiah's remonstrance on the subject "of usury and bondage, and the language of the post-exilic "prophets."** IP. 172.

(ii) If then they were known, why was no protest made against their being left unread? Why did no one point out the difference between the law now read and the law previously received? When was this new Book of the Law combined with the old? and by what authority? Were the people so indifferent to their sacred books that they could leave the combination of the old and new to an obscure $R^P$ without comment? It was the people who asked for "the book of the law" (Neh: viii. 1).

(b) There remains then the other alternative that Ezra's book contained the whole Pentateuch. In that case, the sources had already been combined. Did Ezra do this? If not, who did? Why did not the people, accustomed to the law of D, notice that a large amount of new matter was being read to them? Why did no one perceive that D purported to be the latest of Moses' instructions, and insist that the Deuteronomic law (e.g. as to priests and Levites, firstlings and tithes) ought to be kept, and not those of Leviticus? How came Ezra, who in proclaiming **"the law "which he had brought with him from the land of exile"** must have been acting in the priestly interests, to publish at the same time, and as of equal authority, laws inconsistent with those he was introducing?

On any view, the publication of the Priestly Code as a new legislation involves several improbabilities, and none greater than its instant acceptance. On the critical theory, up to that time the law of D had been in force, by which **"the Levites generally "had enjoyed priestly rights"** (LOT. 139), and a considerable proportion of the firstlings and tithes remained **"implicitly the "property of the lay Israelite"** (LOT. 83);—the three annual Feasts had been joyous agricultural festivals, and the general ceremonial comparatively simple. Now a new code is published (whether separately or in combination with the older books) by which all this is changed. The Levites are deprived of their priestly rights; the lay Israelite is deprived of a considerable part of his property; the three Feasts are changed in character; the ceremonial is immensely elaborated, and made more burdensome; a

new class of sacrifices is brought in, and the severity of the Day of Atonement imposed on pain of death: and this code was "**un-known till that date**" (see above, p: 452). Yet all is enthusiastically welcomed; no one protests; no one appeals to the authority of D, the recognized "Book of the Law"; all,—people, Levites, priests,—receive these alterations as "the book of the "law of Moses, which the LORD had commanded to Israel."

There are improbabilities involved at every stage of the critical theory; improbabilities as to the work of J and E; as to the work of D; as to the work of P, $P_2$, and $P_3$; as to the work of the redactors; and as to the publication and reception of the combined whole. These improbabilities against the several steps must be (not added but) multiplied together, and the total improbability against the theory consequently becomes enormous.

A theory against every stage of which so much can be urged would certainly need "**incontrovertible**" evidence to establish it.

## L.

## "PIOUS FRAUD."

NATURALLY, when we are told that what profess to be discourses uttered by Moses were in reality composed some six centuries after his death, and that a code of laws purporting to be Mosaic was only compiled nearly two centuries later still, the first impulse is to say that the composer of one and the compiler of the other were no better than forgers.

The critics seem almost nervously anxious to exonerate the authors of D and PC from anything even approaching to "pious fraud." The defence put forward is that the writers only followed the **"liter-"ary usages"** of their age and people (LOT. 90), **"the ideas and "practice of the Hebrew nation"** (BD. lvii), and were **"de-"sirous of exhibiting law as the same from the beginning"** (IP. 180). Even of the Books of Chronicles, whose witness the critics so largely disallow, it is said **"it was not the Chronicler's "intention to pervert the history; he and his contempor-"aries did not question that the past was actually as they "pictured it, and the Chronicler simply gives expression "to this persuasion."** LOT. 533.

The ingenuity and earnestness with which these pleas are urged show how seriously the critics (at least those of this school) regard the charge of dishonesty. Indeed it is hardly possible to overestimate it. For, if the writers of the greater part of the Pentateuch were really guilty of wilful and deliberate deceit, not only would they be utterly discredited, but the character of the Book as in any sense a Divine Revelation would be seriously impaired, if not destroyed.

It is therefore a matter of importance to examine whether the honesty of the authors of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code can be maintained if the critical theory of their origin be true.

(A) *Literary usage.*

The Book of Deuteronomy professes to give a report of the farewell addresses to the people delivered by Moses in view of his impending death. It is contended that this, on the part of a late writer, is justifiable as a mere matter of literary form. That plea cannot be urged on behalf of the P document which professes to

narrate history and to embody formal legislation. What, then, is said as regards Deuteronomy?

**"In the first place, though it may appear paradoxical "to say so, *Dt. does not claim to be written by Moses*: "whenever the author speaks himself, he purports to give a "description *in the third person* of what Moses did or said. "The true 'author' of Dt. is thus the writer *who introduces* "*Moses in the third person*."**

The argument is not wholly relevant.

(1) The writer of Deuteronomy, whoever he was, distinctly and repeatedly asserts that the discourses were uttered by Moses:—"These be the words which Moses spake," i. 1; "Moses called "unto Israel, and said unto them," v. 1, xxix. 2; "Moses went "and spake these words unto all Israel," xxxi. 1. The real question is not, Who was the author who makes these assertions? but, Are they true, or were the discourses composed centuries later?

(2) The writer further asserts that Moses did write at least some portion of the book.

"Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests, the sons "of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and unto "all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying, "At the end of every seven years, in the set time of the year of "release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to "appear before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall choose, "thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing." xxxi. 9–11.

"And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing "the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that "Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant "of the LORD, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it by the "side of the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, that it may "be there for a witness against thee." * xxxi. 24–26.

Prof. Driver dismisses the evidence of these passages with the curt mention, **"Dt. xxxi. 9, 24 may be referred reasonably "to the more ancient legal nucleus of Deut. (cf xxvii. 3, 8, "Josh. viii. 32)."** LOT. 124, note.

There is no real reason, however, for limiting "this law" to a **"legal nucleus"**: it may well include the whole of the continuous discourse, cc: v–xxvi. As also the historical retrospect in the earlier chapters is termed "this law" (i. 5) the phrase may even include the whole book up to xxxi. 9. The writer does claim that a

* If this command was obeyed, and "the book" transferred with the Ark to Solomon's Temple, it would account for Hilkiah's discovery of "the "book of the Law in the house of the LORD." In the unlighted Holy of Holies (especially if only visited once a year by the High Priest) the roll might well escape notice till brought to light during the repairs to the Temple in Josiah's time.

substantial portion of the book was actually written by Moses himself.

Dr. Driver's argument then continues (LOT. 90), **" the dis- " courses which he** [Moses] **is represented as having spoken, " fall in consequence into the same category as the speeches " in the historical books, some of which largely, and others " entirely, are the composition of the compilers, and are " placed by them in the mouths of historical characters."**

The **" consequence "** would only follow if **" the writer who " introduces Moses in the third person "** was not Moses himself, whereas **" Undoubtedly, the third person *may* have " been used by Moses "** (LOT. 90, note); and it is certainly the fact that Moses is consistently introduced in the third person throughout Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. If these books are due to Moses, then he was (like Cæsar) in the habit of using the third person, and the use of it in yet another book would be no argument against the Mosaic authorship. But if the writer was Moses himself, then the discourses would not fall into **" the same " category as the speeches in the historical books."** Moreover, even if it were certain that **" the true author of Dt."** was not Moses but some other person, even then Dr. Driver's inference would not necessarily follow. If the writer was some one who was actually present when the discourses were being delivered, or if he had access to the document in which (as he asserts) the discourses were written by Moses, in either case his account would be totally different from speeches which **" are the composition of the com- " pilers "** (if there be any such).

However, Dr. Driver goes on, **" This freedom in ascribing " speeches to historical personages is characteristic, more " or less, of ancient historians generally, and it certainly " was followed by the Hebrew historians."** After some paragraphs to justify this assertion, the argument is resumed; **" An " author, therefore, in framing discourses appropriate to " Moses' situation, and embodying principles which (see " p. 91) he would have cordially approved, especially if " (as is probable) the elements were provided for him by " tradition, would be doing nothing inconsistent with the " literary usages of his age and people."** LOT. 90.

Reduced to its simplest form, then, the whole argument amounts to this :—the writer of Deuteronomy was not Moses; the Hebrew historians used freedom in ascribing speeches to historical personages; therefore the writer of Deuteronomy, in attributing to Moses speeches which he did not really utter, did nothing **" incon- " sistent with the literary usages of his age and people."**

Here, as is often the case in critical writings, the conduct of the writer is judged by a not very lofty standard of purely human authorship. Provided the literary usages of the age and people

are not transgressed, any inconsistency with truth is treated as of no importance. But, without dwelling on this, or discussing the accuracy of the assertion as to the usage of Hebrew historians, reply may be made thus :—

(1) Speeches introduced casually in the course of a history are no true parallel to these discourses. In most cases, we know that the historian was not himself present : at best he can only be reporting the substance of what was said, and not the actual words. Here the very wording is often of importance.

(2) Even if the discourses in Deuteronomy do not differ from the speeches in kind, they differ very considerably in degree. A speech or two placed in the mouth of a historical character is not the same thing as the composition of an entire book in the name of a historical character.

(3) The speeches are quite subsidiary to the history, and it would make little difference if they were omitted : in Deuteronomy the discourses are the essential part.

(4) Whether the speeches were delivered by the historic personages to whom they were attributed is of little importance : the value of the Deuteronomic addresses depends entirely on their Mosaic authority; they could only be attributed to Moses in order that they might be received with a deference they would not otherwise command.

(5) The book is no mere display of oratory : it claims to embody a legislation binding on the conscience.

(6) The plea that the discourses embody principles which Moses would have cordially approved does not justify the author in explicitly declaring that Moses uttered them, unless we are prepared to accept the maxim " The end justifies the means."

If the Book of Deuteronomy is really, as is asserted, a composition of the 7th century BC, **" the literary usages of his age and " people "** are not enough to excuse the author for attributing his work to Moses.

(B) *Legislation attributed to Moses.*

It is contended that both the author of D and the compilers of PC were justified in attributing to Moses laws not actually promulgated by him on the ground that he was looked upon as the originator of the whole legislation, and that these later laws were really developments of Mosaic principles.

Moses' **" fame as a lawgiver was never forgotten, and it " became customary, throughout the whole history of the " nation, to assign to his initiative all laws,—moral, social, " and religious."** BN. xx.

**" All Hebrew laws are formulated under Moses' name— " a fact which shows that there was a *continuous Mosaic* " *tradition*, embracing a moral, a ceremonial, and a civil " element : the new laws, or extensions of old laws, which**

**" as time went on were seen to be desirable were accom-
" modated to this tradition, and incorporated into it."** BD. lvii.

**" The lawgivers, however, seem actuated by the prophetic
" spirit and desirous of exhibiting law as the same from
" the beginning. In enunciating law in modern dress,
" they set it forth as old law, and whenever it is promul-
" gated, it is described as part of the law given by Moses
" the servant of God."** IP. 180.

The assertions here made are put forward as confidently as though there were a record of many later lawgivers, and definite evidence that their legislation was invariably referred to Moses, but what **" Hebrew laws "** are there other than those in the Pentateuch ? In reality, these assertions assume that the critics are right in contending that much of the legislation contained in the Pentateuch, and there attributed to Moses, was actually of later date and of gradual growth. Whereas there is no evidence that there were any **" lawgivers "** except Moses, or any legislation after his time.

Moreover, it is clearly inadmissible to justify the conduct of D and P (in attributing laws to Moses) by what they themselves did. Take away the D and P legislation, and what is left ? The scanty amount of legislation in JE, and that is but a small base in which to found the huge assertion of a custom **" throughout " the whole history of the nation."**

On the other hand, since practically the whole of the evidence is confined to the matters in dispute, viz: the laws in the Pentateuch, it is in the nature of the case out of the question to *disprove* the assertion that it was customary to refer all Hebrew laws to Moses. Yet there are two slight indications to show that there was no such invariable custom.

(1) The provision that those who remained behind in camp,—" by the stuff,"—and those who actually went into battle should share alike in the spoil is attributed not to Moses but to David, and " he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel unto this day " (1 Sam: xxx. 25).

(2) The organization of the Levites into " courses," and particularly the institution of a guild of musicians, was a matter of considerable importance in the post-exilic ceremonial of the Temple. Yet the Chronicler repeatedly (1 Chr: xvi. 4–6 ; xxiii. 6 ; xxv. 1 ; 2 Chr: viii. 14 ; xxix. 25) attributes this organization to David, and not to Moses. Mall.

Here, then, is a " social " law, and a ceremonial institution, and neither of them is referred to Moses, which does not look like a **" continuous Mosaic tradition."**

Apart from this, the argument is not a very strong one, even from the critical point of view. The critical idea is that, long

before D was written, it was the custom of Hebrew lawgivers to attribute their laws to the authority of Moses. Therefore, it is argued, the author of D and the compilers of PC were not to blame for doing the like. How does that excuse their conduct? Simply by extending the accusation to a long line of lawgivers. That does not affect the morality of asserting what they knew to be untrue. If A and B are charged with theft, it will not acquit them to plead that they belong to a gang of thieves.

"**Those who concede,**" says Dr. Driver (BD. lvii), "**the "existence of such a practice on the part of Heb. legislators, "will find it remove difficulties which the critical view of "Dt. may otherwise present. If it was the habit thus to "identify the stream with the source, and to connect old "laws, extended or modified, or even new laws, with the "name of the original lawgiver, then the attribution of the "laws in Dt. to Moses ceases to be a proceeding out of har-"mony with the ideas and practice of the Heb. nation. It "is no fraudulent invocation of the legislator's name: it "is simply another application of an established custom.**"

At the very best this would only be a plea that the use of Moses' name was a mere conventionality,—like the phrase "Not at home," —which no one would think of interpreting literally, and therefore would deceive no one. But that will not agree with the facts of the case. The history shows that the attribution to Moses was not taken as a recognized conventionality, but accepted as a literal statement of a most weighty truth. Even were it otherwise, the morality of using a mere conventionality in matters of such solemnity would be exceeding doubtful.

Nor will it do to plead that the writers in question may be held excused because they honestly believed that in their laws they were only expressing the mind of Moses. The critics are careful to speak of "**new laws, or extensions of old laws**"; of "**enun-"ciating law in modern dress**"; of "**old laws extended "or modified,**" as though nothing more were involved. But there is something much more. There might be some excuse for attributing genuine developments, extensions of an already established principle, modifications of detail not affecting principle, to the original legislator, though even that would not be strictly consistent with honesty. New laws that were only supplementary, dealing with matters that were not provided for in the old, might conceivably (though with less excuse) be attributed in the same way. But what about new laws that are inconsistent with the old? How could they be honestly attributed to the original legislator?

Yet, if the critics are right, this is what has been done. They themselves, when arguing that the laws of JE, D, and P cannot have proceeded from the same legislator, insist vigorously on their incompatibility. According to them, the law of the Central

Sanctuary in D was no mere modification of the JE law. It substituted a narrow restriction for a wide liberty; it was an absolute reversal of policy. So too the restriction of the priesthood to Aaron's family, and the withdrawal of **"permission to acquire a "Hebrew slave"** (IP. 127) in PC were inconsistent with the laws in D, and still more inconsistent with the laws of JE. No custom of attributing all law to the original lawgiver can excuse the attributing these reversals of the older law to the authority of Moses himself.

(C) *No intention to deceive.*

Where there is no intent to deceive, the charge of wilful falsehood and fraud cannot be sustained. Referring, then, to the description of law whenever promulgated as **"part of the law given by "Moses,"** Mr. Chapman asserts boldly, **"In this there is no "attempt to deceive"** (IP. 181), and this, of course, is the real drift of the whole critical argument. In adopting the literary usages of the age and people, in attributing all law to the original lawgiver, the authors of D and PC were only following the **"estab-"lished custom"**; there was no **"fraudulent invocation "of the legislator's name."**

Yet, even where there is no intention to deceive, those who publish misleading statements (unless they themselves have been deceived) are not acquitted of responsibility for the consequences. If the promoters of a company put forth a glowing prospectus, knowing it to be inaccurate, and thereby the public is deceived and suffers loss, they will not be held blameless because they plead, "We did not mean to take anybody in; we thought everybody knew that "the statements in a prospectus are not to be accepted literally; it "is the **'established custom'** to put out highly coloured "representations of a new venture."

Now it is an indisputable fact that if Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code are not what they profess to be, and are what the critics assert, deception on a large scale has ensued. The conduct of Hilkiah, Josiah, and all the people would be inexplicable unless they believed that the newly discovered roll was indeed "the "Book of the Law," Mosaic in origin, and of Divine authority. The people who gathered in "the broad place that was before the "water gate" unquestionably believed that what Ezra read to them was actually "the book of the law of Moses, which the LORD "had commanded to Israel" (Neh: viii. 1). Thousands upon thousands since have been misled into believing that Deuteronomy indeed contains the farewell addresses of Moses, the final form of the Divine legislation; and that the Priestly document is an integral part of the original Divine revelation. Can those who in the first instance put forth the misleading statements, knowing full well that they were not strictly true, be held altogether blameless?

But further than that, if the critical account of the origin of D and PC be true, can their authors be even acquitted of an **"attempt to deceive"**?

Conceivably, if they had merely adopted a well known and well understood "legal fiction"; if they had contented themselves with saying, "These laws are the laws of Moses," they might be so acquitted. But they have gone a great deal further than that.

Besides the laws, Deuteronomy contains much which is not needed for the setting forth the laws, and can only have been introduced (on the critical hypothesis) in order to make the document appear genuinely Mosaic. Besides the **"injunction re-"specting Amalek"** which **"would be suitable in Moses' "mouth at the time when the discourses in Dt. are repre-"sented as having been spoken"** (LOT. 92), there are the retrospects in cc: i–iii; the retrospect about the Golden Calf in ix. 9–x. 11, breaking into the current of the laws; the injunction about the renewal of the covenant on Ebal and Gerizim, c: xxvii; the promises and warnings of cc: xxviii, xxix; and the parting address and appointment of Joshua in c: xxxi. None of these are needed (and some not possible) except as part of Moses' farewell. There are also incidental allusions, such as the frequent references to the entry into Canaan as yet future, and the pathetic utterances "but I must die in this land" (iv. 22), and "I am an hundred and "twenty years old this day; I can no more go out, and come in," (xxxi. 2), which are only appropriate in the mouth of Moses. The oratorical form of the discourses; the parenthetic interruptions; the miscellaneous arrangement; the tone of passionately affectionate expostulation, are all calculated to present the appearance of genuine speeches, and not a formal presentation of laws.

If Deuteronomy be indeed the work of a 7th century writer, he must have taken the utmost pains to make his work look like genuine utterances of Moses. This is no mere putting a speech into the mouth of a historical character, or the casual attributing of some laws to the original legislator. Mr. Chapman may lightly suggest that **"the writer who has preserved for us Deuteronomy "in its present form may have supplied the Mosaic environ-"ment of the book"** (IP. 145), but it is not a question of a slight environment. The whole work seems penetrated with the spirit of Moses, and breathing the atmosphere of his farewell to the people. A writer in the age of Manasseh could only have made this sustained and artistic assumption of the Mosaic character if he set himself deliberately to persuade his readers that these were Moses' words, and laws enunciated by Moses himself.

In much the same way, if P was a production of the exilic period, the authors must have gone out of their way to make their work appear Mosaic. It is not enough to say, **"The laws "of P, even when they included later elements, were still**

**" referred to Moses "** (LOT. 154). That seriously understates the facts. Again and again it is explicitly said, " The LORD spake " unto Moses." Sometimes it is " the LORD spake unto Moses and " Aaron," and even " the LORD spake unto Aaron " (Lev: x. 8). Often these assertions are accompanied by circumstantial details of place and time :—" the LORD called unto Moses, and spake unto " him out of the tent of meeting " (Lev: i. 1) ;—" the LORD spake " unto Moses in mount Sinai " (Lev: xxv. 1) ;—" the LORD spake " unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tent of meeting, in " the first day of the second month, in the second year after they " were come out of the land of Egypt " (Num: i. 1). Sometimes the laws are introduced by, or embedded in, narratives which could only belong to the period of the Wanderings, such as the death of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. x. 1–7) ; the punishment of the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath (Num: xv. 32–36) ; the incident of Zelophehad's daughters (Num: xxvii). It is even asserted that these are not narratives of incidents that actually occurred, but were invented for the purpose of inculcating some regulation ;— **" P's narratives are only laws in narrative clothing, and " therefore very few of them can be regarded as possessing " even a basis of actual Mosaic history "** (BN. xxi). The alternations of legislation and history in the P portions of Numbers (if of post-exilic origin) can only be considered as intended to produce the impression that the whole narrative was a genuine record of what happened in the Wilderness.

How can all this be characterized as only referring law to the authority of Moses ? The laws of P are not isolated : they are bound up with the history. If scribes during the Exile formed this compilation, they must have done their best to make the laws (some of which they knew to be only modern **" developments "**) appear to be part of the original Mosaic legislation. What else could this be but an **" attempt to deceive "** ?

The whole case, then, stands thus :—

On the critical theory, the author of Deuteronomy was a reformer living in the reign of Manasseh (or thereabouts). He was especially intent on **" the overthrow of idolatry, and the concentration " of worship at Jerusalem "** (IP. 142). To further these ends he composes a series of discourses in the name of Moses, embodying laws professing to be Divine, which denounce idolatry, and strictly enjoin worship at a Central Sanctuary. In so doing he exercises the greatest ingenuity to make his composition appear to be the genuine utterances of Moses, his final instructions to Israel. So elaborately is this done that it must have been done intentionally, and that could only be with a view to gaining for his writings the deference due to the authority of Moses,—nay, rather that of God Himself. So successfully is it done that, when the writings are

eventually made known, the High Priest, king, and the people are all imposed upon ; the volume is received as Divine law, and has been so regarded ever since. If this is not "pious fraud," what can be ?

Then, later still, a priestly scribe (or a band of scribes) compiles and codifies a series of laws, many of which were only priestly **"directions,"** and some were modern innovations. These are embedded in a history, purporting to be an account of the origin of the Israelite people, and their religious institutions. In this case too great pains have been taken to make both laws and narratives appear genuinely Mosaic. Nor are the laws merely referred to Moses : Divine authority is claimed for them. This is the true keynote of the Pentateuch legislation. It is not simply "the law "of Moses," or "Moses gave us these laws," but throughout it is "the LORD spake unto Moses." The critics assert that the Tent of Meeting in P is **"unhistorical"** ; yet, not only are the minute instructions for making it placed in the mouth of the LORD God, but at the close it is said, "Thus was finished all the work of the "tabernacle of the tent of meeting : and the children of Israel "did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they" (Exod: xxxix. 32).

This is something far more daring than attributing **"later ele- "ments"** to Moses. At the very best, according to the critical view, the laws and institutions of P could only have been later developments from a Mosaic nucleus, and some of the most important were not even that. Can the writers who explicitly and repeatedly affirm that they were delivered to Moses in the wilderness by God Himself, and this with a wealth of circumstantial detail to heighten the impression that they were so delivered,—can these men be acquitted of deliberate deceit ? or rather ought we not to say, of impudent and blasphemous forgery ?

In his anxiety to clear the author of D from blame, Dr. Driver urges (LOT. 91), **"There is nothing in Dt. implying an "interested or dishonest motive on the part of the (post- "Mosaic) author : and this being so, its moral and spiritual "greatness remains unimpaired."** But what of the authors of PC ? According to the critics, they, being priestly writers, brought in a large amount of legislation in their own interests, enhancing greatly their own position and revenues. It is even suggested that the motives animating them were far from pure :— **"when, after the Exile, the priests and Levites advanced to a "high position in the community, their demands gradually "increased, until they became the grasping and avaricious "rulers that we see in the Hasmoneans and the Sadducees"** (BN. 100). Yet these priestly writers unblushingly attributed their self-interested regulations to the authority of the Most High.

It is doubtful whether the term "pious fraud" can be applied to such a proceeding. The adjective seems inappropriate.

# LI.

## EVOLUTION.

An argument in favour of the critical theory which appeals to many minds is that it is considered to establish a process of Evolution in Revelation analogous to that in Nature.

Modern criticism, the Dean of Ely says (HC. 11), **" leads us to " regard God's revelation of Himself as a more gradual " process than we had supposed it to be, effected, to a large " extent, by the action of ordinary forces, developed in ways " which we should now call natural rather than supernatural. " There is an analogy between the process of revelation and " the process of creation as we now understand it. The " shaping of the universe, we now know, was the work not of " six literal days, but of immeasurable ages; yet it was " no whit the less the obedient response of matter to the fiat " of Omnipotence. The lofty creed of ethical Monotheism " was not flashed into the heart of the nation once for all amid " the lightnings of Sinai, but won through many a struggle " and many a failure; yet none the less it was Jehovah's " message to the nation from the day when he brought it " out of the land of Egypt."**

The rhetoric of the last clause is less than just to the traditional view.

(1) That does not assert that Monotheism originated at Sinai: it was the creed of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph;—

(2) That view is that **" the lofty creed of ethical Monothe- " ism "** was *enunciated* at Sinai in the Decalogue, but was further developed in the teachings of Leviticus, Numbers, and (especially) Deuteronomy during a period of nearly 40 years;—

(3) That view does not assert for a moment that this lofty creed was **" flashed into the heart of the nation once for all amid " the lightnings of Sinai."** On the contrary, the traditional view is that, despite the awe-inspiring proclamation at Sinai, the history of the nation from that very time down to the Captivity was nothing but a long record of turnings aside from Monotheism to polytheistic idolatry.

Returning, however, to the question of Evolution, Dr. Driver says (HC. 38), "**There is a principle, the importance of which "has long been recognized by theologians, the *progressive-"ness of revelation*, its adaptation, at different periods, to "the moral and spiritual capacities of those to whom it was "primarily addressed; and what is sometimes called the "'higher criticism' (see above, p. 6) of the Old Testament, "determining, as it does, at least approximately the stages "by which the Old Testament gradually reached its present "form, enables the theologian to carry on and develop this "principle to its legitimate consequences."**

Underlying arguments of this kind are two assumptions;—(A) that the critical theory of the formation of the Old Testament exhibits an Evolution of Revelation analogous to that of Nature; (B) that the traditional view does not.

We proceed to examine both these assumptions in reference to the origin of the Pentateuch.

(A) *The critical theory.*

At first sight, this seems to present an evolution in three stages;—

(1) a comparatively simple stage of belief and practice, according to the "Book of the Covenant," lasting till Josiah's time;—

(2) a more advanced stage, answering to Deuteronomy, from Josiah till the Return;—

(3) a final and highly elaborate stage, set forth in the Priestly Code, from Nehemiah onwards.

On closer inspection, the process proves to be more complex. In defending the author of D, Prof. Driver maintains that the greater part of Deuteronomy is, in substance, ancient: the laws, the principles, even the "**parenetic setting**" are not new; "**all that belongs to the post-Mosaic author is the rhetorical "form**" (LOT. 91). If this be true, it is not easy to see where the "**progressiveness of revelation**" comes in.

It is the same with regard to the Priestly Code: the "Law of "Holiness" dates in the main "**from a considerably earlier "time**" (LOT. 151); the "*Toroth*" have gradually accumulated; much even of the ceremonial is ancient. The "**progressiveness**" is not very evident here.

When we inquire what was new, we find (a) in D, the law of the Central Sanctuary "**in its exclusiveness**"; (b) in PC, (i) the changed status of Priests and Levites; (ii) the elaborated ceremonial.

(a) It is asserted that up to the 18th year of Josiah the "high "places" were legitimate "**local sanctuaries**" under the law of JE, but that Josiah, under the influence of Deuteronomy, abolished these at one stroke, and enforced the law that worship could only be rightly offered at Jerusalem.

(b) It is asserted that (i) up to Ezekiel's time, all Levites were entitled to perform priestly functions, but that Ezekiel first drew

the distinction between the priests and the Levites, which developed into the full hierarchy of High Priest, Priests, and Levites by the time of Nehemiah ; (ii) the Sin and Guilt offerings, the solemnities of the Day of Atonement, and the Altar of Incense were introduced, and the character of the three great annual Festivals changed, in the same period.

How can any of these changes be described as evolutionary developments ? They are more in the nature of cataclysms : they savour of Revolution rather than of Evolution.

Still more important is it to note that, if it can be called evolution, it is evolution in the wrong direction.

(a) The change from the liberty to sacrifice " in every place where " I cause my name to be remembered " to the restriction of worship in one spot was in the direction of narrowness. It would have been an ill preparation for the world-wide liberty of worshipping God in all places, " in spirit and in truth " (see SS. 42).

(b) So also with the later change. The critics make much of a supposed antagonism between Priest and Prophet :—

**" The earliest prophets whose writings have been pre- " served appear in opposition to, rather than in alliance " with, the priests. They blame the people for putting their " trust in external observances, and neglecting weightier " matters, justice, truth and the knowledge of God."** IP. 176, 177.

The Prophet stands for a lofty ideal of spiritual religion : the Priest, for punctilious observance of outward ceremonial.

Now in D the prophetic element is predominant ;—**" it was an " endeavour to realize in practice the ideals of the prophets "** (LOT. 89) ; it was the **" *prophetic reformulation* "** of an older legislation (LOT. 91). Even the law of the Central Sanctuary is based upon prophetic teaching :—**" The prophets had more " and more distinctly taught that Zion was emphatically " Jehovah's seat,"** and it was because the **" prophetical party "** realized the importance of this principle that it was **" accordingly " codified, and energetically inculcated in Deuteronomy "** (LOT. 93).

But in PC, on the contrary, it is the priestly element that predominates ;—the priestly office is exalted ; the hierarchy in its three degrees is sharply defined ; even in H (and still more in other parts of the Code) a multiplicity of ritual observances is enjoined, and their minute and scrupulous performance inculcated.

According to the critical theory, therefore, the latest development of the Pentateuch was in the direction which tended to encourage formalism : it was a retrograde movement from the spirituality of D ; it was the triumph of Priest over Prophet, of ritual observance over the religion of the heart.

Is this the **" progressiveness of revelation "** ?

(B) *The traditional view.*

In all probability the critics would contend that if the whole Pentateuch was given by Moses, no room would be left for the gradual growth of religious ideas,—for the "**progressiveness "of revelation.**"

But even if the whole of the Law had been given at Sinai (and that is not the traditional view), would there be no "**progressive-"ness**" in the gradual unfolding of its true meaning and power ?

For instance, though the idea of Monotheism was enunciated in the Decalogue, yet it took centuries of sad experience, the impassioned teachings of a long line of prophets, and the severe discipline of the Exile, to instil into the hearts of the people this elementary lesson of the Hebrew creed.

It was once objected to the present writer that the deep sense of sin underlying the Levitical sacrificial system must have been the growth of ages, the slowly matured product of a gradually awakened national conscience.

That assumes that the law of sacrifice was the result, and the sense of sin the precedent cause. What if it were the other way ? What if the law of sacrifice were given just in order to awaken that very sense of sin ? What if in it were the Divinely given germ which in the course of ages, and by the slow, silent growth of comprehension, should develop into the full consciousness of sin, and the need for atonement ? Would not that be a true evolution ?

There would be the strictest analogy between this and the course of the Christian dispensation. Such critics as Drs. Driver and Kirkpatrick would be foremost in acknowledging that the Gospel of Jesus Christ was a Divine revelation, yet the Gospel ideal was not the slow growth from an awakened human conscience. The Divine ideal was imparted, whole and complete, to a world little prepared to accept or understand. To the long ages that have since ensued was left the task (alas ! how far from accomplished even now) of assimilating that Divine teaching, of gradually growing into a full comprehension of its meaning. "The sower went "forth to sow" the seed nigh on 2,000 years ago : the harvest is the end of the world.

In like manner, those who hold to the traditional view of the Pentateuch believe indeed that the Divine ideal of Law (including the provisions for awakening the sense of sin,—"through the law "cometh the knowledge of sin," Rom: iii. 20) was given complete and perfect through Moses, but that the "**progressiveness "of revelation**" consisted in the gradual unfolding of the true meaning and scope of that Law by the Prophets, and the gradual learning by the people of its profound lessons. The ceremonial symbolism of Leviticus was not an aftergrowth, superseding the spirituality of Deuteronomy and the prophets, but the object lesson, suited to the spiritual infancy of the people, to be elucidated

and developed by the more advanced prophetic teaching. The sequence according to the traditional view is 1st, the symbolic ceremonies of Leviticus; 2nd, the spiritual teaching of Deuteronomy; 3rd, the fuller development of both in the teaching of the prophets, growing ever clearer and deeper.

In this way, the Law was indeed "our tutor to bring us to Christ," that Christ who came to *fulfil* "the Law and the Prophets."

Further, there is the yet wider Evolution of the Dispensations, as set forth by St. Paul:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. The Patriarchal, | without law yet under sin; | Rom: v. 13. |
| II. The Mosaic, | under law for the revelation of sin; | Rom: v. 20. |
| III. The Gospel, | under grace for the remission of sin; | Rom: v. 21. |

In considering the evidence for or against the critical theory, we ought not to allow ourselves to be biassed in the slightest degree by a desire to find in Revelation an Evolution analogous to that in Nature: but those who are willing to consider the evidence impartially need have no fear that adherence to the traditional view involves parting with a belief in the truest and highest of Evolutions, in a very real

**"Progressiveness of Revelation."**

## LII.

## DIFFICULTIES AVOIDED.

It is claimed that the acceptance of the critical conclusions does away with many objections to the Old Testament.

**"We need no longer spend our time and energy in attempt-"ing to reconcile every supposed discrepancy. We can "recognize most frankly that the immoralities and bar-"barities and imprecations which shock us belong to a "lower stage of religious history. Unfulfilled prophecies "need no longer perplex us."** HC. 12.

**"A true historical view of the growth of the Old Testa-"ment, and of the progress of revelation, besides being "important for its own sake, is valuable also in another "way; it removes, viz., many of the difficulties, sometimes "historical, sometimes moral, which the Old Testament "presents, and which frequently form serious stumbling-"blocks."** HC. 39.

The **"historical setting"** in which Bible doctrines are often presented has **"inherent improbabilities, entirely irrespective "of the miraculous element in it, and arising out of the "representation itself; they may consist, for instance, "in false science, they may consist in historical or literary "inconsistencies: but whatever they are, they are due to the "human element in the Bible."** HC. 42, 43.

From the days of Porphyry and Celsus down to those of Hume and Huxley, and on to the present time of atheist or agnostic lecturers in the parks, and paragraphs in certain papers, there have not been wanting opponents to cavil at the miracles, the "inconsis-"tencies," the "immoralities," the "false science" of the Old Testament. It seems such a short and easy way of dealing with these objections to sweep them all away with a—These only belong to the **"human element."**

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that this argument in favour of the **"assured results"** of criticism has had immense weight with many Christians, clergy as well as laity.

No consideration of the advantage to be gained by accepting the critical conclusions ought, of course, to influence for a moment

the weighing of the evidence on which those conclusions rest. Otherwise there would always be the temptation,—strong because subtle,—to consider proved what one wishes to see proved. Still the argument in question has undoubtedly influenced so many minds that it will be as well to examine whether it is really valid.

(A) *As affecting opponents.*

The objections of those hostile to the Bible are met by surrendering the points at issue.

Unbelievers assert (1) Miracles are impossible; the Bible is full of them, and therefore untrue; (2) the Bible is full of inconsistencies; (3) the Bible attributes to God Himself actions and teachings that are immoral; (4) the Bible and science are irreconcilable

To all this the critics in effect reply, You are quite right: (1) Many (if not all) of the OT miracles are incredible; no one now believes in them as miracles; they are only "**natural occurrences**" distorted by tradition, or else pure legend: (2) there are a great many inconsistencies and discrepancies in the OT; our methods have even multiplied instances of these both in the narratives and in the laws; they are due to the combination of "**divergent**" sources; (3) there are in the OT "**immoralities and barbarities** "**and imprecations**"; that is because the actors and writers were on a lower moral and spiritual plane: (4) the science of the OT is "**imperfect and in many respects false**" (HC. 52); the account of Creation is but the "**antiquated**" science (HC. 53) of a bygone age; the Bible was not intended "**to anticipate** "**the discoveries of science**" but "**to teach moral and** "**spiritual truths**" (HC. 43).

Every point is conceded; the history is false, the morality is false, the science is false. We are indeed "**relieved of a multi-** "**tude of difficulties**" (HC. 12), but it is much in the same fashion as a traveller is relieved of a good deal of responsibility when he has handed over his valuables to a highwayman.

The critics really plead guilty to the indictment against the Bible; they confess that there is much that is objectionable in the Old Testament, and only seek to neutralize this confession by pleading that the objectionable matter is all due to the "**human** "**element.**" In so far as they acknowledge the "**moral and** "**spiritual truths**" of the Bible, they may still be able to say, "The words of the LORD are pure words; as silver tried in a furnace "on the earth, purified seven times" (Ps: xii. 6), but they hold that these "pure words" are mixed up with a great deal of worthless dross.

Does this surrender in any degree conciliate the opponent, or weaken his position? On the contrary, it gives him a stronger vantage ground for his attack.

(a) Not only can the opponent point triumphantly to the admission of the truth of his former accusations, but he can make

use of the ground so gained for a further assault. "On your own "showing," he can urge, "this Bible of yours contains much that "is erroneous: how can you be sure that the rest is not equally "untrustworthy?"

This is no imaginary picture of what may possibly happen. Even now there are Hindus who reply to Christian teaching, "How "can you reproach us with absurd cosmogonies, or the immoralities "of Krishna? Your own learned men have shown that your Bible "is just as bad." So too there are Moslems who urge that we have to admit that the Bible is often imperfect and wrong, whereas the Koran is perfect and Divine.

Opponents are not disarmed but strengthened by the critical admissions.

(b) The critics expend a good deal of argument and eloquence to show that by their view the religious value of the Bible is unimpaired (see Essay III, HC. 51–68). They consider that they have only abandoned indefensible outworks in order to concentrate strength for the defence of an impregnable citadel. Is this really the case?

It is mere common sense to argue that if the OT writers are hopelessly wrong in lesser matters, such as history and science, where their assertions can be tested, they are very likely to be wrong in higher regions, such as morality and theology, where similar tests are not available. The Bible teaches that there is a God, and only one God: how can we be sure that this is not as much a mistake as the idea that the universe was created in 6 literal days? The Old Testament presents a "**singularly dignified, lofty and "spiritual**" conception of God (HC. 52): why is that to be credited any more than the other representation of Him as a "jealous" God, given to vengeance and wrath? The Old Testament holds up "**great ideals of human life and society**" (HC. 64): can those who have misinterpreted or misrepresented the actual facts of history be trusted in their ideals of what "**human society "may one day hope to attain.**" (HC. 65)?

(c) Further, it may reasonably be argued that, on their own principles, the critics are really begging the question when they assert the permanent religious value of the Old Testament. Much of the value which they find in it,—the conception of God, the relation of man to God, "**devotional use and suggestiveness**" (HC. 61), "**the kingdom of God . . . established on earth**" (HC. 65),—depends ultimately on an *a priori* assumption:—"**The "Christian critic starts with the belief that the Bible con-"tains a revelation of God, and that its writers are inspired**" (HC. 33). But to the opponent this is mere prejudice, an "**an-"terior philosophical principle**" (HC. 33), and the critics themselves warn us that "**It is a fatal mistake to approach the "Bible with a preconceived theory of inspiration**" (HC. 30).

The antagonist can, then, turn the critics' own artillery against their central position. For the argument would run thus: If we are not to start with a "**preconceived theory,**" then (1) it must not be assumed that there is a God; there may be many Gods, or no God: (2) if there is a God, it must not be assumed that He has revealed Himself in any way: (3) if there has been a revelation, it must not be assumed that it is found in the Bible: (4) it must not be assumed that the Bible writers were inspired; their writings must be treated as possibly altogether human, and their religious teaching as human speculation which may be as true or as false as any other speculation. Without these assumptions the permanent religious value of the Old Testament vanishes. That the Old Testament has any religious value is really involved in the original assumption that it contains an inspired revelation, which is therefore a *petitio principii.*

The arguments which the critics use to show that the history and science of the Bible need not be reliable can be used just as effectively to overthrow the religious value.

So far as opponents are concerned, then, the critical conclusions do not strengthen the defence, but weaken it.

(B) *As affecting adherents.*

The critics may urge that it is not so much the objections of avowed opponents that they have in view, as the difficulties of believers; that many of these find it hard to accept the Old Testament miracles, the statements which seem at variance with science, and the actions and utterances which offend our sense of morality; and that these difficulties are effectually solved by accepting the critical conclusions. This, then, also must be considered.

(a) The critical conclusions involve greater miracles than they explain.

(i) Take the theory of the literary origin of the Pentateuch. The critics would have us believe that the writings of four authors (or more), writing quite independently and separated by considerable intervals of time, have been pieced together in a very intricate fashion by three or four editors, whose methods were none too intelligent; that all traces of these various authors and editors have utterly perished from history, the very idea that they had so written and compiled having been completely forgotten within two centuries (or less) from the final compilation; and that in this way a work was produced which for twenty centuries has passed for a literary unity, though jealously scrutinized by foes as well as by friends.

If true, this would be a more astounding marvel than the dividing of the Red Sea, or the fall of the walls of Jericho.

(ii) Not less amazing would be the moral miracle of the "**gradual evolution of Hebrew religion**" (OSSP. 372) set before us by the critics. They would have us believe that out of beliefs and

practices little removed from a debased fetish worship there have been developed **"the lofty creed of ethical Monotheism"** (HC. 11), the deep sense of sin underlying the Levitical sacrificial system, and the exhortations to holiness and the love of God which are found in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

Compared with this mighty change, how insignificant are the wonders of streams of water flowing from a rock, or the blossoming of a dead stick! True, the critics demand a period of some 8 centuries for the development of this change, but what of that? Is a miracle any the less a miracle because worked slowly instead of suddenly? Unless the critics are prepared to hold that the evolution was due solely to human progress (and that would be a phenomenon so unexampled as to be in itself miraculous) the change can only be attributed to Divine power.

(iii) Further, the critics hold that out of an unspiritual people, fierce and idolatrous and licentious, there arose a long succession of teachers, endowed with profound spiritual insight, inculcating the loftiest ideals of righteousness and devotion to God, the prophets **"who moulded the thought and guided the action of the "people"** (IP. 176). Strangely enough, it is also held that to these succeeded a set of men who were chiefly bent on enforcing ceremonial observances, who substituted the idea of obedience to legal ordinances for the spontaneous religion of the heart: yet it was these same formalists who finally welded together the various sources, and produced the majestic whole we now know as the Pentateuch. That men of such unpromising antecedents as both the prophets and the scribes should display such powers of spiritual insight is far more wonderful than that an ass should have been temporarily gifted with human speech.

(b) The critical theory does not really remove the moral difficulty, and involves one greater still.

(i) Some of the objections occasionally brought against the morality of the Old Testament arise from the fact that the Bible writers often narrate wicked actions of men whose lives are represented as on the whole good, without express condemnation. This may afford a handle to the avowedly hostile, but is not likely to afford real difficulty to those who can perceive that the writers were too honest to conceal the truth, even when it exposed the failings of their heroes, and, recording the evil in plain terms, did not always consider it necessary to add a label, "This was a sin."

The believers' difficulties are found when it is represented that God commanded (e.g. the sacrifice of Isaac, or the extermination of the Amalekites), or condoned (e.g. the killing of Sisera, or the deceit of Jacob) actions repellent to the moral sense; or where prayer and praise (as in the "imprecatory" Psalms) are coloured by what looks like vindictiveness.

The critics claim that these difficulties are cleared away when we

attribute all these records or utterances to the **" human element."** God did not, according to them, really command human sacrifice and wholesale massacre, or approve assassination and cheatery: the actors and narrators may have thought He did, but they were mistaken. Prayers for vengeance on enemies and exultation over their downfall are not really acceptable to God, but the psalmists were not sufficiently aware of His true character to refrain from them. All these belong **" to a relatively immature stage in " the spiritual education of mankind "** (HC. 39).

One would have thought that the ideas that God is essentially Just and True, Merciful and Loving were elementary enough to be grasped at a low stage of spiritual development. As a matter of fact we meet with them quite early.

Abraham is represented as pleading that the innocent should not suffer with the guilty on the ground " Shall not the Judge of " all the earth do right ? " (Gen: xviii. 25): the proclamation of the LORD as a " God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, " and plenteous in mercy and truth " (Exod: xxxiv. 6) is attributed to the revelation at Sinai. Both these passages are ascribed to J, considered to be the earliest of the Pentateuchal sources, while it is the later E who records the Divine determination to " utterly "blot out the remembrance of Amalek " (Exod: xvii. 14). The Psalms are brought down to a later period still, (**" Very few of " the Psalms are earlier than the 7th century BC."** LOT. 384), and in particular Ps. lxix, an " imprecatory " Psalm, is said to belong **" to the exile, or somewhat later "** (LOT. 386). On the critics' own showing, then, the Righteousness and Loving-kindness of God were apprehended and enunciated at a period considerably earlier than that in which were written the passages objected to as inconsistent with those qualities. These therefore cannot be accounted for by the **" progressiveness of revela- " tion,"** and the critical explanation does not accord with the facts.

(ii) A greater moral difficulty is created by the critical hypothesis. Dr. Driver and those who think with him start from the position that the Bible contains **" a revelation of God,"** whose writers were **" inspired."** Yet they maintain that a large part of the Old Testament is erroneous and false; and that the inspired writers included in their writings fanciful myths, untrustworthy traditions, downright legends, and even asserted what they must have known to be untrue, representing modern developments as ancient revelation, and human institutions as Divine ordinances.

Nor do the critics repudiate these **" elements more or less " unhistorical "** (BG. lxvi) as no part of the inspired revelation. On the contrary, they are defended as conveying spiritual and moral truths :—**" Parable or fiction can teach divine truths no " less clearly than history "** (BN. xxvi). In justification of

this, it is pleaded that Christ taught by parables, and St. Paul treated an Old Testament narrative as an "allegory."

The argument is plausible, but misleading.

(1) Parable and fiction may justifiably be used to convey divine truths provided that it is clear that they are only parable and fiction. The Gospel parables show plainly that they are only illustrative similitudes: the Old Testament statements and narratives wear all the appearance of a sober relation of facts, and have been so understood for centuries. The one set has never deceived the simplest of readers: the other (according to the critics) has deceived countless thousands.

(2) The Gospel parables are in no case based on what is false. Even if some (such as those of the Unjust Steward, and of the Prodigal Son) may possibly be regarded as imaginary stories made up for the sake of the moral (and that is going a great deal further than we have a right to do), they are based on the realities of human nature. There is not anything improbable about any of them, as there is in Jotham's parable. If the critics are right, the Old Testament narratives contain not only many things that did not happen, but a good many things that could not possibly have happened.

(3) When St. Paul treats the history of Hagar and Sarah as an "allegory," he does not imply that the narrative is a fictitious one, invented to convey a spiritual lesson. He treats it as actual history, but finds in it, beneath the surface, a spiritual meaning over and above the literal account.

The critical theory really means that the God to Whom "lying "lips are an abomination" has employed, or has permitted to be employed on His behalf, in His revelation of Himself, a very great deal that is intrinsically false, so put forward as to be likely to deceive, and has actually caused deception to an eronmous degree. What discrepancy in the narratives, what apparent conflict between Revelation and Science even, can be half so appalling as this self-contradiction on the part of the God of Truth? On the surface, this moral difficulty may not seem so repulsive as the so-called **"barbarities and imprecations"**: in reality, it goes far deeper and is more fundamental.

(c) The critical conclusions involve a great practical difficulty: they tend to make a large part of the Bible a private preserve for the learned.

It is bad enough to be told that **"in a large number of in-"stances the text of the Old Testament is corrupt"** (HC. 9), and to find that the critics often consider the renderings of even the Revised Version unsatisfactory. To some extent (though perhaps not to so great an extent as the critics make out) difficulties of the kind are unavoidable. Some corruption may be looked for in any ancient text: no translation can perfectly represent the original,

But the theory of compilation introduces a far more serious element of confusion and obscurity. It needs a trained guide to thread the mazes of combinations, interpolations, redactional adjustments, and so on. Yet without this, if the critics be right, it is not possible to have a right understanding of either the histories or the laws.

To take a few commonplace illustrations :—the ordinary allusion to "Potiphar's wife" should be abandoned; the incident belongs to the J narrative in which Joseph is sold to an Egyptian "**whose name is not given**" (BG. 333); "Potiphar" has no right to be in Gen: xxxix. 1, but is part of a "**harmonizing** "**insertion**" of R. We must not speak of the two faithful spies, Joshua and Caleb; the mention of Joshua is due to P, a late and untrustworthy source. The "Ten Plagues" may not have been ten at all; the account is made up from three different sources.

Moreover, according to the critics, the different sources give "**divergent**" accounts, and we are left quite uncertain as to which is the true version, if either is. Was it Abraham who called his wife a sister, or was it Isaac? did it happen in Egypt or in Gerar? or did it ever happen at all? Was Moses commissioned in Midian or in Egypt? Was the Ark made before Moses went up into the mount according to D, or after he came down again according to P?

Even where there is no question of compilation, there is still difficulty: what seem to be the simplest and plainest of statements need an interpreter. The whole of Gen: iii expresses "**truths** "**respecting human nature in a figurative or allegorical** "**dress, the details not being true in a literal sense, but** "**being profoundly true in a *symbolical* sense**" (BG. 54). The statistics are all "**artificial**": instead of numbering 600,000 men, the Israelites only numbered 5,000 or 10,000 men, women, and children. The Passover was not instituted at the Exodus: it was a "**pre-Mosaic institution.**" It was seen above that the compilation theory reduces the two faithful spies to one: interpretation modifies even that;—"**It is very probable,** "**however, that the history of Caleb is the history not of an** "**individual but of a clan,**" the Kalibbites, or dog-clan, who were not even Israelites but Edomites (see BN. 75, 76). Exod: xx. 1 says "God spake all these words, saying,"—a statement very familiar to church-goers, but not to be understood at all literally. God did not *speak*;—"**the divine communications made to** "**Moses were presumably internal rather than external**" (BE. 176);—nor were the words God's words; "**the human** "**words in which God's revelation is here cast are words of** "**Moses**" (BE. 177, note);—nor are *all* the words even words of Moses: considerable additions have been made in later ages. It must not be supposed that "I the LORD thy God am a jealous "God"—is a Divine thought put into words by Moses: it is only

part of an addition by $R^D$. So also " the LORD blessed the sabbath "day and hallowed it " is but part of what $R^P$ added centuries after Moses' death.

Not the least of the difficulties involved by the acceptance of critical conclusions is the difficulty of knowing what is to be read in the Old Testament, and after that the difficulty of knowing what is its true meaning.

Those who are attracted by the idea that the critical theory relieves us of **" a multitude of difficulties "** will do well to consider whether it does not involve more difficulties, and greater ones, than it relieves

# LIII.

## THE TORAH.

In considering evidence, it is often necessary to distinguish between the actual evidence and the interpretation of the evidence, particularly where the evidence is capable of more than one interpretation. A student of such a question is, of course, perfectly justified in forming his own conclusion as to what is the true interpretation: he may even be justified in coming to the conclusion that his interpretation is the only reasonable one. He is not however justified, so long as another interpretation is possible, in asserting that his view is "the evidence," however much he may be convinced that his view is right.

An assumption of this kind is frequently found in the higher critical arguments. For instance, the whole bearing of the passage Ezek: xliv. 6–18 depends on the meaning attached to "the Levites" in v: 9. When Prof. Driver asserts (LOT. 139), **"From this "passage it seems to follow incontrovertibly that the Levites "generally had . . . enjoyed *priestly rights*"** he is assuming that "the Levites" must mean **"the Levites generally,"** i.e. the whole tribe, which is really the very question at issue. It is not the evidence in itself, but his interpretation of it which leads to the conclusion he considers incontrovertible.

This tendency (common in some degree to all advocates) to put forward one view of the evidence as if it were the only possible one, sometimes passes into something even less legitimate. One who is thoroughly convinced of the correctness of his view may in stating the evidence, quite easily and unconsciously introduce a word or two giving to the evidence a colouring which does not rightly belong to it. Frequent instances of this slight but important modification of the evidence are to be found in critical writings: e.g. that "in the firmament" (Gen: i. 14) means **"fastened "to it"** (BG. 9); that in Gen: iii. 8 the sound of **"footsteps"** is heard (BG. 46); that E's Tent of Meeting was **"a simple "nomad tent"** (BE. 427); that the elders who "prophesied" were **"flung into an ecstatic condition of frenzy"** (BN. 63). These (and there are many more) are illustrations of how unconscious bias may read into the evidence more than it actually warrants.

One instance in particular has been reserved for special and full consideration because it exhibits this tendency on a larger scale, and because it has an important bearing on the origin of the Pentateuch.

It is of capital importance to the critical theory to show that "the Law" was of gradual growth. To this end a distinction is drawn between the Pentateuch and the *Torah* (or "Law"), which has long been used as the Jewish name for the Pentateuch.

**"Moses may have been the founder of the Torah though the "Pentateuchal legislation was codified almost a thousand "years later; for the Torah was not originally a written "law but the oral decisions of the priests at the sanctuary— "case-law, in short, by which they decided all manner of "questions and controversies that were brought before "their tribunal; their Torah was the instruction to others "from their lips, not at all a written document in their "hands guaranteeing their own status, and instructing "themselves how to proceed in the sacrificial ritual. Ques- "tions of clean and unclean belonged to the Torah, because "these were matters on which the laity required to be "directed; but, speaking generally, the ritual, so far as it "consisted in ceremonies performed by the priests them- "selves, was no part of the Torah."** (Wellhausen, art: "Pentateuch," Enc: Britt: ed: ix, vol: xviii, p: 513).

According to this, the ***Torah***, though now understood to mean the whole Mosaic law, was originally only **"the oral decisions "of the priests,"** and did not include the ritual legislation.

In similar strain, Dr. Driver has (BE. 161) an introductory note to Exod: xviii:—**"The chapter is one of great historical "interest: it presents a picture of *Moses legislating*. "Cases calling for a legal decision arise among the "people: the contending parties come to Moses to have "them settled: he adjudicates between them; and his "decisions are termed 'the statutes and directions (tôroth) "'of God.' It was the function of the priests in later times "to give oral 'direction' upon cases submitted to them, "on matters both of civil right (Dt. xvii. 11), and of cere- "monial observance (*ib*. xxiv. 8); and here Moses himself "appears discharging the same function, and so creating "the primitive nucleus of Hebrew law. He is not repre- "sented as giving the people a finished *code*, but as deciding "upon cases as they arose."**

In this extract it is asserted (1) that in deciding cases Moses was in reality **"legislating . . creating the primitive nucleus "of Hebrew law"**; (2) that in so doing he was **"discharging "the same function"** as that of the priests in later times; and (3) it is suggested that it was only in this way, and not by means of

a "**finished code**" that Moses legislated at all. That this is the scope of the closing sentence appears from what immediately follows :—"**decisions given in this way, especially in difficult "cases (v. 26), would naturally form precedents for future "use (cf on xxi. 1) : an increasing body of civil and criminal "law would thus gradually grow up, based upon a Mosaic "nucleus, and perpetuating Mosaic principles, but aug- "mented by the decisions of later priests or judges, framed "to meet the needs of a wider and more varied national "life. Collections of such laws, dating, as we have them, "from post-Mosaic times, are preserved in the 'Book of the "'Covenant' (xx. 23–xxiii. 33), and in the Code embedded "in the discourses of Deuteronomy.**" BE. 161.

As, with the exception of the still later Priestly Code, the "Book "of the Covenant" and the Deuteronomic laws are the only "codes" professing to be Mosaic, it would follow that we have no Mosaic code at all, but only an undefined "**nucleus**" of Mosaic decisions on "**cases as they arose,**" unsystematic and more or less due to chance, afterwards "**augmented by the decisions of "later priests or judges,**" forming eventually "**collections of "laws.**" Hence "the law of Moses" is something of a misnomer, and it is in some degree misleading to style Moses a "Lawgiver."

The conclusion is sufficiently startling, and the grounds on which it is based will need careful consideration.

A good deal turns on the meaning and use of the word *Torah*, as to which Dr. Driver has a long note, BE. 162.

"***Tôrah* . . . is derived from the verb *hôrāh*, to *point out*, "*direct*, . . . and means properly, *pointing out, direction*.**"

Similarly Mr. Chapman (IP. 256), "***Torah*, a noun allied "with this form of the verb, means *direction* or *instruction*, "given by one in authority.**"

It is not always safe to determine the meaning of a word by its derivation. "Writ" is no doubt connected with "write": it would not do to conclude that therefore "a writ" means any kind of a writing. *Torah* may primarily have the sense of "pointing "out" or "direction"; that does not preclude the possibility of its being ordinarily used in a special, limited sense, especially when it is used definitely, *the Torah*.

"**It may be used of oral direction given by prophets (as "in Is. i. 10, v. 24, xxx. 9);**" BE. 162.

Isai: i. 10, "Hear the word of the LORD, ye rulers of Sodom; "give ear unto the law (*torah*) of our God, ye people of "Gomorrah."

v. 24, "because they have rejected the law (*torah*) of the "LORD of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy "One of Israel."

xxx. 9, "For it is a rebellious people, lying children,

" children that will not hear the law (*torah*) of the " LORD."

Not one of these passages requires the meaning **" oral direction " given by prophets "** : all are consistent with " the law " being the will of God already declared and laid down (see below, p: 488).

**" but it is used especially of *oral direction given by the* " *priests* to the laity, in accordance with a traditional body " of principles and usages, chiefly on points of ceremonial " observance : in process of time the term came further to " denote a *body of technical direction* (or ' law ') on a given " subject (e.g. on leprosy, Lev. xiv. 2, 32, 54, 57), and finally " to denote ' the law ' as a whole."** BE. 162.

For all its apparent precision and circumstantiality, the above is not a statement of indisputable facts, but only of the process by which the critics believe " the law " was gradually built. Like the equally precise statements of Wellhausen (**" the Torah was " not originally a written law . . . not at all a written docu- " ment . . . the ritual . . . was no part of the Torah "**) the assertions made are no more than inferences drawn from certain passages to be examined presently. Apart from those inferences, it would not be easy to substantiate the assertions (1) that *Torah* was **" especially "** used of priestly oral directions ; (2) that those directions were only founded on **" a traditional body of princi- " ples and usages,"** and not on a written law; (3) that it was only **" in process of time "** that *Torah* came to denote a body of law on a given subject ; (4) and only **" finally "** to denote the whole law.

It is of course a fact that *Torah* sometimes denotes a body of law on a given subject (such as the law of leprosy), and sometimes the whole Law ; nor is it questioned that it was part of the office of a priest to give oral directions to the people, especially as to ceremonial observances. The real question at issue is,

Did *Torah* originally mean the priestly oral directions founded on tradition and only come afterwards to be applied to a written law derived from those directions ? or did *Torah* denote the Divine Law, revealed through Moses and committed to writing, in accordance with which the priests had to give their oral directions ?

**" For examples of both the verb (EVV. *teach*) and the subst. " (EVV. *law*) in the senses explained, see Lev. x. 11, xiv. 57, " Dt. xvii. 10, 11 (' according to the *direction* wherewith " ' they shall *direct* thee '), xxiv. 8, xxxiii. 10, Mic. iii. 11, " Jer. xviii. 18, Ez. vii. 26, xliv. 23, Hag. ii. 11 (render ' Ask " ' now *direction* of the priest,'), Mal. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9."** BE. 162.

These passages, then, must be examined to see how far they bear out the critical contention (only taking the Deut: texts last).

(i) Lev: x. 10, 11. " and that ye may put difference between " the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the

"clean; and that ye may teach [*l'horoth*] the children of Israel "all the statutes which the LORD hath spoken unto them by the "hand of Moses."

The passage is addressed to Aaron for the guidance of himself and of his sons; they are to drink no wine when going into the Tent of Meeting (v: 9) as "a statute for ever throughout your "generations," so that they may rightly distinguish between holy and common, between unclean and clean in the matter of sacrifices, and that they may "teach" (or "give direction"). True, but what? "all the statutes which the LORD hath spoken." That points to the priests being the exponents of a Divine law entrusted to them, and not to their building up a law by their oral decisions. Moreover, the passage is ascribed to P, at a period when (according to the critics) oral decisions had already hardened into written law.

(ii) Lev: xiv. 57. "to teach [*l'horoth*] when it is unclean, and "when it is clean: this is the law [*torah*] of leprosy."

C: xiii gives directions as to how the priest is to recognize leprosy in persons or garments; c: xiv. 1–32 prescribes the ceremonies for cleansing a leper after he is healed; vv: 33–53, the rules as to houses infected with leprosy; vv: 54–57 a summary of the whole. The whole is made up of regulations for the guidance of the priest. No doubt it involves the duty of the priest to instruct the laity as to their part, but primarily "the law of leprosy" consists of instructions to the priest, and not of his oral directions to the people. The same may be said of "the law of the burnt offering" (Lev: vi. 8–13); "the law of the meal offering" (Lev: vi. 14–18); "the law of the sin offering" (Lev: vi. 24–30), and of "the guilt "offering" (Lev: vii. 1–10); of purification (Lev: xii. 6–8); of the "law of jealousy" (Num: v. 11–30); and even of "the law of the "Nazirite" (Num: vi. 13–21), all of which concern duties to be performed by the priest. All these passages also belong to P.

(iii) Mic: iii. 11. "The heads thereof judge for reward, and the "priests thereof teach [*yoroo*] for hire, and the prophets thereof "divine for money."

It is part of the denunciation of the wickedness of Zion and Jerusalem; there are three classes exercising their several functions; the heads judge, the prophets divine, the priests "teach" (or 'give direction"); all are performing duties entrusted to them, but unfaithfully from corrupt motives. In the case of the priests, there is nothing to show that their wickedness did not consist in perverting the Law, instead of faithfully declaring it.

(iv) Jer: xviii. 18. "Then said they, Come and let us devise "devices against Jeremiah; for the law [*torah*] shall not perish "from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the "prophet."

(v) Ezek: vii. 26. "Mischief shall come upon mischief, and "rumour shall be upon rumour; and they shall seek a vision of the

"prophet; but the law [*torah*] shall perish from the priest, and "counsel from the ancients."

The passages are evidently closely related, the Divine denunciation in Ezekiel being intentionally contrasted with the false security of Jeremiah's opponents.

Mr. Chapman (IP. 256) paraphrases the utterance of Jeremiah's enemies as meaning, **"the existing order will not be over-"thrown: the prophet will continue to declare the word of "the Lord, the wise man will still offer counsel, and the "priest will not cease from giving *direction*."** Lower down on the same page he asserts, **"In these passages the Heb. word "*Torah* does not refer to a written law,"** and on the next page (257), **"The rendering 'the law' in AV. and RV. is mis-"leading so far as it suggests reference to a written law; "the reference in these passages is to verbal decisions "given by the priests."** The only reason given for these somewhat peremptory dicta is that **"the law when written would "be in the hands of both priests and people; of such a "written law it could be said that it would perish or be "changed, but not that it would perish from the priest."**

Would the written law be in the hands of the people? In Jeremiah's time, copies of the Law could not have been many (if indeed there was more than one), and it is very doubtful whether the people in general would have access to them. If there was a written Law (and it is to be remembered that Jeremiah probably, and Ezekiel certainly, prophesied after Hilkiah's roll had been recognized as "the book of the law," *Torah*) of which the priests were the official guardians, the people would be chiefly, or entirely, acquainted with it through the verbal instructions (not "directions" or "decisions") of the priests. It would be precisely "from the "priest" that the Law would have to be taken away. Indeed, the words of Jeremiah's opponents actually gain in force if they are referred to a written Law. Conceivably the gift of "the word" might be withheld from the prophet, and the "counsel" of the wise * brought to nought, but the *Torah*, the written Law, how *could* that perish from the priest?

With these two passages Mr. Chapman couples a reference to Jer: ii. 8;—"The priests said not, Where is the LORD? and they "that handle the law (*thophsey hat-torah*) knew me not."

How could any be said to "handle" the *Torah* if by that was only meant **"verbal decisions given by the priests"**? The verb used is one that means to lay hold of, to wield (of musical instruments, Gen: iv. 21; a sickle, Jer: l. 16; a bow, Amos ii. 15).

* Note the delicate distinction of the change of word in Ezekiel. The opponents speak of the "wise" man, but, deprived of counsel, those they considered "wise" would be but "ancients"—old men.

Even if used figuratively, it must refer to something external to the handler.

(vi) Ezek: xliv. 23. " And they [the priests] shall teach [*yoroo*] " my people the difference between the holy and the common, and " cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean."

The verse is an echo of Lev: x. 11 (see above, p: 483) as, besides the strong verbal similarity, both passages are connected with the prohibition to drink wine (Lev: x. 9 ; Ezek: xliv. 21), and therefore the meaning of one determines that of the other.

Also, the Ezek: passage continues, " And in a controversy they " shall stand to judge ; according to my judgements shall they judge " it ; and they shall keep my laws [*torothai*] and my statutes in " all my appointed feasts " (v: 24). In matters ceremonial, they are to keep " my " *toroth* and " my statutes." An already prescribed standard is to govern their priestly conduct.

(vii) Hag: ii. 11. " Ask now the priests concerning the law " (*lit*: Ask now the priests *Torah*).

Dr. Driver translates, " Ask, now, *direction* of the priest " ; Mr. Chapman gives, " Ask now the priests for a *direction*," and **" two questions on the difference between clean and unclean " follow "** (IP. 256). Yes, and it is clearly anticipated that the questions can only be answered in one way, as in fact the priests do answer them, and that is in accordance with the Levitical law. Yet the critics affirm that the Priestly Code had not been published at the time, viz: 520 BC, " the second year of Darius." This anticipation of what the answer must inevitably be clearly favours the view that the asked-for *Torah* was the application of an already existing law, rather than the **" decision "** of the priests in a doubtful case.

(viii) Mal: ii. 6–9. " The law [*torah*] of truth was in his [Levi's] " mouth. . . . For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and " they should seek the law [*torah*] at his mouth. . . . But ye are " turned aside out of the way ; ye have caused many to stumble in " the law [*torah*] . . . ye have not kept my ways, but have had " respect of persons in the law [*torah*]."

All these allusions are perfectly satisfied by taking *torah* to mean the declaration and application of an already existing law : not one requires the meaning of a decision at the priest's own discretion.

We turn now to the passages in Deuteronomy.

(ix) Deut: xvii. 11 is referred to (BE. 161) as showing that it was the function of the priests to give oral direction in **" matters of " civil right."** The passage really begins at v: 8 :—

" If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgement, between " blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and " stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates : then " shalt thou arise and get thee up unto the place which the LORD " thy God shall choose ; (9) and thou shalt come unto the priests

"the Levites, and unto the judge [*shophet*] that shall be in those "days: and thou shalt inquire; and they shall shew thee the "sentence of judgement [*d'var hammishpat*]: (10) and thou shalt "do according to the tenor of the sentence [*davar*] which they "shew thee from that place which the LORD shall choose; and "thou shalt observe to do according to all that they shall teach "[*yoroo*] thee: (11) according to the tenor of the law [*torah*] "which they shall teach [*yoroo*] thee, and according to the judge-"ment [*mishpat*] which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou "shalt not turn aside from the sentence [*davar*] which they shall "shew thee to the right hand nor to the left."

Whatever v: 11, taken by itself, might suggest, the context makes it clear that

(1) no jurisdiction in ordinary **"matters of civil right"** is conferred: the cases contemplated are those of exceptional difficulty when blood is against blood, plea against plea, stroke against stroke: for these cases a final Court of Appeal is constituted;—

(2) the priests are not the sole arbiters, but are co-ordinated with the judge (v: 10);—

(3) emphasis is laid more on the sentence (*davar*) of judgment (*mishpat*) than on the *torah*;—

(4) the appeal is made by the subordinate "judges and officers ". . . in all thy gates" (xvi. 18), who have found the "matter "too hard" for them, to the authorities at the Central Sanctuary, presumably more skilled in the Law;—

(5) the double mention of "the place which the LORD shall "choose" may possibly indicate a seeking of Divine guidance in a matter too hard for human judgment.

Mr. Chapman considers that in this passage **"provision is made "for an extension of *Torah*"** (IP. 258). He gives, indeed, a reference to the whole passage, but actually quotes only parts of vv: 9 and 11, omitting all mention of the "sentence of judgement"; and concludes, **"It should be noted that the last official pro-"clamation of law in the Pentateuch is not represented as "final; additional *Torah* will be issued in the future when "necessary."** IP. 258.

The last official proclamation of law in the Pentateuch? Has the critic abandoned the view that Deuteronomy was not an **"official proclamation"** at all, but a manifesto composed by an unknown writer? and not **"the last,"** but supplemented long after by the large body of laws in the Priestly Code?

Taking it, however, that the critic has momentarily (though he does not say so) adopted the traditional view for argument's sake, where does he find the promise of **"additional"** *Torah*? **"In any case of controversy (xvii. 8–13)"**—"any case" is hardly accurate—**"appeal shall be made to 'the priests the**

**" 'Levites and unto the judge that shall be in those days,' " and the people shall do 'according to the tenor of the law " ' (*Torah*) which they shall *teach*.' "** IP. 258.

How does that promise anything " **additional** " ? Why should it be anything more than the application and exposition of the old *Torah* by experts ? Even if there was some seeking for Divine guidance, what was it for ? Not for framing new and " **additional** " regulations, but for light to apply the existing law in a " matter too " hard," where the exact application of the law was doubtful.

(x) Deut: xxiv. 8. " Take heed in the plague of leprosy that " thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests " the Levites shall teach you [*yoroo*] : as I commanded them, " so ye shall observe to do,"—is referred to as showing that the priests were to give oral direction in matters of " **ceremonial** " **observance** " (BE. 161).

Ceremonial observance in general is not even alluded to : only the special case of leprosy is referred to, and in that there were a great many matters hygienic rather than ceremonial to be observed. The priests are not given discretion to decide as they think fit : it must be " as I commanded them." The only extant " commands " as to what was to be done in cases of leprosy are contained in Lev: xiii, xiv ; chapters addressed (as has been seen, p: 483) to the priests, and not to the people.

The terms of Deut: xxiv. 8 require that there should have been a " law of leprosy " already existing for the priests to " teach."

(xi) Deut: xxxiii. 10. " They [Levi] shall teach [*yoroo*] Jacob thy judgements, and Israel thy law [*torah*]."

**" In the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii) the tribe of Levi " is entrusted with priestly functions. They are there " indicated as giving direction (*Torah*) and offering sacrifice " (ver. 10)."** IP. 162.

Yet the verse does not speak of their " **giving direction** " without limitation, nor is it only *Torah* that is mentioned : it is " thy judgements " and " thy *Torah* " which they are to " teach " (or " point out "). To say the least of it, this is not inconsistent with their declaring Divine judgments and " directions " already existing.

All the passages cited as supporting the critical interpretation of *Torah* have now been examined. The most that can be said of them is that they show that the priests were empowered to give, and did give, oral directions or instructions, especially in matters ceremonial. Not one of them implies that the directions were left to the priests' discretion, or were independent of a Law already laid down. Several point distinctly in the opposite direction. All are perfectly consistent with the view that the priests were the guardians and exponents of a written Law.

Now here are there other citations which have not been quoted by the critics :—

Exod: xii. 49, " One law [*torah*] shall be to him that is home-
" born, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among
" you." (P).

xiii. 9, " And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine
" hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that
" the law [*torah*] of the LORD may be in thy mouth."
(J).

xvi. 4, " that I may prove them, whether they will
" walk in my law [*torah*], or no." (J).

The idea of priestly oral direction can hardly be associated with *Torah* in these. Two out of the three are from J, the earliest of the sources, while the passages which are supposed to favour the critical interpretation are all from writings which the critics consider to be later. Yet the critics would have us believe that *Torah* originally meant oral directions given by the priests, and only **" finally "** became applied to the Law as a whole.

*Prophetic Torah.*

So far priestly *toroth* have been considered : it is asserted that there was also a **" *Torah* of the prophets."** IP. 176.

Dr. Driver contents himself with saying that the word **" may " be used of oral direction given by prophets."** BE. 162.

On this Mr. Chapman has enlarged considerably. Besides a good deal in § 5, **" The Law and the Prophets "** (IP. 174–181), he has a special appendix (vi) on **" The meaning of *TORAH* "** (pp: 256–259), and in this the space devoted to priestly **" Decisions "** is almost equalled by that which is given to **"Prophetic Teaching."**

**" The prophets in declaring the word of the Lord enunci-
" ated general rules of conduct, which were recognized as
" embodying Divine guidance, or in other words as being
" ' the law of the *LORD*.' "** IP. 257.

Does this mean that the prophets in declaring the word did nothing else but enunciate **" general rules of conduct "** ? If so, it is hardly consistent with the facts, for the prophetic writings contain a good deal (e.g. specific predictions) which cannot be classed under that head. If, on the other hand, the meaning is that only that part of the prophetic teaching which contained **" general rules of conduct "** was recognized as **" embodying " Divine guidance,"** it would be interesting to learn (1) Why this recognition was accorded to only a part of the prophetic message ? and (2) what evidence there is for asserting that it was so recognized ? Certainly *all* prophetic messages of " the word " of the LORD " were not recognized as **" Divine guidance,"** witness the rejection of Jeremiah's warning to remain in the land ;— " Thou speakest falsely : the LORD our God hath not sent thee to " say, Ye shall not go into Egypt " (Jer: xliii. 2). Also, what is the

meaning of Jeremiah's repeated complaint (vii. 25, 26 ; xxv. 4 ; xxvi. 5, 6 ; xxix. 19 ; xxxv. 15 ; xliv. 4, 5) that the people had not hearkened to the words of the prophets ?

In any case, what authority is there for saying that to recognize a message as **" embodying Divine guidance "** is the same thing as recognizing it to be **" the law of the *LORD*,"** i.e. *Torah* ?

Mr. Chapman goes on to cite three passages in support of his position (IP. 257).

(1) **" Isaiah puts ' the word of the *LORD* ' in parallelism " with ' the law (*teaching* RV. marg.) of our God ' (Isai. i. 10)."** That does not mean that the two are absolutely identical : the " word " may include a good deal more than the " law."

**" This Divine *direction* is contained in the verses which " follow (i. 11–17)."**

When Isaiah says " give ear unto the law [*torah*] of our God," it does not necessarily mean that what follows is the " *torah*." It is quite enough that the following verses should set out the true purport of the law which the people had obeyed in outward ceremonial, but disobeyed as to its higher teaching. The passage does not prove that Isaiah considered his message to be *Torah*.

(ii) **" Hosea has in view something more than ritual " precepts when he declares that the people are destroyed for " lack of knowledge, and that the priests have forgotten " the Divine *direction* (' the law of thy God,' Hos. iv. 6)."**

What does Hosea say ? iv. 6, " My people are destroyed for " lack of knowledge : because thou hast rejected knowledge, I " will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me : seeing " thou hast forgotten the law [*torah*] of thy God, I also will forget thy " children."

How does this declare that **" the priests have forgotten the " Divine *direction* "** ? The drift of the whole chapter at least favours the view that the verse is addressed to " My people,"— " ye children of Israel " (v: 1). Because they have rejected knowledge (" there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the " land," v: 1), therefore they are rejected from being a " priest to " me " : because they have forgotten the *torah* of their God, their children are to be forgotten. Even if the verse is addressed to the priests, why should the *Torah* they have forgotten not mean the whole " law of thy God " ? Even if it must be interpreted as **" direction,"** how does that show that *Torah* means **" Prophetic " teaching "** ?

Of course Hosea had in view something more than **" ritual " precepts."** Do Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy contain nothing more than these ? Why do the critics persist in narrowing down " the Law " as though it consisted of nothing but **" rules for worship at the Tabernacle "** (IP. 177) ? If " the *torah* of thy God " refers to the whole Pentateuch, there was

ample reason for Hosea accusing both priests and people of having forgotten it, quite apart from ceremonial.

(iii) **"In the vision of 'the latter days' (Is. ii = Mic. iv) "it is promised that '*Torah* will proceed from Zion, and "'the word of the *LORD* from Jerusalem.' Here it is clear "that by '*Torah*' is not meant a completed system of "law, written in a book."**

Granting that the promise "Out of Zion shall go forth *Torah*" in the "latter days" does not refer to **"a completed system "of law, written in a book,"** that does not show that the *Torah* possessed by Israel in the days of Isaiah and Micah was an amorphous mass of priestly decisions and prophetic teaching, nor that their Law was not contained in a written book. Even as regards the future, there is nothing to limit the promised *Torah* to guidance **"through the living voice"** (IP. 257); there is nothing to show that the Zion *Torah* would not be afterwards **"written in a book,"** as was the Law uttered on Sinai.

For those who believe in Christ, the promise has been literally fulfilled: the Law has gone forth out of Zion, "and the word of "the LORD from Jerusalem"; and that Law has been **"written "in a book"** for the guidance of all nations.

Out of Mr. Chapman's three quotations, there is not one that really supports the assertion that *Torah* is used to denote **"Pro-"phetic Teaching."**

It is, however, contended that the earlier prophets (before Josiah) do not appeal to the authority of a written law, as they would have done if it existed.

They **"make no appeal to the sacred authority of any "written standard of law and doctrine"** (Ryle, quoted IP. 177)

**"They make no appeal to a law, issued by Divine "authority through Moses."** IP. 178.

**"The prophet's duty is to declare the will of God; if that "will is already manifested in a law containing in a large "measure priestly ritual, the prophet must be, to a great "extent, *subordinate* to that law. He must inveigh against "disobedience to it, and illustrate and apply its precepts. "Where in the earlier prophets is there a trace of such "action?"** IP. 179.

If sound, this argument would prove too much. A standard of law and doctrine, represented as **"issued by Divine authority "through Moses,"** and containing some elementary measure of ritual, is found in the Decalogue and the "Book of the Covenant" in the written document JE. The earlier prophets make no appeal to this; they do not **"inveigh against disobedience "to it"**; they do not **"illustrate and apply its precepts."** Therefore the document JE did not exist in the days of the earlier prophets!

But the argument is not a sound one. It really depends on the critic's estimate of what the prophets would have done if there was a written law. That is laid down in very positive terms as though it were axiomatic. None the less it is a **" preconceived theory "** such as is deprecated in the case of Inspiration. And, again as in the case of Inspiration, it emphasizes the human element to the neglect of the Divine. The prophets consistently claim that they were not declaring their own thoughts, but " the word of the " LORD." However much we may be inclined to think that a merely human prophet would have to be **" subordinate "** to an already written law, no such necessity lies on the Divine Author of both word and law. If the message was His, the prophet had only to deliver it, whether it appealed to the written law or not.

Further, it is not difficult to see a reason why such an appeal would have been, to some extent, out of place. A good part of Isaiah's ministry was in the evil days of Ahaz ; Micah was a younger contemporary of his ; Hosea and Amos prophesied in the northern kingdom amid the luxury and corruption of Jeroboam II's reign. All alike witness to the utterly debased condition of the people they were addressing. Cruelty, fraud, lust, bloodshed were everywhere prevalent. With such folk a mere appeal to the written law would be of little avail. How much influence would a preacher have on hooligans and apaches who contented himself with the argument, " The Bible says you must not do this, and you ought " to do that " ?

In the case of the Israelites, the difficulty would be increased by the fact that they did pay attention to external observances : **" sacrifices were offered, and festivals observed "** (IP. 177). If the prophets appealed to the Law, the people could retort, We are keeping the Law. The only possible course in such a case would be to urge, and that on the authority of a direct Divine commission, that these external observances were worthless, and worse than worthless, as long as the weightier obligations were disregarded. That is exactly what the prophets did.

Yet, while appeal to the written law could not be the main staple of the prophetic exhortations, it is not fair to say that no appeal at all is made. Isai: i. 10, v. 24, viii. 20 ; Amos ii. 4, Hos: iv. 6, viii. 1, 12 do appeal to " the law," and it is only by the device of attaching a special meaning to " *torah* " that the critics can make out that the earlier prophets do not recognize the Law.

The case for a **" *Torah* of the prophets "** is no stronger than that for priestly *Toroth*.

On the interpretation of *Torah* as merely meaning **" pointing " out, direction "** further conclusions are based.

**" These** [priestly] **functions consisted largely in pronouncing " *Tôrāh*, i.e. *pointing out* what was to be done in some**

**" special case; giving direction in cases submitted to them " —declaring, e.g. whether or not a man was 'unclean,' " whether or not he had the leprosy, &c; and also imparting " authoritative *moral* instruction. . . . In civil matters, " it is the function which Moses himself is represented as " discharging in Ex. xviii."** LOT. 153, note.

What authority is there for asserting that the priestly functions consisted **" largely "** in pronouncing *Torah* ?

Is there a single allusion to anything of the kind in the history ? In the laws, their chief functions were offering sacrifice, burning incense, and blessing in the Name of the LORD.

As to ceremonial, the **" e.g."** and **" &c "** suggest that there was a large variety of cases in which the priests would be required to **" pronounce *Torah*."** In cases of leprosy, they had to decide whether a man was clean or unclean, but it is not to be supposed that this would be required very frequently. There were other causes of uncleanness (e.g. touching the dead), but there is nothing requiring the priests to decide in such cases. Otherwise, there would be little (if anything) in which they would have to decide in some **" special case."** Besides, these provisions belong to the Priestly Code. If that was as late as the critics make out, how do we know that the priests exercised this function at all previously ?

As to moral instruction, no doubt the priests were to " teach the "children of Israel all the statutes " (Lev: x. 11), the judgments and the law (Deut: xxxiii. 10), and the law was to be sought at the priest's mouth (Mal: ii. 7), but all that could be done by general instruction, without involving **" pointing out what was to be " done in some special case."** In civil matters, the priests were only empowered to declare *Torah* in very exceptional cases and that in concert with the judge.

The assertion that the priestly functions **" consisted largely " in pronouncing *Torah* "** is not borne out by the evidence.

Yet it is assumed that there were considerable accumulations of these priestly *Toroth*, and that they were preserved in writing :— **" At first handed down orally, the decisions of priests would " in course of time be committed to writing, then arranged " in subjects, and codified "** (IP. 176). It is hardly necessary to say that no evidence exists for any one of these steps. *If* the laws,—ceremonial, moral, and civil,—really grew out of the verbal **" decisions "** of the priests, no doubt this is a reasonable theory of how those decisions came to be preserved and consolidated, but that is all.

However, it is considered that there are collections of these decisions to be found in the Pentateuch.

Lev: xi. 2–23 is nearly identical with Deut: xiv. 4–20. The inference is drawn that both were taken from a **" common " original,"** and it is then assumed that this was a collection of

priestly *Toroth* ;—" **It is thus apparent that at least one col-** " **lection of priestly *Tôrōth*, which now forms part of P, was** " **in existence when Dt. was written.**" LOT. 145.

The assumption is carried further still. Ezekiel has a great many remarkable parallels with the " Law of Holiness," and with certain other passages of the Pentateuch " **referred on inde-** " **pendent grounds to H. The evidence of Ez. thus confirms** " **the conclusion stated above, that a considerable body of** " **priestly *Tôrōth* existed, permeated by the same dominant** " **principles, and embracing, not only the continuous ex-** " **tracts preserved in Lev. xvii–xxvi, but also fragments—** " **perhaps not confined to those just cited—embedded in** " **other parts of the Pentateuch.**" LOT. 151.

That any of these passages were ever priestly *Toroth* at all is, of course, vouched for by no evidence whatever : it is simply taken for granted. But it is important to notice that the last extract extends the scope of the *Toroth* far beyond mere questions of clean and unclean, or the presence of leprosy : the whole of the " Law of " Holiness," with its wealth of commands moral and ceremonial, is now included among them.

It is interesting to trace the growth of the series of assertions :—

(a) *Torah* means " **oral direction,**" not a written law ;—

(b) The priests were largely occupied in " **pronouncing *Torah*** " ;—

(c) These *Toroth* accumulated, and were committed to writing ;—

(d) Lev: xi. 2–23 is such a " **collection of priestly *Toroth*** " ;—

(e) So also is the " Law of Holiness " (Lev: xvii–xxvi) ; and other fragments ;—

(f) " **a considerable body of priestly *Toroth* existed.**"

How many of these stages are more than conjectures for which no evidence can be produced ?

In reality, the conjectures are only necessitated by the critical theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, and the gradual growth of the Hebrew legislation.

We must return to the consideration of Exod: xviii, and Dr. Driver's note thereon.

Moses is sitting " to judge the people " (v: 13) : Jethro asks why he sits alone (v: 14) : Moses replies " Because the people come " unto me to inquire of God : when they have a matter, they come " unto me : and I judge between a man and his neighbour, and I " make them know the statutes of God and his laws [*toroth*]," (vv: 15, 16) ;—Jethro advises Moses to appoint subordinate judges to decide minor matters (vv: 17–23) : this is done, " and they judged " the people at all seasons : the hard causes they brought unto " Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves " (v: 26).

Clearly there is here the decision of cases. Yet we are told (BE. 161) that it " **presents a picture of Moses *legislating*.**"

What authority is there for this? What would one of H.M.'s judges say if he were told that when he gave a decision he was "**legislating**"? Would he not repudiate the notion? Legislation is the work of a higher authority: the office of a judge is to apply, or at most to interpret, the law already laid down.

More than this: not only are we told that in deciding cases Moses was legislating, but it is intimated that he never legislated in any other way;—"**He is not represented as giving the "people a finished *code*, but as deciding upon cases as they "arose**" (BE. 161). Because at this early stage of the Wanderings, Moses is represented as "**deciding upon cases as they "arose,**" what possible reason is that for concluding that he never gave the people a "**finished code**" at any other time? What would be more natural (on purely human grounds) than that the aged leader, when he felt that he could not be with the people much longer, should wish to leave them a permanent record of the principles which had guided himself?

We are also informed that "**his decisions are termed 'the "'statutes and directions (*toroth*) of God.'**" BE. 161.

Moses is represented as saying (v: 16), "I judge between a man "and his neighbour, and I make them know the statutes of God "and his *toroth*." This might very fairly be read as meaning that Moses judged the cases brought to him, and *also* made known the laws of God. At most, it can only be claimed that by or in his judgments Moses made known, declared the statutes of God and His laws. There is no ground for asserting that the decisions of Moses are termed "**the statutes and directions of God.**"

In using the word "**legislating**";—in asserting that then Moses was "**creating the primitive nucleus of Hebrew law**";—in asserting that Moses' decisions "**are termed 'the statutes "and directions of God'**";—in representing that Moses was "**discharging the same function**" as that of the priests in later times;—in asserting that priestly functions "**consisted "largely in pronouncing *Torah*,**" Dr. Driver has, however honestly, read into the evidence much that does not properly belong to it. Can it be doubted that he has done so because he was so intent on his view that the Pentateuchal laws were a gradual growth from the *Toroth*, the accumulation of "**oral directions,**" that he has quite unconsciously coloured the narrative with tints that are really derived from his theory?

If, however, the *Torah* was really, as the critics hold, nothing more than a collection of verbal "directions,"—"**case-law in "short,**"—what did Hilkiah mean by saying, "I have found the "book of the *Torah*"? What did the Israelites mean by asking Ezra to "bring the book of the *Torah* of Moses which the LORD "had commanded"? What did the Deuteronomist mean by saying

" Moses wrote this *Torah* and delivered it unto the priests " (Deut· xxxi. 9) ?

The critics may prefer to believe in *Toroth*,—mere collections of priestly case-law, of whose separate existence there is no evidence. It is at least as reasonable and as much in accordance with the evidence to believe with the writer of Deuteronomy (Deut: xxxiii. 4) that

" Moses commanded us a *Torah*,
" An inheritance for the assembly of Jacob."

# Conclusion, and Appendices.

# CONCLUSION.

THE writer's task is ended.

He set himself to examine the critical theories on a crucial point, and a point on which all schools of the Higher Criticism are agreed, viz: the assertion that the Pentateuch is a composite document ;—an assertion which is said to be based on evidence that is **" incon- " trovertible."**

The Dean of Ely says that if the new movement **" rests, as its " advocates claim that it does, upon the honest recognition " of facts, it must in the end be triumphant "** (HC. 7) ; and again, **" if these methods are, generally speaking, sound ; if " those results are, to any considerable extent, valid ; readers " of the Bible must be gently and gradually prepared to " accept them."** HC. 8.

That is precisely what the writer has endeavoured to test :—Does the new movement rest upon the recognition of facts ? are its methods sound ? are its results valid ?

**" It is impossible to doubt,"** says Dr. Driver (LOT, Preface, vii, viii), **" that the main conclusions of critics with reference " to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest " upon reasonings the cogency of which cannot be denied " without denying the ordinary principles by which history " is judged and evidence estimated. Nor can it be doubted " that the same conclusions upon any neutral field of investi- " gation, would have been accepted without hesitation by all " conversant with the subject: they are opposed in the " present instance by some theologians, only because they " are supposed to conflict with the requirements of the " Christian faith."**

In the last sentence the learned Professor betrays a not uncommon foible of the critical school, namely the assumption that their interpretation of the evidence is the only possible interpretation consistent with reason, and that therefore any opposition can *only* be prompted by prejudice. So thoroughly is he convinced of the soundness of his own conclusions that it never seems to enter his head that it may be possible for others to come honestly to a different conclusion on a fair examination of the evidence. He even goes so far as to speak (HC. 20) of **" the new light in**

**" which, to those who do not refuse to open their eyes, the " Old Testament appears to-day."** The critics very rightly resent imputations of disingenuousness or rationalistic tendencies: their opponents may quite as justly complain when they are accused of unreasoning prejudice and wilful blindness. Throughout this work, it has been the aim of the writer to treat the question purely and simply as a matter of evidence, as would be done in any **" neu- " tral field of investigation."** He has endeavoured (he hopes successfully) to avoid anything like recriminations or accusations of *mala fides*.

Prof. Driver also complains that the critical position has often been misinterpreted :—**" It may not be superfluous to remark " that both the principles and the results of the critical " study of the Old Testament are often seriously mis- " represented, especially on the part of writers opposed to " it, including even such as might from their position be " supposed to be well informed "** (LOT. Pref: vi, note). The present writer has therefore been careful to base his examination almost entirely on the study of works by critical authors. He has been careful, too, at the risk of occasional tedious repetition, to state the contentions of critics in their own words; the italics in quotations from critical writers are invariably those of the original author; and any omissions are only of passages which did not seem relevant to the point under discussion. For a similar reason, the Biblical citations are all taken from the Revised Version, although there are indications that the renderings of that Version have occasionally been affected by critical conclusions.

The writer has been chiefly concerned to examine the works of English critics, and those of the moderate school. The works of Dr. Driver in particular have been selected just because he has the reputation of being an exceptionally moderate and candid critic, whose ability, erudition, and patient industry are beyond cavil. The writer has also taken pains to consider the main issues of the critical case to the exclusion of extravagances or excrescences.

While this work was undergoing a final revision, the two writers whose works are most frequently cited, Dr. Driver and Mr. Chapman, were called away from their labours. The writer is most unwilling to appear to attack those who are unable to answer for themselves, but he trusts it will be recognized that he had in view the teachings and not the teachers; that to the best of his ability he has avoided anything like personalities; and that the whole of this work was substantially in writing fully a year before these lamented deaths occurred.

The first part of this work is devoted to an examination of the evidence adduced by the critics themselves: the evidence from the Divine appellations; from the narratives alleged to be " duplicate "

or " composite " ; from the historical allusions in Deuteronomy ; from the alleged indications of a late date ; and from the variations in style in the Pentateuch and in Joshua.

Then the evidence of the legislation has been considered ;—1st, the internal evidence of the three " codes," their alleged " divergences," the relation of P to H and to Ezekiel, and the Decalogue ; 2nd, the relation of the laws to the history, the alleged correspondence of the actual historical practice with the provisions of the " codes," the alleged non-existence of P's Tabernacle, and the dating and sequence of the sources.

The writer does not profess to have made an exhaustive examination of all the arguments, (that would require a far more voluminous work), but he believes that all the principal lines and heads of evidence have been taken into account.

So far, the writer has not been concerned to argue that the critical theory is not one which might possibly account for the phenomena which are found in the Pentateuch. He has not aimed at *disproving* the theory, but rather at showing that the theory is not the only one which may reasonably be held when the evidence is fairly weighed ; that the traditional belief is at least as compatible with the evidence as the critical view, and even in many instances more in accordance with the evidence ; that while the facts on which the critics rely are, for the most part, not in dispute, the critical conclusions drawn from them are not **" incontrovertible."**

The second part of the work is taken up with an examination of the critical methods and results. The writer has endeavoured to show that there are some general objections which leave the critical theory open to suspicion ; that the critical treatment and interpretation of both text and more general evidence are often arbitrary ; that the basis and nature of the critical arguments are often far from satisfactory ; that the primary argument from style is not reliable ; that the critical spirit is not free from objection, or from prepossession ; and that external evidence has not been allowed its full weight.

As to results, the startling nature of the conclusions arrived at calls for a careful scrutiny of the processes ; the unanimity of the experts is not so great as is usually supposed ; the conclusions as to the various writers and editors involve a serious amount of improbability, and a grave imputation of deception ; the critical theory does not display the evolutionary progressiveness, or the avoidance of difficulties claimed for it ; and the account of the *Torah* as an accumulation of " oral directions " is ill-founded, if not unfounded.

The writer can claim no weight of scholarship or authority for his work, but he does venture to claim that it may be regarded as an honest attempt to estimate the real force of the evidence, on

the part of one who has spent no small amount of time and trouble in endeavouring to consider the critical position from an impartial point of view. He even ventures to hope that his work may show that it is possible and reasonable (quite apart from any preconceived ideas of Inspiration, or fears for belief in Revelation) to come to the conclusion that the critics have been unsound in their methods, and mistaken in the results at which they have arrived.

## Appendix A.

## BACON'S ANALYSIS, Exod: i-xi.

Dr. Driver has a lengthy note (LOT. 26–28) on this analysis, evidently viewing it with some favour, though he hesitated to adopt it. Since then, in BE, he has accepted it to a considerable extent, but not entirely.

The analysis is entirely concerned with the separation of J from E. Now out of 284 verses in these chapters, 70 are assigned to P, leaving 214 for the JE document. Of these 214 verses, Bacon assigns some 11 verses to E which in LOT are marked J, and 13 to J which in LOT are marked E. In BE Dr. Driver has maintained his former opinion with regard to 3 verses, and has adopted Bacon's view with regard to 21. He has, however, in 8 other verses differed from his own previous judgment where it coincided with Bacon's. The total amount of variation, therefore, affects 32 verses out of 214 (nearly 15 per cent:), and Dr. Driver has changed his opinion in 29 of these, while he differs from Bacon as to 11.

Since so much of what was attributed to J can be transferred to E, and so much of E to J, it is fair to presume that none of these passages are marked by anything very distinctive in the way of style ;—" **indeed stylistic criteria alone would not generally " suffice to distinguish J and E** " (LOT. 126). The changes, then, have been made on other grounds than literary style. Yet Dr. Driver remarks (LOT. 28) with regard to these very passages, " **The literary distinctions between the two narratives " remain substantially as before ; J is graphic, and abounds " in colloquy ; E, though complete, is brief and ungarnished.**"

Are all the passages which have been transferred so colourless that they can be transferred from one class to the other without affecting this estimate ? Take, for instance, c: v. 1, 2 :—

" And afterward Moses and Aaron came and said unto Pharaoh, " Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Let my people go, that " they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness. And Pharaoh " said, Who is the Lord that I should hearken unto his voice to let " Israel go ? I know not the Lord, and moreover I will not let " Israel go."

LOT, attributing this to J, classed it as " **graphic, and abound-**

**" ing in colloquy,"** while Bacon and BE mark it E, and therefore consider it **" brief and ungarnished,"** though one would think there is something to be said for the other view.

Contrast this with x. 8–11, " And Moses and Aaron were brought " again unto Pharaoh, and he said unto them, Go, serve the LORD " your God : but who are they that shall go ? And Moses said, " We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and " with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we " go ; for we must hold a feast unto the LORD. And he said unto " them, So be the LORD with you, as I will let you go, and your " little ones : look to it ; for evil is before you. Not so : go now " ye that are men, and serve the LORD ; for that is what ye desire. " And they were driven from Pharaoh's presence."

This time, it is Bacon and BE who, marking this passage J, class it as **" graphic, and abounding in colloquy,"** (and really there is some justification), while LOT treats it as **" brief and " ungarnished."**

Again vii. 23, " And Pharaoh turned and went into his house, "neither did he lay even this to heart."

Bacon treats this, not unreasonably, as **" brief and ungar- " nished,"** while both LOT and BE give it to J who is **" graphic, " and abounding in colloquy."**

Once more, ii. 11–14, " And it came to pass in those days, when " Moses was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and " looked on their burdens : and he saw an Egyptian smiting an " Hebrew, one of his brethren. And he looked this way and that " way, and when he saw there was no man, he smote the Egyptian, " and hid him in the sand. And he went out the second day, and, " behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together : And he said " to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow ? " And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us ? " thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian ? And " Moses feared, and said, Surely the thing is known."

Is this **" brief and ungarnished "** ? Is it not **" graphic "** enough ? Does it lack **" colloquy "** ? Yet BE is alone in attributing it to J, Bacon agreeing with LOT in assigning it to E.

Is it possible to consider these varying estimates as based on **" literary distinctions "** ?

**" The effect of this analysis,"** says Dr. Driver (LOT. 27), **" is " to disengage two narratives, each (substantially) complete, " and each (as Bacon is careful to point out) consistent " with itself, and dominated by a distinctive unity of char- " acter and representation."** Well, if Bacon's analysis has not been made on grounds of style (and it is difficult to see how it could have been), it must have been made on account of differences of representation, i.e. passages have been removed from J and transferred to E, or *vice versâ,* precisely in order to secure **" a**

**"distinctive unity of character and representation,"** and it would be strange if some measure of success were not attained.

How far, then, has this distinctive character been made out?

**"Thus, upon Bacon's view, E preserves more closely "than J does the connection with the patriarchal period: "there are only 3–4 generations from Joseph to Moses (Gen. "l. 23, cf. Nu. xxxii. 40); he pictures the Israelites accord- "ingly as a relatively small clan, capable of being served "by two midwives: in J, Israel is a populous nation; Ex. "i. 6 covers the gap between the patriarchs and Moses, and "allows time for the multiplication of Jacob's descendants."** LOT. 27.

According to this, E supposed the interval from the arrival in Egypt to the commencement of the Oppression to be short, and therefore the Israelites to be comparatively few at the latter epoch: J, on the other hand, supposed the interval to be long, and the Israelites to have developed into a populous nation. How is this made out?

In the first place, Exod: i. 20$^{b}$,—"and the people multiplied, and "waxed very mighty"; 4 words in Hebrew,—has to be cut out of the narrative, i. 15–ii. 10, and assigned to J. What possible reason is there for this, except that the words as they stand conflict with Bacon's theory? Can it be contended that these few words show any special marks of J's style?

Also, the amended analysis has to be carried on beyond c: xi, for in LOT: xii. 37$^{b}$–39 is assigned to E, and "six hundred thousand "on foot that were men, beside children" is something more than a **"small clan."**

Next, in support of the contention that E shows only 3–4 generations from Joseph to Moses, reference is made to Gen: l. 23, and Num: xxxii. 40. The former passage,—"And Joseph saw "Ephraim's children of the third generation: the children also of "Machir the son of Manasseh were born on Joseph's knees,"—simply asserts that Joseph saw the birth of his great-grandchildren (in itself nothing very wonderful, and easily paralleled nowadays), and says nothing about Moses.

Num: xxxii. 40 (marked $P_2$ by Dr. McNeile) says, "And Moses "gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt "therein." Taken literally this would mean that Machir, Joseph's grandson, was still alive at the end of the Wanderings, but is it to be taken literally? The previous verse (39) says, "And the "children of Machir the son of Manasseh went to Gilead, and took "it, and dispossessed the Amorites which were therein." Referring to this, Dr. Driver comments on Gen: l. 23 (BG. 399), **"the 'children of Machir' who are there said to have "gone and conquered Gilead, cannot, upon any view of the "chronology, be the same as the lads who are described as**

**" sitting on Joseph's knees."** Of course not: the " children " of Israel " are not limited to Jacob's own sons. In Num: xxxii. 39 " the children of Machir " simply means Machir's descendants (cf. " children of Gad," " children of Reuben," vv: 33, 34, 37), and in v: 40 they are shortly called " Machir," just as " Israel " is often used of the whole nation.

These passages, then, do not establish the assertion that E recognizes **" only 3–4 generations from Joseph to Moses,"** but even if they did, it would not follow that E pictured the Israelites as **" a relatively small clan."** P makes out only 4 generations from Levi (Joseph's senior) to Moses,—Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses (Exod: vi. 16–20),—yet the statement " the children of " Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly [**' swarmed '**] . . . " exceedingly; and the land was filled with them " (Exod: i. 7) is attributed to P. If an enormous multiplication of numbers is consistent with only 4 generations in P, there is no reason why it should not be the same in E.

But it is urged that E represents the Israelites as being **" capable " of being served by two midwives."** That would have to be a **" small clan "** indeed. What reason is there for supposing that the Pharaoh summoned all the midwives? Is it at all likely that he would send for more than the principal ones? Only two are named, but that does not prove that there were no others.

Moreover, the edict for the destruction of the male children of the Israelites (Exod: i. 22) is part of the E narrative. If they were but a **" relatively small clan "** what motive was there for this? Did the Pharaoh, with all the might of Egypt, fear the increase of a small clan already reduced to servitude? Would he be foolish enough to reduce the number of those whom he could turn into slaves? The determination to destroy the male children can only be accounted for if the people were already so numerous as to be a menace to the kingdom.

The representation of E is not inconsistent with the **" populous " nation "** of J (and P).

On the other hand it is asserted that in J Exod: i. 6 (only assigned to J by being cut out of the P narrative), **" covers the gap between " the patriarchs and Moses, and allows time for the multi- " plication of Jacob's descendants."**

Really? What does the verse say? " And Joseph died, and " all his brethren, and all that generation." That is absolutely all. How does that allow time for the multiplication of Jacob's descendants more than the **" 3–4 generations "** of E?

**" In E, again, the Israelites are ' royal pensioners ' de- " pendent on Pharaoh's bounty (comp. Gen. xlv. 11, xlvii. " 12, cf. l. 21; xlv. 19, xlvi. 5), and they live side by side with " the Egyptians (Ex. iii. 22, xi. 2); in J they are independent " owners of cattle (ix. 4, 6, x. 9, 24, 26, xii. 32, 38; cf. Gen.**

**" xlv 10, xlvi. 32), and they reside apart in the pastoral dis-**
**" trict of Goshen (Ex. viii. 22, ix. 26 ; cf. Gen. xlv. 10, xlvi. 28,**
**" 29, 34, xlvii. 1, 4, 6[b], 27[a])."** LOT. 27, 28.

Here a sharp contrast is drawn between dependent pensioners residing side by side with the Egyptians (E), and independent cattle-owners residing apart in Goshen (J).

In this case also the amended analysis will have to include more than Exod: i–xi, for in LOT Gen: xlv. 10[b] (including the words " thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast "), and Exod : xii. 38 (including " and flocks and herds, even very much cattle ") are attributed to E, though in the extract just quoted they are cited as belonging to J.

The passages referred to as showing that E regards the Israelites as **" royal pensioners dependent on Pharaoh's bounty "** are,

Gen: xlv. 11, " and there will I [Joseph, not Pharaoh] nourish " thee ; for there are yet five years of famine ; lest thou come to " poverty, thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast."

This follows immediately on " thy flocks, and thy herds, and all " that thou hast " (v: 10).

Gen: xlvii. 12 (marked J in BG. 371), " Joseph [not Pharaoh] " nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, " with bread, according to their families " : (followed by And there " was no bread in all the land ; for the famine was very " sore," v: 13).

Gen: l. 21, " Now therefore fear ye not : I [Joseph] will nourish " you, and your little ones. And he comforted them, and spake " kindly unto them."

Gen: xlv. 19, xlvi. 5, refer to the wagons sent at Pharaoh's command to fetch Jacob, his sons, and their families.

With the exception of the wagons, there is no word of Pharaoh's bounty ; Joseph's provision for his kindred in the first two passages is for the 5 years of famine ; there is nothing to show that they were **" dependent "** after the famine ; the promise of l. 21 is to reassure the brethren who feared that Joseph would punish them now that Jacob was dead :—and these are the only passages cited to show that in E's view the Israelites were dependent pensioners ! Really it is a little difficult to write with patience about assertions such as these.

The passages to show that E regarded the Israelites as living **" side by side with the Egyptians "** are,

Exod: iii. 22, " Every woman shall ask of her neighbour, and " of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of " gold, and raiment : and ye shall put them upon your sons, and " upon your daughters ; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians."

And xi. 2, " let them ask every man of his neighbour, and every " woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold."

From these it is clear that the Israelites had Egyptian neighbours : it is also clear that in the passages attributed to J the Israelites

are represented as dwelling in Goshen. But where is it asserted or suggested that they were the only inhabitants of Goshen? The district is called "the best of the land" (Gen: xlvii. 6); was it empty before Jacob and his sons arrived? or were the previous inhabitants turned out to make room for 70 persons? Did the "**Egyptian 'taskmasters'**" (BE. 35) spoken of in Exod: v. 6–14 (J) reside in a different district? "**The cemetery of "Kes,"—the "ancient town of 'Goshen,'"—"was exca-"vated in 1905–6 by Petrie, and found by him to contain "numerous tombs of the 18th and 19th dynasties; but the "tombs, as the objects found in them shewed, were entirely "those of *Egyptians*"** (BE. 67). There is no reason for supposing that the Israelites had no Egyptian neighbours in Goshen.

As to the Israelites residing "**apart,**" if J records the distinction between Goshen and the rest of Egypt in the plagues of flies and of hail, it is E who states (Exod: x. 23) that "all the children of Israel "had light in their dwellings," which would not be easy to understand if they were living "**side by side**" with those who were in thick darkness.

On the one hand, there is nothing in J to show that the Israelites had no Egyptian neighbours: on the other, E has a statement which at least suggests that they were living apart from the bulk of the Egyptians.

"**In E, further, Pharaoh is depicted as stubborn and defiant, "his refusal is peremptory and complete; in J he is weak-"minded and deceitful (viii. 29), he promises release, and "craves Moses' intercession, but afterwards evades his "promise.**" LOT. 28.

In Bacon's analysis, the peremptory refusal, "I will not let "Israel go" (v. 2) has been transferred to E, but on the other hand he has transferred to J the refusal, "So be the LORD with you, "as I will let you go, and your little ones: look to it; for evil is "before you. Not so: go now ye that are men," etc: (x. 10, 11), which seems tolerably peremptory also.

E has the concluding formula, "he did not let the children of "Israel go," (or a similar phrase) in ix. 35, x. 20, 27 simply because each of these is in a short clause detached from a J context by the analysis; while J has "and he did not let the people go" (ix. 7). The difference does not seem to be so very marked.

In any case, is it not something of a truism that it is precisely the weak-minded man who can on occasion be most "**stubborn "and defiant**"? The characteristics are not incompatible. J's representation of Pharaoh as making, under the influence of terror, promises which he afterwards tries to evade, when the immediate pressure is removed, exactly fits in with the character of an obstinate man clinging desperately to his purpose, though for a time fear makes him promise to relinquish it.

Bacon's analysis seems to have been made with the express purpose of finding differences of representation between J and E. His success cannot be considered very great. Even Dr. Driver is not satisfied with it, since his mature and considered judgment, expressed in BE, differs from Bacon's decisions in one-third of the passages in question.

## Appendix B:

## CHARACTERISTICS OF P:

PROF. DRIVER (LOT. 131–135) gives a formidable **" select list "** of **" expressions characteristic of P "** numbered 1 to 50, and really rather more, for No. 45 includes 6 different words. To these may be added 4 fresh words from the list in the Commentary on Genesis, so that altogether the number of characteristic expressions will be about 60.

A few might perhaps be deducted, since it seems hardly fair to count a verb and its cognate noun separately ; or to count " Rulers," " congregation," and " rulers of the congregation " as three instances. Also it has been pointed out above (pp: 359, 360) that a good many of the references are doubtfully ascribed to P, being short passages detached from their context.

But there is more to be said. 32 expressions are marked †, which indicates that all the instances in the Old Testament have been cited. Of these, 10 are found only in the Hexateuch, and 10 more have very few references (not more than 4, and usually only 1 or 2) outside the Hexateuch. Thus one-third of the **" character- " istics "** (20 out of 60) are rare words, not likely to be much wanted anywhere. If an expression is seldom used in P, and hardly or never found in the rest of the Old Testament, its absence from J, E, or D signifies little. For instance, No 2 *Meen* (kind), occurs in the narratives of the Creation and of the Deluge, and in the parallel lists of clean and unclean animals in Leviticus and Deuteronomy : elsewhere, it only occurs once in Ezekiel. It is simply a word which is not likely to be wanted in any other connection. So No. 21, *Magorim* (sojournings), occurs 5 times in Genesis, twice in Exodus, and elsewhere twice in the Psalms, and once in Job : and No. 28, *Pharekh* (rigour), is found twice in one chapter of Exodus, three times in one chapter of Leviticus, and only once besides in Ezekiel.

Further, what is to be understood by P ? Ought citations from H to be included ? Dr. Driver says (LOT. 131), **" H itself also, " as was remarked, is related to P, representing likewise " priestly usage, though in an earlier phase ; so that it is " but natural that its phraseology should exhibit points of " contact with that of P."**

That may be, yet in setting out "**expressions characteristic**" of the style of one document, it is hardly allowable to include instances from a different and earlier document. Moreover, as regards the meaning and use of the three Festivals, H is markedly detached from P (see LOT. 56). If H is to be considered distinct from P in the laws, it ought not to be counted as one with P for the vocabulary. The same objection holds good for citations from the *Toroth* (such as Lev: xi. 2–23), and it will be seen presently that the separation of H and the *Toroth* from P is of considerable significance as regards one of the more important characteristics (p: 517–519).

Special importance attaches to instances where it is alleged that P habitually uses a word differing from that used by JE or D, though practically meaning the same. These would be really serious evidence for difference of authorship, and it will be as well to examine the instances alleged, beginning however with one that does not strictly come under this heading though it is of a similar nature.

(4) "**8. *Meath*** [a hundred] **in the *st. c.** in cases where "ordinarily *Meah* would be said":** [here follow references to 27 instances; 15 from Gen: 7 from Exod:, and 5 from Num:]. "**So "besides only Neh. v. 11 (prob. corrupt), 2 Ch. xxv. 9, "Qrê** [i.e. so read, but not written], **Est. 1. 4 † (Peculiar. P uses "*Meah* in such cases only twice, Gen. xvii. 17, xxiii. 1).**" LOT. 131.

From this statement one would naturally conclude that in this "**peculiar**" usage P differs from the other parts of the Hexateuch; that where P uses *Meath*, JE and D habitually use *Meah*.

Actually, the word (in either form) occurs 58 times in the Hexateuch, of which 50 are in P (including H), 1 in J, 5 in E, and 2 in D.

Where *Meath* is used, either (1) another numeral precedes the "hundred," e.g. "Adam lived thirty and an hundred years" (Gen: v. 10); or (2) the "hundred" stands alone, e.g. "Shem was "the son of an hundred years" (Gen: xi. 10); or (3) another numeral follows, but is placed after the object enumerated, e.g. Ishmael's life "an hundred years and thirty years and seven years" (Gen: xv. 17). In all these cases, the "hundred" is in the closest connection with the "years" (or other object), is treated as a noun, and placed in the construct state, expressing the idea of "a hundred *of* years," in the same way that "a score of years" is used in English.

*Meah* occurs 31 times. In 2 instances (P) it is found in constructions like the above: in 6 instances (J, 1; E, 3; D, 1; P, 1) it is used with another numeral intervening between it and the

* Construct state; answering to the use of the genitive in other languages, only in Hebrew it is the *former* of two nouns that is modified.

object enumerated, (e.g. " an hundred and twenty years," Gen: vi. 3), where the construct could not be used, the two words being separated: in 3 instances (2, E; 1, D) it is used as an ordinary numeral with a noun of value: in 20 instances (18, P; 2, H) it stands alone, the object enumerated being for the most part understood. The following table will show the case more clearly.

| | P | J | E | D | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Meath* in peculiar constructions . . | 27 | — | — | — | 27 |
| *Meah* ,, ,, . . | 2 | — | — | — | 2 |
| ,, with numeral intervening . . | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| ,, alone, or with noun of value . | 20 | — | 2 | 1 | 23 |
| | 50 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 58 |

Hence in J, E, and D, all taken together, *Meah* only occurs 8 times, and always in ordinary constructions: in P *Meah* occurs 21 times in ordinary fashion, and twice where *Meath* might have been used: *Meath* occurs 27 times, where the use of the construct state is not unnatural. Can this be said to establish a usage peculiar to P?

When it is further taken into account that the 27 instances of *Meath* are all in Gen: Exod: and Num:, while in all the rest of the Old Testament it is only found 3 times, of which one is **" prob. " corrupt,"** and another " read but not written," would it not be more in accordance with the evidence to say that this is peculiar (not to P, but) to the Pentateuch?

(b) **" For *tribe* P has nearly always *Matteh*, very rarely " *Shebet*."**

[This and the five following instances,—(b) to (g),—are taken from LOT. 134, No. 45]

In the Hexateuch, *Matteh* (in this sense) occurs 135 times, and its plural 16 times; in all 151, almost all assigned to P (1 to JE; 1 to D):—*Shebet* occurs 29 times, and its plural 30 times; in all 59 (12, P; 2, doubtful; 17, JE; 28, D).

A large proportion of both words is found in Joshua (*Matteh*, 55; *Shebet*, 32). If the examination is restricted to the Pentateuch, *Matteh* (or its plural) is found 96 times, all P; *Shebet* (or its plural) 27 times (5, JE; 6, P; 16, D).

In three passages the two words occur together, viz:—

Num: xviii. 2 (P), " the tribe (*Matteh*) of Levi, the tribe (*Shebet*) " of thy father."

Num. xxxvi. 3 (P), "And if they be married to any of the "sons of the other tribes (*Shebet*) of the children of "Israel, then shall their inheritance . . . be added to "the inheritance of the tribe (*Matteh*) whereunto "they shall belong."

Josh: xiii. 29, "Moses gave inheritance unto the half tribe (*Shebet*) "of Manasseh: and it was for the half tribe (*Matteh*) "of the children of Manasseh."

This last verse occurs in a passage which **"belongs to P (except, "probably, parts of v. 29–30)."** LOT. 139.

In two instances out of three, and possibly in the third also, the collocation of the two words is due to P.

Now when two nearly synonymous words are put together by the same author, it suggests the possibility that there is some distinction of meaning. Is it so here?

*Matteh* is the ordinary word for a rod or branch (e.g. Moses' rod, Exod: iv. 2): *Shebet* has the further meaning of "sceptre,"—the tribal staff as emblem of leadership, as the "baton" is the mark of a Field Marshal,— ("The sceptre shall not depart from "Judah," Gen: xlix. 10; "A sceptre shall rise out of Israel," Num: xxiv. 17).

Again, at least half the instances where *Matteh* is used are in enumerations where tribe by tribe is specified (Num: i. 21–49; ii. 5–29; x. 15–27; xiii. 2–15; xxxiv. 9–28; Josh: xix. 1–48; xxi. 1–36: in all 76 instances out of 151), and the plural is found comparatively seldom. On the other hand, *Shebet* is often found in the plural, in such phrases as "the tribes of Israel,"—"all thy "tribes." Even where the singular occurs, *Shebet* often seems to have a sort of collective sense;—"one man for every tribe" (Deut: i. 23), "three men for each tribe" (Josh: xviii. 4). It is not used in the singular of any particular tribe except the half-tribe of Manasseh (16 times; possibly because that was the leading half of the tribe), and the tribe of Levi (5 times). In like manner, the plural of *Matteh* is used where individual specification rather than a collective sense is indicated: thus, "the princes of the "tribes [plur: of *Matteh*] of their fathers" (Num: i. 16) sums up the list in which the princes are enumerated one by one; and Num: xxxi. 4 translated literally runs, "A thousand to a tribe, a thousand "to a tribe, to all the tribes [plur: of *Matteh*] of Israel."

This idea, that *Shebet* may be used collectively, and *Matteh* enumeratively, is further strengthened when the distribution of the words in the various books is taken into account:—

| | Gen: | Exod: | Lev: | Num: | Deut: | Josh: |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Matteh* | — | 6 | 1 | 89 | — | 55 |
| *Shebet* | 2 | 3 | — | 5 | 17 | 32 |

*Matteh* only begins to be used at all frequently in Numbers,

which contains so much enumeration, while Deuteronomy addressed to all the people has only *Shebet*. In Joshua *Shebet* recurs oftener than in the whole Pentateuch together, while the preponderance of *Matteh* in this book is largely accounted by the enumerations of cc: xix and xxi, where it occurs 31 times.

Such a usage of the words would account for Num: xxxvi. 3, where *Shebet* is used of all the tribes, and *Matteh* of the individual tribe. On the other hand, Num: xviii. 2 seems readily explicable by the idea of sovereign dignity ;—" the tribe of Levi, the *sceptre* " of thy father."

There seems fair reason for concluding that the words are not used indiscriminately, but with distinct meaning.

(c) **" for *to beget*** [P has] ***Holeed*** **(Gen. v. 3–32, vi. 10, xi. " 11–27, xvii. 20, xxv. 19, xlviii. 6, Lev. xxv. 45, Nu. xxvi. " 29, 58), not *Yalad* (as in the genealogies of J : Gen. iv. 18 " *ter*, x. 8, 13, 15, 24 *bis*, 26, xxii. 23, xxv. 3) ; "**

The genealogies assigned to J are not many :—Gen: iv. 17–22 ; x. 8–19 ; 24–30 ; xxii. 20–34 ; xxv. 1–4.

Of the 11 instances of *Yalad* referred to, 6 occur in c: x, and the analysis of this chapter is remarkable. The parts assigned to J are not complete genealogies, but fragments. The genealogy of Japhet and his sons (vv: 2–5), and the sons of Ham and Cush (vv: 6, 7) are marked P, though *Holeed* does not occur in them, but the account of Nimrod, son of Cush, and the sons of Mizraim and Canaan, sons of Ham (vv: 8–19), are marked J. V: 20, a **" sub- " scription,"** is P, while 21, the mention that sons were born to Shem, is J. Vv: 22, 23, sons of Shem and Aram, are given to P, but 24–30, the descendants of Arpachshad brother of Aram, are handed over to J. Is it too much to conjecture that the occurrence of the word *Yalad* has had something to do with this peculiar division of the chapter ? that verses have been assigned to J just because this word is found in them ?

So in xxv, vv: 1–4 (descendants of Keturah) are marked J, though *Yalad* occurs only once (v: 3), and the rest of the genealogy is of the same form as the P genealogy of Ishmael (12–16) Analysis like this is not above suspicion.

Putting this aside, however, the instances given of the use of *Holeed* are almost entirely in the tables of the direct descent of the Chosen People :—Seth to Noah, Gen: v. 3–32 ; Noah's sons, Gen: vi. 10 ; Shem to Terah, Gen: xi. 10–27 ; Isaac, Gen: xxv. 19 ; Joseph's children, Gen: xlviii. 6 ; Gilead, Num: xxvi. 29 ; Amram, Num: xxvi. 58. The only two exceptions (Gen: xvii. 20 ; Lev: xxv. 45) are not in genealogies at all. *Yalad*, on the contrary, is used in genealogies of non-Israelites ;—Cain, Cush, Canaan, Nahor, and Keturah. In x. 24, it is used of Arpachshad and Shelah, but in the genealogy which branches off from that of the Israelites at Joktan.

Now *Yalad* primarily means "to bring forth, to bear," not "to "beget," whereas "*Holeed*," "to cause to bring forth," is the ordinary word for "to beget." It is then remarkable that the regular word is consistently used for the Abrahamic line, and a less regular word for others. Can this be mere coincidence? It looks like deliberate choice.

(d) **"For *to be hard* or to *harden* (of the heart) *Chazak* ". . . not *Kabed*";**

As to the use of these words in Exod: vii–x, see pp: 73–74. *Chazak* is also used by E according to the critics.

(e) **"for *to stone Ragam* (Lev. xx. 2, 27, xxiv. 14, 16 *bis*, "23; Nu. xiv. 10, xv. 35, 36: also Dt. xxi. 21, Josh. vii. 25[a] [? P] ††), not *Sakal* (Ex. viii. 26 [Heb. 22], xvii. 4, xix. 13 "*bis*, xxi. 28 *bis*, 29, 32, Dt. xiii. 10 [Heb. 11], xvii. 5, xxii. "21, 24, Josh. vii. 25[a] ††*)."**

Again we have the two words used in a single verse, Josh: vii. 25, and again the question arises, Are they strictly synonymous?

The offences for which *Ragam* is the penalty are (1) giving children to Molech, Lev: xx. 2; (2) Wizardry, Lev: xx. 27; (3) Blasphemy, Lev: xxiv. 14, 16, 23; (4) Profaning the Sabbath, Num: xv. 35, 36.

In Num: xiv. 10, (a single P verse between two JE sections), the word is used of the intention of the congregation to stone Joshua and Caleb: in Deut: xxi. 21 it is the punishment of the "stubborn and rebellious son" who is a "riotous liver and a "drunkard" in spite of all his parents' reproofs, and there seems to be a special intention to mark this offence as exceptionally heinous, for it is added, "and all Israel shall hear and fear."

*Sakal* in Exodus is used quite differently. In viii. 26, Moses says the Egyptians would "stone" the Israelites if they ventured to offer sacrifices in Egypt: in xvii. 14, he complains that the people were ready to "stone" him; in xix. 13, it is the penalty for touching Mt. Sinai; in xxi. 28–32, it is the method of destroying a dangerous ox.

In none of these cases is any grave moral offence involved.

So far there seems to be a marked difference between the two words. Now in the Acts, we have mentioned two kinds of stoning: —(a) that of St. Stephen for blasphemy, a formal and judicial execution in the presence of witnesses (c: vii. 58–60, λιθοβολέω): according to the Talmud such a judicial stoning was carried out by casting a heavy mass of stone from a height upon the culprit;—(b) the stoning of St. Paul at Lystra (xiv. 19, λιθάζω), which appears to have been a pelting with stones in something like a

* The sign †† indicates that all passages containing the word in the Hexateuch have been cited.

popular riot.* The latter would correspond well with the use of *Sakal* in Exod: viii. 26, xvii. 4, and the same method might be used for putting animals to death : the formal, judicial stoning may then be represented by *Ragam*, which was the punishment for blasphemy.

In Deut:, however, the use of *Sakal* approaches that of *Ragam* in Lev: and Num: In xiii. 10 it is the penalty for enticing to idolatry in xvii. 5, for idolatry ; in xxii. 21, 24, for unchastity. Is it not possible that, in a popular address, Moses purposely used the word conveying a less severe censure, while reserving the sterner *Ragam* for the special case of the rebellious and incorrigible son ?

There remains the verse (Josh: vii. 25) where both words occur :—"And all Israel stoned (*Ragam*) him with stones ; and they burned "them with fire, and stoned (*sakal*) them with stones." Achan is stoned judicially ; the property is burned ; the children and cattle are put to death less formally. It is also noticeable that, in the Hebrew, Achan is stoned with "a stone" ; the others with "stones."

The word implying the severer condemnation is reserved for the actual offender. Is not this a more reasonable way to account for the passage than the dividing it, and assigning the parts to different authors ?

(f) **"for to *spy Tōr* (Nu. xiii. 2, 16, 17, 21, 25, 32 *bis*, "xiv. 6, 7, 34, 36, 38, xv. 39 ; also x. 33 JE, Dt. i. 33††), not "*Ragal* (Nu. xxi. 32, Dt. i. 24, Josh. ii. 1, vi. 22, 23, 25, vii. 2 *bis*, xvi. 7) ;"**

Apart from the two chapters Num: xiii, xiv, (and we have already seen reason to doubt the analysis of these chapters,—see pp: 83–90,—so that it is questionable whether the verses referred to really belong to P), the word *Tor* occurs just 3 times in the Hexateuch. In Num: x. 33 (JE) it is used of the Ark going before the people "to "*seek out* a resting place for them" ; in Num: xv. 39 (P) it is rendered "that ye *go not about* after your own heart, and your own eyes" ; in Deut: i. 33 (D) it is rendered "to *seek* you *out* a "place to pitch your tents in." The root idea of the word, then, is that of going from place to place, (cf: the Arabic *Dōr*), a sense specially appropriate to the Mission of the Spies.

*Ragal* is used of spying out a particular place ;—Jazer, Num: xxi. 32 ; Eshcol, Deut: i. 24 ; Jericho, Josh: ii. 1, vi. 22, 23, 25 ; Ai, Josh: vii. 2 :—only in xiv. 7 does Caleb use it of his being sent to "spy out the land." The word is also found in Gen: xlii. 9–34,

* For the most part, the distinction of meaning seems to be maintained in the New Testament :—

λιθάζω—St. John x. 31, 32, 33, xi. 8 ; Acts v. 26, xiv. 19 ; 2 Cor: xi. 25 ; Heb: xi. 37.

λιθοβολέω—St. Matt: xxi. 35, xxiii. 37 ; St. Luke xiii. 34 ; St. John viii. 5 ; Acts vii. 58, 59, xiv. 5.

where Joseph accuses his brethren of being "spies," and there *Tōr*, "go about," would evidently be unsuitable.

(g) **"and for the pron. of 1 pers. sing. *Ani* (nearly 130 times; *Anokhi* once only Gen. xxiii. 4; comp. in Ez. *Ani* 138 times, "*Anokhi* once xxxvi. 28)."**

Here, if anywhere, a strong case is made out, for there seems no reason for constantly using one form of the personal pronoun rather than another except the preference of the writer. Moreover, the later books of the Old Testament use *Ani* almost exclusively, and the critics argue (plausibly enough) that a document showing the same preference belongs probably to the same age.

In an article criticizing Giesebrecht (*Journal of Philology*, vol: xi, 201–236; 1882) Dr. Driver held that **"the mere circum-"stance *that he* [P] *uses Ani and not Anokhi* is no decisive "indication of the age at which he lived"** (p: 225); and says **"Two differences are noticeable between the two forms. "One is slightly fuller and more emphatic than the other; "and *they are not rhythmically* equivalent"** (p. 222); and **"In fact it is tolerably clear that whoever first formulated "the expressions in question (and both are met early) was "determined in his preference for *Ani* or *Anokhi* by con-"siderations of *rhythm*"** (p: 224, 225). Dr. Driver afterwards modified these views, for in 1898 he was of opinion that P's **"all "but uniform preference"** for *Ani*, taken together with the resemblance to Ezekiel and the usage of other late books, **"con-"stitutes a presumption, difficult to neutralize, that he "wrote in the later period of the language"** (LOT. 155, 156).

Similarly, Prof. König (*Expository Times*, vol: ix, p: 475; 1898) argues, **"The frequency with which *Ani* occurs in Hebrew "literature increases in general with the advance of time. "It would be in conflict with this course of development "that in a whole section of the oldest literature of the Hebrews "*Ani* should be used exclusively (as e.g. is the case in "Ex. xxxv–Num. x), and that some 72 times."**

The arguments certainly seem cogent, yet the evidence, as set forth on next page, will bear closer examination.

In that table, the columns headed "Earlier Sources" refer to the "Special Source" from which Gen: xiv is said to be derived; to the "Law of Holiness"; and to the *Toroth* said to be incorporated in parts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. When these are distinguished from P, properly so called, some significant facts emerge:—

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) as regards Leviticus, | P has | 593 | verses, | and | *Ani* | 3 | times. |
| | ES ,, | 266 | ,, | ,, | ,, | 67 | ,, |
| (2) as regard Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, | P ,, | 2,200 | ,, | ,, | ,, | 36 | ,, |
| | ES ,, | 278 | ,, | ,, | ,, | 74 | ,, |

| | Verses Contained | | | | | Ani | | | | | Anokhi | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | P | Earlier Sources | JE | D | Total | P | Earlier Sources | JE | D | Total | P | JE | D | Total |
| Genesis . . . | 364 | 24 | 1,146 | — | 1,534 | 8 | 1 | 32 | — | 41 | 1 | 54 | — | 55 |
| Exodus . . . | 612 | 7 | 594 | — | 1,213 | 16 | 5 | 18 | — | 39 | — | 21 | — | 21 |
| Leviticus . . . | 593 | 266 | — | — | 859 | 3 | 67 | — | — | 70 | — | — | — | — |
| Numbers . . . | 995 | 5 | 288 | — | 1,288 | 17 | 2 | 2 | — | 21 | — | 6 | — | 6 |
| Deuteronomy . . | 10 | — | 41 | 908 | 959 | 2 | — | — | 7 | 9 | — | 1 | 47 | 48 |
| Joshua . . . . | 237 | — | 333 | 88 | 658 | — | — | 3 | 1 | 4 | — | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Totals . . . | 2,811 | 302 | 2,402 | 996 | 6,511 | 46 | 75 | 55 | 8 | 184 | 1 | 87 | 51 | 139 |

(3) as regards the whole Hexateuch, P has 2,811 verses, and *Ani* 46 times
ES „ 302 „ „ „ 75 „

However they are taken, the "Earlier Sources" show a recurrence of *Ani* far more frequent than P does.

If the text of Prof. König, viz: the "**course of development**" of Hebrew literature, were valid, then these portions would have to be reckoned *later* than P.

Since, then, a large majority of the occurrences of *Ani* attributed to P really belong to the "Earlier Sources," the comparison with the later books is considerably weakened. Can the evidence be differently interpreted ?

An examination of the usage in Leviticu shows that all the 70 passages in which *Ani* occurs are Divine utterances, and over 50 of them are of the nature of "formulæ," such as "I am JEHOVAH."

If, then, instead of analysing the occurrences of *Ani* and *Anokhi* according to the supposed sources, they are analysed by their occurrence in stated formulæ and in ordinary colloquy, the following result is obtained :—

| | Colloquy | | Formulæ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ani | Anokhi | Ani | Anokhi |
| Genesis . . . . . | 37 | 54 | 4 | 1 |
| Exodus . . . . . | 21 | 18 | 18 | 3 |
| Leviticus . . . . . | 17 | — | 53 | — |
| Numbers . . . . . | 11 | 6 | 10 | — |
| Deuteronomy . . . | 4 | 10 | 5 | 38 |
| Joshua . . . . . | 4 | 9 | — | — |
| | 94 | 97 | 90 | 42 |

Hence in colloquy the two forms are fairly evenly balanced, but in formulæ *Ani* is used more than twice as often as *Anokhi*. Moreover, the use of *Anokhi* in formulæ is almost confined to Deuteronomy : in the other books, the proportion is *Ani*, 85 : *Anokhi*, 4. Further, of the 38 formulæ in Deuteronomy where *Anokhi* occurs, 35 are not Divine utterances, but recurrent phrases used by Moses, such as "the commandments which I command thee." In Divine

formulæ, then, *Ani* occurs 90 times to *Anokhi* 7 times (once in Genesis ; 3 in Exodus ; 3 in Deuteronomy).

The preponderance of *Ani* in the Pentateuch, then, is really due to its frequent use in Divine formulæ. This suggests the possibility that the dignity of the speaker may have something to do with the choice of the word.

In some Oriental languages there are different forms of the personal pronoun used according as one is addressing a superior or an inferior, somewhat akin to the ceremonious plural or the familiar singular of the 2nd person in French and German. In Arabic, too, an inferior addressing a superior will often substitute for " I " some depreciatory epithet, such as " the humble one " or " the weak one," (much as " your petitioner " is used in English petitions), and even a superior will do the same when he wishes to be courteous and gracious to his inferior.

There seems reason to think that a distinction of this kind is observable in the use of *Ani* and *Anokhi* in the Pentateuch. Thus in Gen: xxvii. 8 (J), Rebekah speaking to her son uses *Ani*, but in v: 11 (also J) Jacob replying to his mother uses *Anokhi*. So in Gen: xxxi. 38, 39 (E), Jacob addressing his father-in-law uses *Anokhi*, but in 44, 52 (also E) Laban uses *Ani*. Pharaoh's daughter speaking to Jochebed (Exod: ii. 9) and Jethro speaking to Moses (Exod: xviii. 6) both use *Ani* : the ass speaking to Balaam (Num: xxii. 30), and Balaam addressing Balak (Num: xxiii. 15) both use *Anokhi*, and the one P passage in which *Anokhi* occurs is Gen: xxiii. 4, where Abraham is addressing the children of Heth as a suitor, and therefore would use the more deferential form.

There are two verses in which the two forms occur together : what light do they afford ?

(a) Exod: vii. 17, " Thus saith the LORD, In this shalt thou " know that I am the LORD : behold, I will smite with the rod that " is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the river."

On this, Dr. Driver comments (BE. 60), **" As Di. remarks, the " transition from the Divine ' I ' just before to the ' I ' of " Moses is very abrupt : we expect ' I [i.e. Jehovah] will " ' smite the waters that are in the Nile ' (cf. v. 25 ' after that " ' *Jehovah* had smitten the Nile ') : hence it is probable " (Di ) that the words *with the rod that is in mine hand* are " introduced by the compiler from the narrative of E. . . . " If these words are omitted, the ' I ' in ' I will smite ' will of " course be Jehovah."**

It is strange that the compiler should have failed to notice that the insertion with which he is credited would cause the **" very " abrupt "** transition which seems so obvious to the Western critics.

But in fact the critical explanation is a mere guess, and one that does not explain why J should have used one form of the pro-

noun in one clause, and another in the next; and, moreover is hardly consistent with "*upon* the waters" which suits the smiting with the rod, but not the smiting by the LORD.

When the change of pronoun is taken into account, the critical guess becomes wholly unnecessary, for that marks the change of subject. The Divine message is "I (*Ani*) am the LORD," and,—in order to prove this,—"behold, I (*Anokhi*, thy servant Moses) "will smite with the rod that is in mine hand."

(b) Exod: xxxiv. 10, "And he said, Behold, I (*Anokhi*) make a "covenant" (J) . . . "and all the people among which thou "art shall see the work of the LORD, for it is a terrible thing that I "(*Ani*) do with thee" ($R^{JE}$).

The use of *Ani* in the final clause is easily understood, for God is the speaker, and it is a solemn declaration of His sovereign will; but why should *Anokhi* be used in the opening clause?

There also God is the speaker, but it is a declaration of His purpose to make a covenant with His people, and that (as the word for "make" indicates) a covenant by sacrifice. It is a declaration of God's condescension, and therefore the more gracious word is appropriate.

This *Anokhi* of Divine condescension is often met with:—Gen: xv. 1, "I am thy Shield";—xxviii. 15, "Behold, I am with "thee";—xlvi. 3, 4, "I am God, the God of thy father. . . . I "will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely bring "thee up again";—Exod: xxiii. 20, "Behold, I send an angel "before thee," and many other passages. The most striking instance of all is found in the Decalogue: both in Exodus and Deuteronomy *Anokhi* is found in the I and II Commandments, as though even there God willed to mark His condescension to His people.

The passages in the Decalogue account for 4 of the 7 formulæ in which *Anokhi* is found. Two others (Gen: xxvi. 24; Exod: iv. 11) are in passages conveying assurances of God's favour and goodness, but the last (Deut: xxxii. 40, "As I live for ever") is of a different character. It is a solemn affirmation of an intention to take vengeance.

For the most part, the *Anokhi* of Divine condescension comes in declarations of favour, but sometimes it is found in declarations of wrath: e.g. Gen: vii. 4, "I will cause it to rain" (of the Deluge);—Exod: iv. 23, "I will slay thy son, thy first-born";—Deut: xviii. 19, "I will require it of him";—and there are several instances in Jeremiah. Deut: xxxii. 40–43 suggests an explanation of this use: vv: 40–42, declaring God's wrath, are followed by, "Rejoice, O ye "nations, with his people: for he will avenge the blood of his ser-"vants" (v: 43). When God stoops to execute vengeance on the wicked, it is a necessary part of His protection of the righteous: God's wrath is the complement of God's mercy.

In human utterances, *Anokhi* often expresses a sense of humiliation or weakness :—Gen: iii. 10 " for I was naked " ;—Gen: xv. 2, " Seing I go childless " ;—Gen: xviii. 27, " I . . . which am but " dust and ashes " ;—Exod: iv. 10, "Oh Lord, I am not eloquent " ;—Num: xi. 14, " I am not able to bear this people alone " ;—and many other passages.

There is, however, another usage of *Ani* to be noticed. In Gen: xxvii. 19 Jacob says to Isaac, " I (*Anokhi*) am Esau thy firstborn," the respectful address of a son to his father ; but in v: 24, when Isaac asks, "Art thou my very son Esau ? " Jacob replies with an emphatic *Ani*, " I am." At verse 32, in Esau's " I (*Ani*) " am thy son, thy first born," there may possibly be a trace of Esau's self-assertiveness, but in v: 34 (repeated in v: 38), " Bless me, even " me (*Ani*) also," there is unquestionably the *Ani* of emphasis. So also it is found in Reuben's cry, " And I (*Ani*), whither shall I " (*Ani*) go ? " (Gen: xxxvii. 30) ;—in Reuben's assertion, " I (*Ani*) " will bring him to thee again " (Gen: xlii. 37 : it is noteworthy that in xliii. 9 Judah uses the more modest form, " I—*Anokhi*—will be " surety for him ") ;—in Moses' question, " Wherein now shall it be " known that I (*Ani*) have found grace in thy sight, I (*Ani*) and " thy people ? " (Exod: xxxiii. 16) ;—and in the arrogant self-assertion of the descendants of Joseph, " Seeing I (*Ani*) am a great " people " (Josh: xvii. 14). A notable instance of this usage is found in Gen: xxiv : the whole chapter is assigned to J, and *Anokhi* occurs 9 times in vv: 1–43 ; in one verse alone (45) *Ani* is found, where the position of the pronoun in the very forefront of the sentence marks it as peculiarly emphatic.

There is good reason, then, for thinking that into the choice of the form of pronoun deliberate meaning and purpose enter, quite apart from **" considerations of rhythm,"** the preference of individual writers, or the **" course of development "** of the language.

*Ani* by reason of its very shortness is the more emphatic and peremptory : it is therefore the more suitable for a superior to use to an inferior. In both aspects, it is peculiarly appropriate to solemn Divine declarations (" I am the LORD ") such as abound in Leviticus. *Anokhi*, connoting a sense of humility (and therefore especially appropriate to Moses in the oft-recurring formulæ of Deuteronomy), is the deferential form used by an inferior to a superior, but is also used with marked force by a superior who wishes to express condescension.

This view, it is submitted, accounts better for the facts than the theory which attributes the variations to difference of style of different writers. It accounts (as the critical theory does not) for the fact that the same author uses both forms (as in the JE document), and that sometimes in a single verse, and sometimes in closely adjacent passages. It accounts for the use of *Anokhi* in

Gen: xxiii. 4 (P); for the frequent use of *Ani* in JE (32 times in Genesis, and 18 times in Exodus), and for the frequent use of *Anokhi* in Deuteronomy. It agrees with the fact that, apart from formulæ, the two forms are found in nearly equal numbers.

Further, it affords a reasonable explanation of the absence of *Anokhi* from the long section Exod: xxxv.–Num: x. Prof. Konig lays great stress on this, but he has omitted to take into consideration the subject matter of these chapters.

The six chapters in Exodus contain neither *Ani* nor *Anokhi*, and therefore furnish no evidence one way or another; the pronoun is simply not wanted. The whole of Leviticus and Num: i–x. 28 (vv. 29–36 are attributed to JE) is mainly occupied with Divine directions and laws: all the passages in which *Ani* occurs are Divine utterances, and the immense majority (57 out of 77) are Divine formulæ. There is no occasion for the use of *Anokhi* throughout.

Prof. Driver calls special attention to the resemblance between Ezekiel, "***Ani* 138 times, *Anokhi* once,**" and P, "***Ani* nearly "130 times, *Anokhi* once only,**" and puts forward this resemblance as a reason for considering that P "**wrote in the later "period of the language**" (LOT. 156). So stated the resemblance looks very striking, but (1) it ignores the fact that considerably more than half the instances of *Ani* credited to P ought really to be credited to the earlier sources, leaving only 46 to P; and (2) even if H and P are counted as one, the figures are not quite accurate.* In Ezekiel *Ani* occurs 168 times, not 138; and in P and H together, it is only found 121 times. The resemblance is not so very close after all.

Of the 168 instances in Ezekiel, no less than 158 are in special Divine utterances (such as "shall know that I am the LORD";—"I the LORD have spoken it";—"as I live, saith the LORD"), or refer to specifically Divine actions ("I send thee," ii. 3;—"I know the things that come into your mind," xi. 5;—"I will "cause breath to enter," xxxvii. 5).

Of the remaining 10 instances, 5 (xxvii. 3, xxviii. 2, 9, xxix. 3, 9) are in the arrogant boasts of Tyre and Egypt. In xl. 4 "the man" bids Ezekiel set his heart "upon all that I shall shew thee";—in xii. 3, Ezekiel is bidden to say to Israel, "I am your sign." Only in 3 instances does the word occur in narration:—"As I was among "the captives" (i. 1);—"as I sat in mine house, and the elders "of Judah sat before me" (viii. 1);—"while they were smiting, "and I was left" (ix. 8);—and each of these may well be emphatic.

The one occurrence of *Anokhi* (xxxvi. 28) is where the promise of a new heart and a new spirit closes with the assurance, "Ye "shall be my people, and I will be your God," a signal assurance of Divine favour and condescension.

* See note at the end, p. 526.

The use in Ezekiel agrees with that in the Pentateuch.

Analysis of the use in Isaiah (both parts), Jeremiah, Hosea, and 1 Kings furnishes similar results. Two instances are remarkable enough to challenge attention :—

Isai: xlv. 12, " I (*Anokhi*) have made the earth and created
" man upon it ;
" I (*Ani*), even my hands, have stretched out the
" heavens."
xliv. 25, 26, " I (*Anokhi*) will contend with him that
" contendeth with thee,
" and I (*Anokhi*) will save thy children . . .
" and all flesh shall know that I (*Ani*) the
" LORD am thy saviour, and thy redeemer,
" the Mighty One of Jacob."

How does the critical theory account for these ?

In his *Commentary on Genesis* (p: x), Dr. Driver adds two more instances of synonyms.

(h) **" 30. For the idea of *making* a covenant, P says " always *Haykeem* (*establish*), Gen. vi. 18, ix. 9, 11, 17, " xvii. 7, 19, 21, Ex. vi. 4 (so Ez. xvi. 60, 62) † ; not *Carath* " (lit. *cut*, EVV. *make* : see on xv. 18), as in Gen. xv. 18, xxi. " 27, 32, xxvi. 28, xxxi. 44, and generally in the OT."**

The root idea of the two words is distinct : *Haykeem* means " to raise up, cause to stand, establish " ; *Carath* means " to cut," and (with reference to a covenant) is always connected with a sacrificial feast.

The references to *Haykeem* are few (10 in all) and are marked as being the only ones in the Old Testament, (though Lev: xxvi. 9, H, and Deut: viii. 18, D, should be added), whereas *Carath* is the word used **" generally in the OT."** This in itself suggests that *Haykeem* is an exceptional word in this connection. Actually it is used with regard to (1) the covenant with Noah, of which the rainbow was the token ; (2) the covenant with Abraham, of which circumcision was the sign. To neither of these would the word which implies " covenant by sacrifice " be applicable, whereas the covenant with Abraham in Gen: xv. 18 is directly connected with a sacrifice (vv: 9–11).

(i) **" 31. To express the idea of Jehovah's being *in the " midst of* His people, P says always *B'thokh* (13 times : Ex. " xxv. 8, &c), *JE B'kereb* 13 times : Ex. iii. 20 &c)."**

This alleged peculiarity is limited to the use of these words **" to " express the idea of Jehovah's being *in the midst of* His " people."** In other connections, both words occur very often, *B'thokh* being found in the Hexateuch over 90 times. Hence it has been difficult to decide which are the 13 instances intended, and the writer has only been able to trace 11.

Exod: xxv. 8, "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell "among them."
xxix. 45, "I will dwell among the children of Israel."
46, "that I may dwell among them."
Lev: xv. 31, "my tabernacle that is in the midst of them."
xvi. 16, "the tent of meeting that dwelleth with them in "the midst of their uncleannesses."
xxii. 32, "I will be hallowed among the children of Israel."
xxvi. 11, "I will set my tabernacle among you."
12, "and I will walk among you."
Num: v. 3, "their camp in the midst whereof I dwell."
xxxv. 34, "the land which ye inhabit, in the midst whereof "I dwell."
34, "for I the LORD dwell in the midst of the "children of Israel."

Almost all these passages are connected with the thought that the LORD would "dwell" (*Shacan*) in the midst of His people in the "Dwelling" (*Mishcan*), the Tabernacle: the one exception is Lev: xxii. 32 (H, not P), and even this is in a passage about sacrifice, and therefore indirectly connected with the Tabernacle.

The 13 instances of *B'kereb* may perhaps be these :—

Exod: iii. 20, "I will . . . smite Egypt with all my wonders "which I will do in the midst thereof." *
xxiii. 21, "for my name is in him."
xxiii. 3, "I will not go up in the midst of thee."
Num: xi. 20, "because ye have rejected the LORD which is among "you."
xiv. 11, "all the signs which I have wrought among "them."
42, "for the LORD is not among you."
Deut: i. 42, "for I am not among you."
vi. 15, "the LORD thy God in the midst of thee is a "jealous God."
vii. 21, "the LORD thy God is in the midst of thee."
xxiii. 14, "the LORD thy God walketh in the midst of "thy camp."
xxxi. 17, "Are not these evils come upon us because "our God is not among us."
Josh: iii. 5, "for to-morrow the LORD will do wonders among "you."
10, "Hereby ye shall know that the living God is "among you."

The idea of God's *dwelling* among His people is not found in any of these.

* This verse is specifically cited by Dr. Driver, but does not refer to JEHOVAH'S being in the midst of His people. The other 12 are those which, as far as the writer could judge, best fulfilled this condition.

Both Deut: xxiii. 14 and Num: v. 3 mention " the camp," but it is not the same camp : that in Numbers is the Wilderness camp, in the midst of which was the Tabernacle, God's Dwelling-place ; in Deuteronomy, an ordinary military camp is indicated, and that for a time when the " Dwelling " would be no longer in the camp, but stationary.

Now *B'kereb* for the most part has the general meaning " among," or " in " (Gen: xlv. 6, " the famine hath been in the land " ;—Exod: xxiii. 25, " I will take away sickness from the midst of thee " ; —Num: xiv. ii, " the signs which I have wrought among them " ;—Josh: vii. 12, " except ye destroy the devoted thing from among " you ") : *B'thokh*, on the other hand, often indicates precise locality; " in the centre of," (Gen: ii. 9, " in the midst of the garden " ;—Exod: xiv. 6, " in the midst of the sea " ;—Josh: vii. 21, " in the " midst of my tent,"—contrast v: 12 cited above). The more general sense of *B'kereb* suits passages like " My name is in him,"—" the LORD will do wonders among you," where " in the centre of " could not be used : the definite *B'thokh* is exactly appropriate to the position of the Tabernacle " in the centre of " the camp.

All the instances in which it is alleged that P habitually uses a different word from JE and to express the same meaning have now been examined, and in every case the evidence affords an explanation which does not require diversity of authorship. The seeming synonyms really express different shades of meaning and have all the appearance of having been deliberately selected to suit the context. Especially is this the case in what at first sight seemed the clearest instance of all,—the two forms of the pronoun of the first person.

*Note.*—The statistics of the occurrence of words in the foregoing pages are taken from tables compiled by the author. Though he has taken great pains to make them as accurate as possible, he may, of course, have here and there overlooked the occurrence of the word in question, and therefore where his figures fall below those of the critics, they may perhaps be open to revision. But as in every case he has carefully extracted the passages in which he found the words, he is confident that the figures which exceed those of the critics may be relied on as not exaggerated.

## Appendix C.

# HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In his Essay on "The Criticism of the Hexateuch compared with "that of the Synoptic Gospels" (OSSP. Essay xii), Mr. Addis combats the idea that Higher Criticism applied to the New Testament can seriously affect belief in Christianity.

**"There has been, and perhaps still is, an uneasy feeling "abroad that criticism has reduced the traditional accounts "of early Israel to the legendary level, and that a like fate "must in the end overtake the presentation of our Lord's "life and teaching as it lies before us in the Gospels"** (OSSP. 367). Mr. Addis asserts that **"Both the Hexateuch and the "Gospels then are composite in a high degree,"** but argues that the **"uneasiness to which reference has been made "arises from a confusion between critical method, and the "subject matter with which the critic has to deal."**

He considers that the two sets of documents to which the critical tests are applied are so essentially different in their nature that similar results cannot ensue. The points of difference are two :—

(1) the proximity of the writers to the events recorded :—the earliest Hexateuch document separated from the time of Moses by 5 or 6 centuries; the earliest Gospel narrative **"committed "to writing within a generation after Christ's death"** (p: 370).

(2) the difference in the use made of the sources :—**"In the "Pentateuch it is the latest and most unhistorical of the "documents at his command which the final editor has "chosen to be the framework into which all the other docu-"ments are fitted** (p: 384); in the Gospels, **"it is on this "earliest narrative that Matthew and Luke build their own "Gospels"** (OSSP. 386).

In drawing these distinctions, Mr. Addis has surely betrayed some confusion of thought. He has assumed that the late dates assigned to the component parts of the Hexateuch by the critics are correct; that the critics are right in considering P **"the latest**

**" and most unhistorical of the documents,"** (which is not the view taken by earlier critics) ; and that the view taken now by critics of the Gospels (viz: that St. Mark's Gospel was **" the earliest " narrative,"** on which those of St. Matthew and St. Luke were based) is final and will not be modified. He has not compared the *two sets of documents* as they stand, but the *present critical estimates of them* after the critical methods have been applied.

Stated more accurately, Mr. Addis' contention would have to be worded thus ;—The present critical conclusions as to the composition of the Hexateuch differ widely from the present critical conclusions as to the composition of the Gospels. But that does not in the least show that the documents are of such a different nature that the application of critical methods to the one might not conceivably, in other hands, issue in results precisely similar to those obtained with regard to the other.

There is, however, one essential difference between the documents which must be taken into account. For the Hexateuch, there is no external evidence to show when the writer or writers lived, and therefore there is a very wide field for conjecture based on internal evidence : for the Gospels there is some external evidence (such as the use of them by other writers) which helps to determine their date within comparatively narrow limits. In the latter case, the critical methods cannot be so freely applied.

This seems to be, in substance, Dr. Driver's argument when he urges that **" the very different conditions under which the " writings of the New Testament were produced, and especi- " ally the relatively short interval of time separating them " from the period of our Lord's life upon earth, make it to " our minds impossible that the application to it of the " methods of the 'Higher Criticism' (in the legitimate " sense of the expression), though it may alter our views " of the origin and structure of some of the documents " concerned, should ever affect appreciably the historical " evidence for all the leading facts of our Lord's life, or for " the vital truths of Christianity."** HC. ix.

There is force in the argument, but whether it is sufficient to allay the **" uneasiness "** may be doubted. For illustration, we have only to turn to the Essay which immediately follows that of Mr. Addis (OSSP. Essay xiii, " A Recent Theory of the Origin of " St. Mark's Gospel "), where Mr. Williams discusses Wendling's theory as to the composite nature of that Gospel.

Starting with **" the commonly accepted 'Two Document " 'theory,' "** according to which **" one of the main sources " of the present Synoptic Gospels is to be identified with our " St. Mark, or something very like it,"** Mr. Williams observes, **" It follows that the so-called 'Triple Tradition' has been " reduced to a 'Single Tradition,' and that many incidents**

**"of the Gospel story, for which it was formerly supposed "that we possessed three independent and converging "testimonies, can now be based only on the authority of "St. Mark."** OSSP. 389.

This alone is a very serious result of the application of Higher Critical methods to the Gospels, and would certainly **"affect "appreciably the historical evidence"** for a good many of **"the leading facts of our Lord's life."** If the evidence for **"many incidents of the Gospel story"** is only furnished by one witness instead of three, it is obvious that the case is considerably weakened.

Mr. Williams therefore very rightly continues, **"Consequently "it is of the highest importance that we should know exactly "how much St. Mark's authority is worth. Is the Second "Gospel, as we have it, a literary unity, coming almost "immediately from the lips of St. Peter, the spokesman of "the Apostolic band, and consequently possessing first "hand authority in all its parts? or is it a composite work "with a long and complicated literary history behind it, "the product of several epochs of primitive Church life "and thought, containing a kernel of Petrine tradition, "but including layers of legendary embellishment and theo-"logical fiction?"** OSSP. 389.

Mr. Williams argues temperately and forcibly against Wendling's theory, which, however, is based on methods very much resembling the usual Higher Critical processes; and the very fact that it is necessary to discuss whether the one witness which critical methods leave us is a **"literary unity,"** or includes **"layers of legendary "embellishment and theological fiction,"** is highly significant as to the extent to which critical methods may affect our estimate of the Gospel records.

Even Mr. Williams makes a very serious exception to the literary unity of this Gospel. He considers the account of the Feeding of the Four Thousand (St. Mark viii. 1–9) **"an independent "version of the events narrated in vi. 35-44 (the Feeding "of the Five Thousand) which has however been worked over "by an editor and assimilated in language and schematic "arrangement to the first account."** OSSP. 418.

With Mr. Williams' reasons for considering this a **"genuine "doublet"** we are not now concerned (though something might be said on that score), but are only considering how far this conclusion would affect our estimate of the authority of this Gospel.

Mr. Williams, then, agrees with Wendling **"in considering the "later scene a doublet of the first,"** though he rejects Wendling's supposition that **"the 'Four Thousand' incident was deliber-"ately concocted by the redactor on the basis of the 'Five**

"'Thousand' scene." He considers the more probable conclusion to be "**that the first account comes from the Petrine "tradition, and the second from some other source, possibly "Q (= the Matthæan tradition?).**" OSSP. 419.

There is yet more to be taken into account:—"**There can be "no doubt that the editor regarded the two accounts as two "separate incidents, for he carefully distinguishes them in "the words attributed to our Lord, ch. viii. 19, 20,**" and this "**would suggest that the interpolation of these sections took "place (late in the history of the Gospel) at a time when the "living memory of eye-witnesses had almost died out, and "been replaced by dependence on written records.**" OSSP. 418.

On this view what has actually taken place?

The original Gospel contained only the "**Petrine tradition**" of the Five Thousand. "**Late in the history of the Gospel,**" an unknown editor, finding in "**some other source**" the account of the Four Thousand, and regarding it as a separate incident, interpolated this into the Marcan record. Not only this, but he (or possibly some one later still) further interpolated a saying attributed to our Lord, in which the two incidents are carefully distinguished.

But if the two accounts are only independent versions of the same incident, our Lord could never have uttered these words: they must have been fabricated by the interpolator.

What reliance can be placed on a record that has been tampered with by an editor who has not scrupled to invent and attribute to our Lord words which He never uttered? If the account of an incident which did not really take place has been foisted into the record, why may not the accounts of other incidents have been introduced without any better foundation? If words never uttered by our Lord have been attributed to Him, how can we ever be sure of the genuineness of any other utterance? An immense field for suspicion is opened out.

This, be it remembered, affects the credit of the "**earliest "narrative,**" on which the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke are based. All therefore in those Gospels which is derived from that source must be similarly tainted with suspicion. What guarantee is there that the portions derived from other sources are any more reliable? Those who were credulous enough to accept without question the interpolated record, (and St. Matthew's Gospel contains the two accounts, and the saying by which they were distinguished), are not likely to have been more discerning in drawing from other authorities. What firm standing ground is there left?

The very limited application of critical methods in Mr. Williams' cautious hands does to an appreciable extent affect our estimate

of the evidence for the facts of our Lord's life. What might they not do in the hands of more thorough-going exponents? The "**uneasiness**" deprecated by Mr. Addis is not altogether without justification.

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*** It has not been possible to include anything like a full Index, but it is hoped that the above, together with the Table of Contents, will serve as a general guide.

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